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OF BALLIOL COLLEGE.

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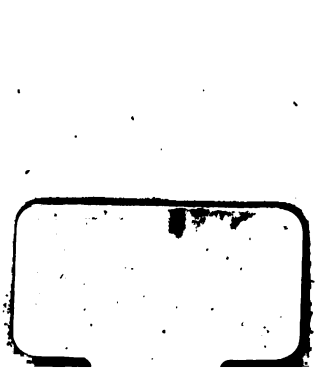

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THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

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CHAP. VII.

History of the Third Dynasty of the Seljûkians, called that of Rûm.

SECT. VI.

The Reign of Soltân Kilij Arslân II.

MASUT, or Massûd, emperor of the Turks, at his death, divided his dominions and provinces among his sons. He gave to Khliziastlan, or Kilij Arslân, his capital Kogni, with the places depending on it: to his son-in-law Jagupasan (A) the cities of Amasia and Ancyra, with Cappadocia: and to Dadun the cities of Cæsarea and Sebaste. The three brothers did not long live in unity; for the soltâns of Kogni and Cappadocia, envying each other's possessions, carried their complaints before the emperor Manuel, who secretly widened the breach between them; though he openly agreed to assist Jagupasan, through the aversion which he had to the soltân, a prince of a gloomy disposition, who studied the death of all his A.D.1161]

Fifth soltân, Kilij Arslân II. attacked by Jagupasan.

(A) Perhaps Yakûb Hassan.

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kindred, and often made incurſions on the Roman territories.

Jagupaſan, elated with this alliance, attacked the ſoltân, who fought ſeveral battles, with pretty equal ſucceſs; but victory at length declaring for the former, he laid down his arms, and continued for ſome time in repoſe.

Retires to Manuel. The ſoltân afterwards went to meet the emperor on his return to Conſtantinople, from his expedition to the Weſt, and was received with joy; as he imagined his preſence would ſerve to ſettle his affairs in the Eaſt. A triumph was ordered on that occaſion; but the people were ſo terrified with an earthquake, which threw down the beſt houſes in the city, and darkened the air with vapours, that this pageantry was but little regarded. During the long ſtay which the ſoltân made at Conſtantinople, he often diverted himſelf with public ſhews.

Manuel's preſents. The emperor, who had made him conſiderable preſents, carried him one day into his cabinet; and having ſhewn him a great deal of gold and ſilver coin, wrought plate, ſplendid habits, and rich ſilks, diſplayed for the purpoſe; aſked him, which of theſe parcels he would have? The ſoltân ſaid, he ſhould receive with reſpect that which was agreeable to his majeſty to give. Manuel then demanded, if, with the money which he ſaw, he ſhould be able to humble his enemies? Khliziaſtlan anſwered; that he would have done it long ago, in caſe he had been maſter of but part of that wealth. "Then, ſaid the emperor, I will give you the whole, that you may judge what a monarch poſſeſſes, who can make ſuch magnificent preſents."

The ſoltân's diſhoneſty; The ſoltân, charmed with ſuch liberality, engaged to reſtore to Manuel the city of Sebaſte, with its dependencies. The emperor accepted the offer with joy, and promiſed to make him farther preſents, provided he performed his engagement; and, to induce him to keep his word, ſent Conſtantine Gauras with the money and troops. But Khliziaſtlan was no ſooner arrived at Kogni, than he ruined Sebaſte, took Cæſarea, drove Dadûn out of his territories, and went in purſuit of Jagupaſan, who died while he was raiſing forces to oppoſe his enemy. Dadûn, in ſeizing Amaſia, was the occaſion of the death of Jagupaſan's widow, who had invited him thither; for the inhabitants riſing, ſlew her, and drove out Dadûn, whoſe power ſhe intended by her intrigues to eſtabliſh.

his great ſucceſs; But they found themſelves too weak to reſiſt Khliziaſtlan, who reduced their city to his obedience, as he had

ſubdued

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subdued Cappadocia a little before; although he was quite a cripple. Yet being full of spirit, this infirmity did not hinder him from violating the peace, and taking several places from the Romans: finding also the opportunity favourable, he reduced the city of Melitene, which he entirely destroyed, and drove out the emir, although he professed his own religion. He made use of perfidy to deceive his own brother, and expel him, like the rest, who fled for refuge to the emperor.

At the same time, Solymân, an artful person, came to excuse the soltân's conduct, laying upon the Turks the blame of the infringements made in the treaty. His apology was accompanied with excessive praises of Manuel, and a present of some fine horses from his master. *invades the empire.*

The emperor ordered the ambassador to reproach the soltân, in his name, with his breach of faith and inconstancy: but Khliziastlan, far from paying any regard to his remonstrances, though he called him father, went to Laodicea, which, at that time, was not walled, and carried off a great number of prisoners, as well as cattle; killing also many people, and, amongst the rest, the bishop [a]. The Turks committed other ravages; but Manuel restrained them: and repaired Kliate, Pergamus, and Endromit, which had been ruined by them: he likewise built several forts to secure the frontiers [b].

The care which the emperor took to repair the fortifications of Doryleum, gave occasion for a rupture. The soltân, pretending not to know the design of his coming, sent to intreat him to retire; and the Turks, unwilling to be driven out of a fruitful territory, so convenient for feeding their flocks, made frequent inroads, burning villages, and ravaging the country. However, Manuel went on with the work; and when the fortifications of that place were finished, he undertook those of Sableum. This conduct provoked the soltân to accuse him of breach of treaties; while the emperor, in his turn, upbraided the soltân with ingratitude. A.D 1175. *A new rupture.*

Both parties being irritated, the emperor made great preparations, and crossed into Asia. He marched through Phrygia, and, passing by Laodicea, advanced to Kone, formerly Koloffus, a very rich city, where our author Nicetas was born: from thence he marched to Lempis, and so to Celene, where the river Marsius has its source. Pro- *Manuel sets forward.*

[a] Nicet. in Manuel, lib. iii. cap. 5, & 6. [b] Ibid. lib. iv. cap. 7.

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ceeding forward, he arrived at Kone, and afterwards at Myriocephale.

A.D. 1176. The ſoltân having received a reinforcement from Meſopotamia, ſent an embaſſy to demand peace of the emperor, on his own terms; which all the perſons of experience adviſed him to accept; repreſenting that the cavalry of the Turks was invincible; that they had ſeized the inacceſſible parts of the country; and that a contagious diſtemper already prevailed in the Roman army. But Manuel, ſuffering himſelf to be led by his relations, who had never been in a camp before, ſent back the ambaſſador, without propoſing any terms. The ſoltân having applied for peace a ſecond time, and received no other anſwer than that the emperor would ſatisfy his demands when he came to Kogni, he prepared an ambuſcade in the paſs of Sybriza, through which the Romans were to march after they left Myriocephale.

The ſoltân begs peace.

Dangerous paſſage.

It is a long valley, bounded on one ſide with high mountains, and on the other by deep precipices. The emperor, inſtead of detaching a body of light troops to reconnoitre the country and clear the way, divided his army into ſix bodies, and marched behind the baggage, at the head of the fifth, which conſiſted of the flower of his troops. The two firſt corps paſſed the moſt dangerous places without any loſs; becauſe they covered themſelves with their bucklers, and valiantly fought the enemy, who attacked them from the tops of the rocks. For want of theſe precautions, the right wing, which made the third body, was broken and cut to pieces, with Baldwin, the emperor's brother-in-law, who commanded them. The Turks, elated with this ſucceſs, blocked up the paſs entirely; ſo that the Romans could neither advance nor retreat: in a moment both men and horſes were pierced with infinite ſhowers of arrows, which covered the ground with dead bodies.

Romans overthrown.

The enemy made great efforts to defeat the troops which were about the emperor, who tried ſeveral times to repulſe them, and open a paſſage: but not being able to compaſs his deſign, he threw himſelf almoſt alone into the middle of them, and happily eſcaped, after he had received ſeveral wounds: about thirty arrows were ſticking in his buckler, and his caſque was half beaten off. Mean time the ſoldiers fell thick in the battle; and thoſe who eſcaped this fatal paſs periſhed in the valley. The whole defile conſiſted of ſeven vallies, one within another, the entrance of which was pretty wide, and the exit very narrow.

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row. A violent wind happening to raiſe clouds of duſt, both parties fought for ſome time in the dark, killing indifferently their friends and foes. However, a much greater number of the Romans were ſlain than of the Turks, and chiefly the emperor's relations.

When the ſtorm was over, men were ſeen buried up to the waiſt among dead bodies, extending their arms, and imploring help with lamentable cries; without being able to obtain any, from men who were in too much danger themſelves to think of aſſiſting others.

The emperor's diſtreſs.

The emperor appeared alone, without his armour-bearer or guards, reſting himſelf under a wild pear-tree; there was only one horſeman who offered to aſſiſt him, and tried to refit his head-piece. At the ſame time a Turk ſeized the bridle of his horſe, but he ſtruck him down with a piece which remained of his lance. Others advancing to take him, he drove them off with the lance of the horſeman who attended him; killing one of them, while his aſſiſtant cut off the head of another with his ſword. Having been joined at length by ten Romans, he ſurmounted, with incredible fatigue, the difficulties of the paſſes: then croſſing the river, and marching over dead bodies, he found a troop of his ſoldiers, who came up as ſoon as they ſaw him. He beheld in the way John Cantacuzenus, who had married his niece, fighting very valiantly; but at length killed and ſtripped upon the ſpot. Thoſe who had ſlain him, perceiving the emperor, made a ring, cloſing their ranks, to ſurround him. They were mounted on barbs, well trained; which, among other ornaments, had long collars of hair, with little bells. Manuel, encouraging his men, repulſed the enemy vigorouſly; and ſtill advancing, at length joined the firſt legions.

Eſcapes with difficulty.

The emperor reſolves to fly.

Contoſtephanus, and ſome others, arrived in the evening. They paſſed the night in the greateſt anxiety, and accounted themſelves no better than dead men, conſidering the dangers which ſurrounded them. What terrified them moſt was, to hear the Turks courſing round their camp, calling aloud to their countrymen to quit it, for that next morning they would put all to the ſword. The emperor hereupon conceived the deſign of flying privately, and leaving his people to be ſlaughtered; nor was he aſhamed to own his intention to his friends, who were filled with indignation.

A ſoldier, who was without the tent, and heard what he ſaid, raiſing his voice, cried out, "What a deteſtable thought has entered into the mind of the emperor!" Then

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With-held by reproach.

addressing his speech to him, "Is it not you (said he), who have brought us to perish here, under rocks which bruise us, and mountains which overwhelm us? what have we to do in this valley of groans and tears, in this descent to hell, in the midst of precipices and pits? We have had no difference with these Barbarians, who have inclosed us within this chain of mountains: it is you who have led us to the slaughter, to sacrifice us as victims." This bold speech touched the emperor, and induced him to submit to the necessity of the occasion.

The soltân offers terms of peace.

While no hope seemed to be left for the Romans, the soltân, by persuasion of the principal men of his court, who in time of peace received pensions and presents from the emperor, proposed to offer him terms of peace. However, the Turks, who knew nothing of their master's intentions, prepared at day-break to attack the camp. Twice the Romans made a sally to repulse them, without gaining any advantage. Meanwhile the soltân sent Gauras, who, having ordered hostilities to cease, and saluted the emperor after the Turkish fashion, presented him with a sword, and a horse which had a silver bit, and was very well trained; making use of the most gentle words to comfort him. Observing that Manuel had on a black vest over his cuirass, he said, "That colour is not proper in time of war, and presages no good luck." The emperor, smiling, gave him the vest, which was adorned with gold and purple. Afterwards he concluded and signed the peace, by which he was obliged to demolish the forts of Doryleum and Sableum.

Manuel returns;

The emperor designed to avoid returning by the field of battle; but the guides brought him directly through it, that he might behold at leisure the deplorable spectacle. In short, the vallies and forests were covered, and every hollow filled, with dead bodies. The heads were all scalped, and the privy parts cut off; a precaution taken by the Turks, that the Christians might not be distinguished from the circumcised, as well as to shew that the victory was theirs [c].

violates the peace;

When the Romans had passed the straits of the mountains, they were attacked again by the Turks, who pursued them in parties, and killed the sick and wounded, who were not in a condition to defend themselves, notwithstanding all the care that could be taken to prevent these hostilities. It is said, the soltân, repenting that he

[c] Nicet. in Man. lib. vi. cap. 1—4.

had

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had let the prey slip out of his hands, had given his soldiers liberty to commit those violences, which continued till they reached Kone. The emperor stayed some time at Philadelphia to refresh himself; and, in passing forward, demolished the fortifications of Sableum, but left those of Doryleum standing; and when the soltân complained of it, answered, that he paid little regard to a treaty which was extorted from him by force. Hereupon the soltân sent Atapakus (B) at the head of twenty thousand chosen men, with orders to ravage the Roman provinces, and bring him home sea-water, sand, and an oar. That commander ruined all the cities near the river Meander; had Tralles and Antioch delivered to him by composition; took Luma, Pentakhira, with some other castles, by force, and ravaged all the sea-coast. *loses many cities.*

The emperor, on this advice, immediately dispatched John Vataces, his nephew, Constantine Ducas, and Michael Aspacius, all able men, with forces to repress the enemy. Vataces led his troops directly to Hieliuni and Limnokhira, small cities, which had formerly a bridge on the Meander; and hearing that the Turks were retiring with their plunder, made the greater part of his army lie in ambush, and posted the rest beyond the river. The Turks having been attacked in a place where they were much exposed, Atapakus charged the Romans at the head of his bravest soldiers, to give the others time to cross the river. He gave eminent proofs, at first, of his courage and conduct; but when he saw that there was another army of the enemy beyond the Meander, which slew all those who appeared before them, his ardour abated, and he sought a place where he might pass the stream with less danger. Finding none fordable, he placed himself in his buckler, as in a boat, making use of his sword for a rudder; and holding the bridle of his horse, who swam behind, gained the other side of the river. As soon as he had landed, he told his name aloud, in order to draw the Turks about him: but an Alan, who served in the Roman army, coming up, slew him; upon which his troops being routed, most of them were drowned in the Meander. This exploit, more than any other, retrieved the affairs of the Romans, and humbled the pride of the Turks. Aspietus perished unhappily in this rencounter; *The Turks defeated;* *their general slain.*

(B) Some person, we presume, who had the title of Atâbek; expressed by Atapakus: for the Seljûks of Rûm copied those of Irân in most things.

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for a Turk, not being able to hurt him, his armour being proof, made a stroke at the head of his horse, which, rearing upon his hind-legs, threw him into the river [d].

Shameful flight of a Roman general.

The emperor being desirous to attack the Turks of Panesa and Lacere, reduced the first; then sent Katidus, governor of Laodicea, to discover the condition of the others: but he declaring that the emperor himself was at hand, they fled immediately, a circumstance which so enraged Manuel, that he ordered Katidus to have his nose cut off. Soon after, he sent troops under Andronicus Angelus and Manuel Cantacuzenus, to attack the Turks of Karace, which is between Lampis and Graosgala. Andronicus, having only taken some sheep and peasants, fled full speed at the bare report of the enemy's being at hand, without even enquiring their number; and not content with escaping to Kone, spurred his horse on to Laodicea. The soldiers, astonished at the absence of their general, abandoned the prisoners and the baggage, and would have dispersed, but for Cantacuzenus. The emperor intended to have punished this pusillanimous behaviour of Andronicus, by making him walk through the city in women's cloaths, but was restrained by the relationship that was between them.

Bravery of others.

As the Romans retired, a Turk, from a rising ground, slew a great number with arrows. Several archers shot at him again, but he had the dexterity to avoid their shafts, till Manuel Xerus, alighting, cleft his head with his sword. A deacon, who was a man of courage, and related to Nicetas, having had the charge of some plunder at Karace, did not leave it like the rest, for fear of the danger. Some admired his resolution, in marching slowly in the middle of his enemies; and others rallied him for his avarice, in setting a greater value on the booty than his life; while he reproached them with cowardice, in flying when they were not pursued.

Claudiopolis relieved.

The Turks afterwards besieged Claudiopolis; and the emperor ran to its relief, with incredible diligence, without any equipage besides his arms. He crossed Bithynia by the light of torches: he passed the nights without sleep; and, when fatigue and watching obliged him to take a little rest, he lay upon nothing but straw. At the news of his approach the Turks betook themselves to flight, and the citizens were filled with joy [e].

[d] Nicet. in Man. lib. vi. cap. 6.

[e] Idem, lib. viii. cap. 8.

Khliziastlan,

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Khliziaſtlan, who greatly feared the emperor Manuel, no ſooner heard of his death (C), than he went and took Sozopolis; beſieged, for a long time, the celebrated city of Attalia; ravaged Kotyalium; and ſeveral provinces voluntarily ſubmitted to him[f]. This prince, who enjoyed a vigorous ſtate of health, though upwards of ſeventy years of age, underſtanding that Andronicus was ſucceeded on the imperial throne by Iſaac Angelus, ſent Amîr Sames, with ſome horſe, to make an irruption into Thrace, from whence he returned with many priſoners and much plunder: for the nations of the Eaſt allowed the Romans to remain no longer in repoſe than they made them preſents, or paid them an annual tribute, which was the way of keeping them quiet uſed by the emperors of that age; who in this reſpect, ſays Nicetas, were weaker than women, who handle nothing but the ſpindle and diſtaff[g].

A.D. 1182. *Great ſucceſs of Kilij Arſlân.* A.D. 1186]

This ſoltân, who, in his latter days, became very powerful, divided his dominions among his ſons, of whom he had many[h]: but we meet with the names of only five, Maſſûd, Kothbo'ddîn, Rokno'ddîn Solymân, Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khoſraw, and Moazo'ddîn Kayſar Shâh. After this diſtribution, his children treated him with much ingratitude, and even contempt: Kothbo'ddîn went ſo far as to ſeize and confine him. Afterwards marching to beſiege Kayſaríyah (that is, Cæſarea, in Cappadocia), which he wanted to take from one of his brothers, to whoſe ſhare it fell, the old ſoltân, whom he carried along with him, found means at length to make his eſcape into that city: but meeting with an unwelcome reception, he applied himſelf firſt to one ſon, and then to another, who all proved alike, excepting Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khoſraw. This prince not only received him with affection, but went with him to beſiege Koniyah; and having taken it, placed him once more on the throne[i].

Divides his empire.

During this prince's abdication, the emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa, who had taken the croſs, arrived in Thrace, in his way to Syria; and having made peace with Iſaac Angelus, repaired with his Germans to Kallipolis; where, finding ſhips ready, they croſſed over into Anatolia. At

A.D. 1190.

[f] Nicet. in Alex. Comn. cap 15. [g] Ibid. in Iſaac. Angel. lib. i. cap. 4. [h] Ibid. in Alex. Comn. lib. iii. cap. 5. [i] Abul-Faraj. Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 276.

(C) The emperor died in September, in the fifteenth indiction, which anſwers to the year of Chriſt 1182.

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Philadelphia, the inhabitants, who behaved well enough at first, attacked them in the rear, at their departure: but finding they had to deal with a resolute people, they betook themselves to a shameful flight. The citizens of Laodicea, in Phrygia, on the contrary, received these strangers with so much humanity, that the emperor prayed for their prosperity on his knees. In the prosecution of their route, they met with the Turks, who incommoded them by skirmishing; although they had promised them a passage, as well as the Romans: but they paid dear for their treachery.

The German emperor defeats the Turks.

Frederic gave battle near the fort of Filomelion to the sons of the soltân of Kogni, who had been driven from his dominions, and reduced to a miserable condition; and having defeated them, took the fort and burned it. Coming to a second engagement with them at Cinglacion, he gained a signal victory; for as they waited for him at the passes which they had seized, the emperor encamped in a plain; and having divided his army in the night, he ordered one half to remain in the camp, and the other to feign a flight as soon as day appeared. The Turks believing that they fled through fear, quitted the passes, and coming down into the plain, entered the camp, where they expected to meet with a rich booty: but the pretended fugitives returning, and those who were in the camp appearing, they surrounded the Turks, and made a horrible slaughter.

Great slaughter.

As the emperor was on his way to Kogni, the soltân, who had taken refuge in Taxara, or Kolonia, sent to excuse what had happened, for that he knew nothing of the conduct of his sons, one of whom, named Kopatin (L), had driven him out of his dominions. The Turks had barricaded themselves in the gardens which were about Kogni; and as they carried light weapons, and were good marksmen, thought they could easily defend themselves against troops heavily armed: but they were deceived by their hopes: for the Germans observing that they took the advantage of shooting from behind the hedges and ditches, the horsemen carried the foot-soldiers behind them, and setting them down when they were near the enemy, supported them in every place were they were able to act. Thus all the Turks perished, excepting a few who escaped. A Mohammedan, who turned Christian, averred that it cost him two hundred pieces of silver to bury those who remained dead upon his field; by which the number of the slain may be judged of.

(L) That is Kothbo'ddîn.

Although

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Although the Germans were masters of Kogni, they would not go into the city; but were content to lodge in the suburbs, and there take the provisions which they wanted. The Turks, apprehending that the emperor intended to conquer their country, endeavoured to gain his affection by false offers of service: but after he had received some of their children in hostage, with guides, he left their frontiers, and continued his march into Armenia, where he was received with great honours. In a few days he proceeded to Antioch, and soon after was unfortunately drowned in passing a river [k]. *Takes Konîya.*

Alexis, who pretended to be the son of the emperor Manuel, disguised his imposture with so much art, that he imitated the true Alexis, even to the colour of his hair, and hesitation in his speech. He made his first appearance in the cities along the Meander: then going to Armale, discovered himself to a Roman, with whom he lodged; telling him, that his father had ordered him to be thrown into the sea, but that he was saved by the compassion of the officers who were charged with that cruel mandate. Going to Kogni, he presented himself before the old soltân, who had not then been driven from the throne, and had even the boldness to reproach him with ingratitude, not to be touched with the disgrace of the son of an emperor, who had been his friend. Khliziastlan, deceived by some marks of resemblance which appeared in his face, made him presents, and gave him hopes. A.D. 1191. *A Greek pretender claims the empire;*

One day, boasting of his birth in the presence of the Roman ambassador, the soltân asked the latter if he was sure that this pretender was Manuel's son? The ambassador answered, it was certain that the son of Manuel had been drowned; and that it was in vain for the impostor to invent a story which would meet with no credit. The false Alexis was highly provoked at this answer; and all the assistance he obtained from the soltân was only letters called mûsûr, permitting him to inlist soldiers: by which means he drew to his party Almuras, Arsan, and other commanders, accustomed to rapine. In a short time he gathered eight thousand men, with whom, by force or composition, he reduced many cities upon the Meander.

Several generals, and lastly Alexis, the emperor's brother, were sent against him: but they could do nothing effectual, for fear of being betrayed by their soldiers; who shewed more inclination to serve this pretender than their *slain by a priest.*

[k] Nicet. in Isaac. Angel. lib. ii. cap. 7, 8.

lawful

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lawful emperor. Nor was the infection confined to the people only; the principal persons at court were pleased with this illusion: but while the power of this impostor increased every day, and he seemed to be in a fair way of compassing his design, he was suddenly taken off by an unexpected incident; for having returned from Armale, to Pisse, and drank more than usual, he was slain by a priest, with his own sword. When his head was brought to the sebastocrator (Alexis), he pushed back the long hair with his horse-whip, and said, that it was not without reason that so many had been disposed to follow him [l].

Hejra 588. A.D. 1192. Kilij Arslân died in his capital, in the year 588, according to Abû'l-Faraj; which computation gives him a reign of forty years, by our reckoning, from the death of his father Massûd; although Khondemîr allows him but ten years. The author of the Nighiaristân, indeed, doubles that number; but both are wide of the truth. From the before mentioned account of his age, he must have been seventy-six at his death.

The soltân dies.

His character. This prince was grandson to the first of that name; and distinguished himself, not only by the wars which he carried on against his neighbours the Greeks, but also by his wisdom, justice, and skill in governing his people. He left his son Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khosraw for his successor [m].

In consequence of this new nomination, Konîyah, as being the regal seat of the soltâns since the loss of Nice, fell to the share of Kay Khosraw, as it had done to Kothbo'ddîn, by the first distribution: and it is, doubtless, to this second appointment of Kilij Arslân, that the partition, mentioned at the beginning of the next reign, ought to be referred.

SECT. VII.

The Reigns of Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khosraw, Rocno'ddîn Solymân, Kilij Arslân III. and of Kay Khosraw a second Time.

Sixth soltân, Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khosraw. GAYATHO'DDIN Kay Khosraw, according to our hypothesis, was the sixth soltân of this Seljûkian dynasty. On the death of Kilij Arslân, his dominions stood thus divided among his sons: Massûd had for his share Amasia, Ancyra, Dorylæum, and several other cities of Pontus; Kothbo'ddîn possessed Melitene, Cæsarea, and

[l] Nicet. in Isaac. Angel. lib. iii. cap. 1. [m] Abu'lfed. p. 276.

Kolonia,

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Kolonia, called Taxara; Rocno'ddîn was maſter of Amyntus, Dokwa, and other maritime cities; and to Kay Khoſraw belonged Konîyah, Lykaonia, Pamphylia, and all the country as far as Kottianyum [n].

Alexis Comnenus, who ſucceeded Iſaac in the empire, had ſcarce been three months on the throne, before news arrived of another pretender, a Cilician, who had taken the name of Alexis; and was well received by the ſoltân of Ancyra, with a deſign to embarraſs the emperor, and oblige him to buy his friendſhip. Œnopolitus the eunuch, who was ſent againſt him, being able to do nothing, he went in perſon, thinking to make an alliance with the Turks: but they refuſed to conclude a peace with him, unleſs he paid them down five hundred pounds of coined ſilver, and three hundred every year, beſides four hundred ſilk veſts. Alexis having deſtroyed ſome forts, returned to Conſtantinople, after two months employed in this expedition, leaving the pretender to increaſe in power; and doubtleſs he would have done a great deal of miſchief, if his throat had not been cut in the fort of Zangre. A.D.1195.] *Another pretender.*

However, the ſoltân of Ancyra carried on the war, and beſieged Diadibris with all his forces. At the end of four months, troops arrived under three young chiefs, Theodore Uranus, Andronicus Katakalon, and Theodore Kaſanus; but the Turks laying an ambuſcade, attacked them at day-break, put them to flight, killed a great number, and among the priſoners took two of the generals, whom they dragged with their hands tied behind their backs as a ſpectacle to the beſieged. The inhabitants, diſcouraged at the ſight, and being in great want of proviſions, delivered up the city, on condition of having the liberty to retire with their families and effects. When the war had laſted a year and a half, the emperor made peace with the ſoltân, and was not aſhamed to agree to the terms which he had refuſed before the place wâs beſieged [o]. A.D.1196.] *Greek diſgraces.*

Theodore Mangafes, after his revolt at Philadelphia, and peace made with the emperor, to avoid the attempts of Baſilius Vataces, governor of Thrace, fled to Kay Khoſraw, ſoltân of Kogni, and intreated him to ſupply him with troops to make war upon the Romans. The ſoltân, inſtead of granting his requeſt, only permitted him to aſſemble ſome Turks who lived by plunder. Having collected a multitude of theſe, he invaded the empire, doing *Mangafes revolts.*

[n] Nicet. in Alex. Comnen. lib. iii. cap. 5. lib. i. cap. 4, & 9.

[o] Idem ibid.

incredible

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incredible damages in Phrygia, especially about Laodicea and Kone, and in Karia; after which exploits he retired with abundance of prisoners and cattle. The emperor fearing that Mangafes might by his advice corrupt that young prince, who had but lately succeeded his father Kilij Arslân, sent ambassadors, who by presents prevailed on him to deliver up that refugee, on condition that he should not receive any corporal punishment. This action of the soltân so displeased his brothers, who had divided with him their father's dominions, that they would have made war upon him, if he had not appeased them, by alleging, that he had not betrayed him, but only sent him back for the good of the state; that he was a banished man whom he had settled again in his own country, that he might no longer persecute others or be persecuted himself[p].

is delivered up.

A.D.1198] Towards the end of the third year of his reign, Alexis, upon a very frivolous occasion, broke the treaty which had been made with Kay Khosroes, soltân of Iconium. This prince stopped two horses which had been sent the emperor by the soltân of Alexandria; and one of them having broken a leg in running, he sent to apologize for both those accidents, and promised to make satisfaction. Alexis, instead of being pacified with this civil excuse, flew into a rage, and threatened vengeance; but at last took revenge upon himself, by ordering the merchants from Kogni, Romans as well as Turks, to be seized, together with their effects, which were soon squandered away. On advice of this outrage the soltân immediately fell upon the cities near the Meander, took Karia and Tantalus, with several others, and would have become master of Antioch in Phrygia, but for a droll accident.

The soltân's success.

The same night in which he intended to surprise that city, one of the principal inhabitants happening to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter, the guests made a great noise, as is usual on such occasions; Kay Khosroes, as he approached the walls, hearing this confusion of voices, and the word, which the soldiers, who had been informed of his coming, passed to one another, he retired to Lampis.

There he viewed his prisoners, and enquiring into their names, countries, and after what manner they were taken, asked if any of his soldiers had concealed the married women and maidens with a design to abuse them. Then he ordered the effects to be restored which had been taken

His humanity to the Christians.

[p] Nicet. in Isaac. Angel. lib. ii. cap. 3.

from

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from them. Finding that their number amounted to five thouſand, he ranged them according to their families, and at parting took care that they ſhould be ſupplied with proviſions during the march. For fear alſo that they ſhould be injured by the cold weather, he took an ax himſelf to cleave a tree which had fallen. The ſoldiers running to ſee him work, he ordered them to follow his example, ſaying, they might go out of the camp when they pleaſed to cut wood; but the Roman priſoners durſt not attempt it, for fear of being ſuſpected of a deſign to eſcape.

When he arrived at Filomelion, he aſſigned them houſes to lodge in, and lands to maintain them, with corn and other grain. He promiſed beſides to ſend them back without ranſom, when he ſhould conclude a peace with the emperor; and that, in caſe he rejected the terms of accommodation, they ſhould remain five years in his dominions without paying any tax; that afterwards they ſhould pay but a very light impoſition, which ſhould never be increaſed. Having thus regulated matters, he returned to Kogni. Such favourable treatment made the captives forget their country, and drew into the ſoltân's territories abundance of people who had not been taken in war.

Alexis ſent againſt the Turks Andronicus Ducas, who being very young, contented himſelf with attacking the troops of Amîr in the night, and preſently retiring [q].

Attacked by Rocno'ddîn;

Some time after theſe tranſactions war broke out among the ſons of Kilij Arſlân, on the following occaſion. Kotho'ddîn being dead, a diſpute aroſe between Rocno'ddîn and Maſſûd, who ſhould ſucceed to his dominions, which conſiſted of Melitene, Cæſaria, and Kolonia; but as Rocno'ddîn had more ſpirit than his brother, and underſtood military affairs better, he gained the advantage, and conſtrained him to accept of ſuch part of this country as he was pleaſed to allow: afterwards, having conceived an inveterate hatred againſt his brother Kay Khoſraw, becauſe his mother was a Chriſtian, and burning with deſire to poſſeſs Kogni, he ſent to require him to deliver it up, in caſe he wiſhed to exempt the reſt of his dominions from the hazard of a war.

retires to Alexis.

Kay Khoſraw having made peace with Alexis, repaired to his court, dreſſed in a robe adorned with gold point, juſt as his father had done before to that of the emperor Manuel, during the diſputes which he had with his brothers after the death of their father Maſſûd; but whereas Manuel aſſiſted Kilij Arſlân with forces beyond his hopes,

[q] Nicet. in Alex. Comnen.

Kay

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Kay Khosraw received nothing from Alexis but common civilities. He had scarce returned to Kogni, when he was pursued by Rocno'ddîn, and forced to fly into Armenia, where he was kindly received by Leon, although formerly he had been at war with him. That prince, however, afforded him no assistance against his brother, with whom he said he was allied, because he foresaw that the war would be very bloody. Hereupon Kay Khosraw returned to the emperor, in hopes of being restored by his means; but this second hope being as vain as the first, he continued at Constantinople in a private condition [r]. This revolution happened, according to the computation of the Greeks, in the year 1198.

A.D. 1198. Rocno'ddîn Solymân having deprived his brother Kay Khosraw of his share in the empire, in the same manner as he had expelled his other brothers the whole became again united under one prince.

Seventh soltân Rocno'ddîn Solymân.

Not long after this event, the emperor sent Constantine Frankopolis, with six gallies, into the Euxine sea, under pretence of getting up the wreck of a ship which had been cast away near Kerasonte, in returning from the river Fasis; but in reality to rob the merchants who landed their goods at Amintus. Frankopolis following exactly the orders which he had received, spared no vessel whatever; plundering those which carried commodities to Constantinople as well as those which had returned with the price of such as they had sold in that port. They slew some of the merchants, and threw them into the sea; the rest they pillaged in a shameful manner. These presented themselves before the emperor's palace, and entered the great church with tapers in their hands, to demand justice; but their effects having been already sold, and the money confiscated, they could obtain no redress.

The emperor turns pirate and assassin.

The merchants of Konîyah had recourse to Rocno'ddîn: who, by his ambassadors, demanded restitution of what had been taken from them, and at the same time proposed a treaty of peace. The emperor laid all the blame on Frankopolis: however, the articles of peace at length taking place, Rokno'ddîn had fifty minæ of silver to satisfy him and his subjects, besides the promise of a yearly tribute. Some days after, Alexis was convicted of an attempt against the soltân's life; for, he had sent a very polite letter to that prince by a Kassian, whom he had bribed to assassinate him: but the bravo being arrested, the plot was discovered, and the peace broken as soon as made;

[r] Nicet. lib. iii. cap. 5.

which

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which rupture occasioned the ruin of many cities of Anatolia.

At the same time Michael, the natural son of John the Sebastocrator, a froward and passionate young man, having been sent to collect the taxes due from the province of Mylassa, revolted: but, being defeated, fled to Rocno'ddîn, who received him very civilly, and supplied him with troops; with which he plundered the cities about the Meander, and committed horrible cruelties. *Roman barbarities.*

We are not much better supplied with materials from the Oriental historians, relative to this soltân, than to those who preceded him: what little we have from that quarter is given by Abu'l-Faraj. This author informs us, that Rocno'ddîn Solymân took Konîyah from his brother Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khosraw [s]; and that in 597, in the month of Ramadân, he forced the city of Malatîyah out of the hands of his brother Moezo'ddîn Kaysar Shâh, after a few days siege. Then marching to Arzen Al Rûm (or Arzerûm), which belonged to the son of king Mohammed Ebn Salik; that lord depending on Rocno'ddîn's promise, went to him, in order to treat of peace; but the soltân imprisoned him, and then took the city. He was the last of his family, which, for a long time, had reigned there [t]. Soltân Rokno'ddîn, lord of Rûm, died in the year 600, in the month of Dhulkaada, leaving his son Kilij Arslân, a minor, to succeed him on the throne. A.D. 1200. *Rocno'ddîn's exploits,* A.D. 1203. *and death.*

D'Herbelot affords us nothing from the Persian writers concerning this prince, only that he had great disputes with his brother Kay Khosraw; but that at length peace was concluded between them: that, having reigned in peace twenty-four years, he died in 602 of the Hejra, and of Christ 1205; and was succeeded by his son Kilijh Arslân, surnamed Azzo'ddîn, an infant [u].

Kilij Arslân III. surnamed Azzo'ddîn, was advanced to the throne immediately after the death of his father Rocno'ddîn Solymân, towards the end of the year 600. But as soon as his uncle Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khosraw heard that his brother was dead, he left the castle where he resided near Constantinople; and, posting to Konîyah, seized the child, and took possession of the city; he afterwards stripped him of the rest of his dominions. This revolution happened in 601. D'Herbelot has copied the article of Kilij Arslân III. from Abu'l-Faraj, without adding any *Eighth soltân Kilij Arslân* III. *quickly dethroned;*

[s] Abu'lf. p. 276. [t] Ibid. 280. [u] D'Herb. p. 822. art. Soliman ben Kilig' Arslan.

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thing to it from other Oriental historians. Some Greek writers say, that this soltân, whom they call Yathatines (which is a corruption of his surname Gayatho'ddîn), on the reduction of Constantinople by the Latins, fled along with the emperor Alexis Angelus, otherwise called Comnenus; and that a few days after, being secretly informed of the death of his brother Azatines (so they miscall Rocno'ddîn), he departed in disguise, and, repairing to his own people, was proclaimed soltân [w].

A.D. 1204. *and Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khosraw restored.*

Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khosraw ascended the throne of Konîyah for the second time in 601, the same year in which the Latins took Constantinople from the Greeks. Abu'l-Faraj, informs us, that, he became very powerful, and reigned with great dignity [x]. This is all we learn from the Oriental authors touching the second reign of this prince; and the Byzantine historians have not said much concerning it. They do not directly mention the restoration of Kay Khosraw; but only give an imperfect hint of this transaction.

State of the empire.

After the shameful flight of the emperor Alexis (who changed his name of Angelus to that of Comnenus), and the election of Baldwin by the Latins; the latter, in less than one year, reduced all that the Romans possessed both in Europe and in Asia, excepting the cities of Nice and Prusa. The Greek commanders, and other leading men, influenced by the spirit of pride, malice, and corruption, instead of uniting in defence of their country, divided into factions, and formed parties for creating new emperors. The western part of the empire seemed to be quite cut off from the eastern, which sent it no manner of assistance: but, being infected with the same contagion, produced a multitude of commanders, who ruined the country, and formed a monster with three heads.

A.D. 1205. *Maurozomus aspires to the empire;*

Manuel Maurozomus, supported by Kay Khosraw, to whom, since the taking of Konîyah, he had promised his daughter in marriage, made all his efforts to usurp the sovereign power, and joined the Turks to ravage the country about the Meander Theodorus Laskaris, illustrious both by his birth and alliance with the emperor, having defeated him, put on the purple buskins; and was proclaimed emperor through the cities of the East. On the other side, David Comnenus assembled troops at Heraclea, a city of Pontus, and in Paphlagonia; subdued the Iberians, reduced some towns and cities, and made

[w] Georg. Acrop. Niceph. Gregor. lib. i. [x] Abu'lf. ubi supra.

himself

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himself the forerunner of his brother Alexis, whom he had a desire of advancing to the throne: but this Alexis, instead of hastening to take possession, loitered about Trebizond. Mean time David having sent a young man, named Synademus, with troops to Nicomedia, Theodore Laskaris advanced at the head of his army to give him battle; and taking a private road, fell upon him, by surprize, and dispersed his forces. He shortly after defeated Manuel Maurozomus; cut in pieces part of the Turks whom he commanded; and took the most considerable of those who were in the van of his army [y]. *defeated by Laskaris.*

In short, Lydia, Philomolpis, Prusa, Nice, Smyrna, Ephesus, and some other cities of the East, were subject to Theodore Laskaris; who built ships of war, and subdued several islands. However, in making peace with Kay Khosraw, he gave up to Manuel Maurozomus, his father-in-law, part of the country which he possessed; comprizing the city of Kone) or Kolossus, Laodicea, and all inclosed within the windings of the Meander to its fall into the sea. A.D. 1205. *Empire of Nice.*

David and Alexis, the sons of Manuel, and grandsons of the tyrant Andronicus, had established their dominion in different parts: David in Paphlagonia, and at Heraclia in Pontus; Alexis at Eneum, Sinope, and Trebizond. Aldobrandini, an Italian, learned in the Roman laws, commanded at Attalia; and the island of Rhodes was under a particular lord. These numerous commanders, instead of acting in concert, to preserve the cities which they possessed, or reconquer those which they had lost, gave themselves up to a furious spirit of ambition; and having taken up arms one against the other, afforded their enemies an opportunity of gaining farther advantages. *Empire of Trebizond.*

Kay Khosraw at this juncture laid siege to the city of Attalia; imagining, that it was not in a condition of defending itself; but Aldobrandini having procured two hundred foot from Cyprus, the unexpected appearance of them, at the beginning of the assault, induced the soltân to retire, after he had been sixteen days before the place [z]. *Attalia besieged.*

As we find nothing farther in Nicetas concerning Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khosraw, we must, to finish his reign, have recourse to the succeeding historians; who, being less accurate in their account of matters, have greatly embarrassed the history of the soltâns; and led those, who have

[y] Nicet. in Baldwin. cap. 5. & 8. [z] Ibid. cap. 11.

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hitherto written of them, into very gross mistakes, which we shall endeavour to clear up.

A.D.1206. Alexis Angelus, the late emperor, hearing that Theodore Laskaris, his son-in-law, reigned at Nice; being assisted by his cousin Michael Comnenus, who was prince of Epirus, crossed over from thence into Asia, and went secretly to Gayatho'ddin, soltân of Konîyah, his old friend and ally, then residing at Attalia, which he had not long before reduced, and begged his assistance for the recovery of his dominions, especially that part of them possessed by Laskaris. The soltân had been very serviceable to Laskaris at a time when he was reduced to great distress, by lending him forces, with which he defeated his enemies, and had also concluded a peace with him: but being urged by gratitude to his old benefactor, as well as interest (Alexis making him great promises), he threatened Laskaris, by his ambassadors, with the utmost extremities of war, unless he immediately resigned his territories to his father-in-law. Theodorus was much troubled at this unexpected message, as fearing both the soltân's power, and the people's inclination to their old emperor; but having sounded the minds of his new subjects, and finding them ready to support him, he refused to comply with this proposal.

Alexis retires secretly to the soltan; who attacks Antioch; worsts the Greeks; fights with Laskaris, and slain.

Before the return of the ambassadors, Gayatho'ddîn, attended by Alexis, marched with twenty thousand Turks, and besieged Antioch on the Meander; a circumstance which Laskaris no sooner understood, than he marched with two thousand men to the relief of that city, which was a strong frontier; and being the key of his dominions on that side, he knew, if taken, would open a way into the heart of them. Laskaris, drawing near to Antioch, sent the ambassador before, who could scarce persuade the soltân, by oaths, that the emperor was approaching with so small a force. However, he drew up his army in the best manner the narrowness of the place would permit; a step which he had no sooner taken than eight hundred Italians of the Roman army began the attack, and breaking through the Turkish ranks, threw them into the greatest disorder. As the Greeks had not courage enough to follow them closely, they were separated from the rest of the forces; so that on their return they were surrounded, and all to a man cut to pieces, though not before they had made an incredible slaughter of the enemy.

A.D. 1210. The Greeks, disheartened at so great a loss, were on the point of flying, when the soltân, now almost in possession of

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of the victory, descrying the emperor, and trusting to his own great strength, rode up to him, and at one blow with his mace on the head, struck him off his horse. But Laskaris, though stunned, nimbly recovering himself, drew his sword, and while the soltân turned about, ordering his attendants, with an air of contempt, to take him away, he disabled the hinder legs of his mare, which rearing up, threw her rider, who, before he could rise, had his head cut off. This being shewn upon the point of a spear, struck such a terror into the Turkish army, that they immediately fled with precipitation, leaving the Greeks masters of their camp and baggage. Alexis, the author of this war, was taken prisoner, and carried to Nice, where he was confined to a monastery, in which he ended his days. This victory gave the Romans an opportunity of breathing; for, from that time, the Mossems made a peace with them, which they kept inviolably [a].

SECT. VIII.

The Reigns of Soltân Kaykaws and Alao'ddîn Kaykobâd.

OF soltân Kaykaws, surnamed Azzo'ddîn or Ezzo'ddîn, we find very little mentioned. Abu'l-Faraj only tells us that he died in the year of the Hejra 616, leaving no children but minors; by which means his brother Alao'ddîn Kaykobâd became his successor [b]. D'Herbelot adds nothing more from his authors than that he died of a consumption of the lungs; only he differs much from Abu'l-Faraj as to the time of his death; for he says it happened in the year 609, after he had reigned no more than one year; whereas the other, fixing his death seven years later, allows him eight to his reign. A.D. 1219. *Ninth soltân, Kaykaws.*

Azzo'ddîn Kaykaws having died, without leaving any sons old enough to take the government upon them, the army repaired to the castle of Menshâr, which stands on the Euphrates, near Malatîyah, where his brother Kaykobâd, surnamed Alao'ddîn, was imprisoned; and, bringing him forth, proclaimed him king [c]. Hejra 616. A.D. 1219. *Tenth soltân, Kaykobâd.*

After the destruction of the Korazmian empire by Jenghîz Khân, and his Mogols, soltân Jalalo'ddin, surnamed

[a] Georg. Acrop. Niceph. Gregor. lib. i. Dynast. p. 289. [b] Abu'lf. Hist. [c] Idem ibid.

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Mankberni, eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor of Mohammed, for ſome time made head againſt them with ſurpriſing bra-
A.D. 1229. very: but being at length obliged to give way to numbers, he retired weſtward into Armenia; where, intending to
Defeats Jalalo'ddîn; reduce it under his power, he in the beginning of the year 627, inveſted Khelât or Aklât, the capital of that country, wherein were two brothers of Al Mâlek Al Aſhrâf. Having cloſely beſieged the city all winter, and battered it with twenty rams on the ſide towards the ſea, the inhabitants, who were reduced to eat dogs fleſh, delivered it up to him, with the caſtle.

On receiving advice of this event, Al Mâlek Al Aſhrâf and Alao'ddîn Kaykobâd joined their forces near Aboloſtayn, and thence proceeded to Akſhahr, where the Karazmian met them with forty thouſand men; and coming to a battle,
diſperſes his army. which laſted almoſt two days, was at length put to flight, with great ſlaughter. Thoſe who fled eſcaped to the mountains of Trapezond, where fifteen hundred loſt their lives. Jalalo'ddîn eſcaped alone to Khartabert, and thence to Khoway or Koy. He afterwards ſent one of Mâlek Al Aſhrâf's brothers in chains to the khalif at Baghdâd, and put one of his ſlaves Azzo'ddîn Ibek to death: but hearing of the approach of the Mogols againſt him, under the command of Jurmagûn Nowain, he ſent ambaſſadors from Tabrîz or Tauris, inviting both Aſhrâf and Alao'ddîn to aſſiſt him with their forces to repel the ſtorm, which, if it paſſed him, he ſaid would fall on them: but they paid no regard to his intreaties [d].

A.D. 1232. In 630 ſoltân Alao'ddîn ſent ambaſſadors to Oktay Kaan,
Embaſſy to Oktay. offering to pay him homage. Oktay, commending his prudence, told him, that if their maſter would come to his court, he would receive him with honour, and give him one of the chief employments there, without taking away his revenues.

In the courſe of the ſame year Alao'ddîn breaking with Al Mâlek Al Aſhrâf, took from him Khelât and Sarmânray. Two years after he likewiſe forced Roha from him; in which, for three days, the Rûms ſlew both Chriſtians
Reſtored the Seljûks and Mohammedans. The remainder they ſtripped of all their effects; not ſparing the churches. Hereupon Harrân ſurrendered to him. He afterwards took Rakkah and Bîr. But as ſoon as his forces were withdrawn, Al Mâlek Al Kamel, lord of Egypt, came and beſieged Roha, which he took at the end of four months, and ſent all the

[d] Abu'lf. Hiſt. Dynaſty, p. 306, & ſeq.

Rûms

Rûms whom he found there into Egypt, in chains, upon camels. D'Herbelot says that, being pressed on one side by the Mogols, and on the other by the princes of the house of Ayub, he was obliged to withdraw his troops out of their dominions, in order to preserve his own.

This prince returned home loaded with plunder and glory; having extended his name and conquests very far eastward [e]. In short, he restored the great reputation of the Seljûkians, which the children of Kilij Arslân had in some degree impaired by their divisions, enlarged the empire to its former limits, and re-established order in the state. *fame and empire.*

In 634 soltân Alao'ddîn Kaykobâd died suddenly; for at a feast which he made for his chief lords and officers, just as he was boasting of the extent of his dominions, he felt a disorder in his bowels, and, being taken at the same time with a flux, discharged such a quantity of blood, that he died in two days, having reigned eighteen years [f]. A.D.1236. *His death, and character.*

This prince was prudent, temperate, and remarkable for his strength. He kept a very strict eye over his nobles and dependents. He was endued with great firmness of mind, magnanimity, and profound gravity; nor could any sovereign govern better.

This is the famous Aladin I. known to the European writers, who acquired more reputation than all the soltâns of his race, and passed for one of the greatest princes of his time. He generally gained some advantage in all the wars wherein he was engaged; but was obliged at last to acknowlege the Mogols for his masters [g].

It was under this soltân that both Ortogrol and Othmân, or Ozmân his son, founder of the present Othmân race and empire, served, with their followers, and laid the foundation of their future greatness [h]. *Rise of Othmân.*

SECT. IX.

The Reigns of Soltân Gayâtho'ddîn Kay Khosraw and Azzo'ddîn.

ALAO'DDIN being dead, the princes took the oath of fidelity to his son Gayâtho'ddîn Kay Khosraw; who presently after seized Gayer Khân, prince of the Karaz- Hejra 634. A.D.1236. *Eleventh soltân. Kay Khosraw.*

[e] D'Herb. p. 239, & seq. art. Kaikobad. [f] Ibid. p. 311, & seq. [g] D'Herb. p. 83, art. Alaeddin Ben Kaikhosrau. [h] Ibid. p. 40, art. Kaikobad.

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mians. The rest of them fled, with their chiefs, by Malatîyah, Kakhtîn, and Khartabert, where they did great mischief; then wasting the country of Somaysat (H), they pushed on to Sowayda; but Al Mâlek Al Nâsser, lord of Halep, assigning over to them Roha, Harrân, and other places beyond the Euphrates, they desisted from farther ravages.

A.D. 1239. In 637 the Mogols advanced with a design to invade the Rumean territories; but on Gayâtho'ddîn's sending forces into Armenia, they thought proper to desist.

A Turkmân prophet does much mischief. Next year a Turkmân prophet, called Baba, appeared at Amasia, who drew after him multitudes of people by the strange tricks which he performed in order to deceive them. He sent Is-hâk, or Isaak, a disciple, in a doctor's gown, through the other parts of the country of Rûm, to make proselytes among the Turkmâns; who succeeded so well, that at Somasat he collected six thousand horse, besides foot, chiefly of those people. Thus strengthened, they began to propagate their imposture by force, making war upon all who would not say, "There is no God but god Baba, the apostle of God." They slew a great number of the inhabitants, both Moslems and Christians, of Hesno'lmansûr, Kakhtîn, Gargar, and Somaysat, who refused to follow them; they likewise routed all the troops which opposed them in their way to Amasia.

Hereupon Gayâtho'ddîn sent an army against them, in which was a body of Franks; but the Moslems giving way through fear, the Franks placed themselves in the front of the battle, and making a vigorous attack, put the rebels to flight, and killed every man. The two doctors, Baba and Is-hâk, were taken alive and put to death.

Hejra 639. A.D. 1241. In 639 Jormagûn Nowayn advancing into Armenia, as far as Arzen Alrûn, took it by force, killed Senan, its sub-bashâ, with a great number of the inhabitants, and carrying away their children captives, spread desolation through the whole province. Next year soltân Gayâtho'ddîn marched towards the Mogols with a great multitude of men, and military stores, such as had not been known before. Besides his own troops, he was assisted by Greeks, Franks, Georgians, Armenians, and Arabs. The two armies met in a place called Kusadag, belonging to Arzenjân; but, on the first attack, all the auxiliary forces turned their backs and fled. The soltân, astonished at this event,

Moguls take Arzen Alrun.

(H) Or Someysat, the same with Samosat on the Euphrates, to the north of Al Bîr.

fled

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fled likewise to Cæsarea; whence carrying his wives and children to Ankûra, or Ancyra, he there fortified himself.

The Mogols, no less surprised at the flight of the enemy, kept themselves quiet all that day, not daring to pursue, suspecting it was only an artifice to draw them into ambuscades, because they could perceive no reason that such a numerous army had to fly; but as soon as they were informed of the truth of the matter, they penetrated into the country of Rûm, and invested Siwâs; which having surrendered to them, they spared the lives of the inhabitants, but took away all their effects, burnt all the warlike engines they found there, and demolished the city walls. From thence proceeding to Kaysarîyah, or Cæsarea, the citizens opposed them for a few days; but the Moguls, taking the place by storm, put the principal inhabitants to the sword, torturing them in order to discover their riches. *Siwas surrenders.*

After this exploit they returned, carrying the women and children along with them, without entering any farther into the soltân's dominions. The tidings coming to Malatîyah, where our author Abu'l-Faraj and his father then were, Rashîdo'ddîn, its prince, and many of the inhabitants, fled, for fear of the Mogols, who in their passage slew some of them, near the town of Bajûza, ten Persian leagues distant; but without coming nearer the city, proceeded to Arzenjân, which they took by assault, and served in the same manner as they had treated Kaysarîyah. The soltân finding himself in no condition to oppose the enemy, sent ambassadors to desire peace; which was granted him, on condition that he should annually pay a large tribute in money, horses, vests, and other things of value [1]. *Arzenjân forced.* *Soltân pays tribute.*

In 642 Gayâtho'ddîn sent a great army to besiege Tarsûs; but as they were on the point of taking it, news arrived of his death, upon which they retired from before the city in autumn, when there fell very heavy rains. Hejra 642, A.D. 1244.

This prince indulged himself in wine, was idle and loquacious. He led a life very unbecoming his dignity, giving way to pernicious pursuits. He married the daughter of the king of the Georgians; whom however he loved to such a degree, that he had her image stamped upon his coin. The reverse of some was a lion, with the sun over its head. The astrologers told him, that in case he had the *His death and character.*

[1] Abu'lf. p. 313, & seq.

figures

figures engraved which represented his horoscope, he should succeed in all his designs.

His children. He left three sons, Azzo'ddîn, Rocno'ddîn, and Alao'ddîn. The two first by Rumean women, the last by a Georgian. He declared the eldest his successor, appointing for his tutor and atâbek Jalolo'ddîn Kortay, a person of great integrity and rigid chastity [k].

The article of Gayâtho'ddîn, given by D'Herbelot, seems to be taken entirely from Abu'l-Faraj, whom he quotes twice, yet, at the end, puts the name of Khondemîr, as if the whole was extracted from that author.

Greeks, their errors. The Byzantine historians mention this soltân, whom they call Jathatines; but say, he was the son of Azatines, who succeeded his uncle Jathatines; for all this false genealogy, which is common with the Greek writers, it is evident from their own account, that he is the soltân in question; not only as they make him contemporary with John Ducas, surnamed Vatazes, second emperor of Nice, who began his reign in the year 1222; but they give him just such a character as we find in Abu'l-Faraj; viz. that of a slothful prince, who delighted in drunken and debauched company. They say, moreover, his father excelled, in military affairs, all his predecessors; which character can be applicable only to Alao'ddîn.

Tartar invasion according to them. With regard to the transactions of his reign, those historians inform us, that the Tankhari, a nation of Tartars, having invaded his dominions, and defeated his army, he sent to Vatazes, desiring his advice and assistance. Vatazes, accordingly, entered into a league with the soltân, and had an interview with him at Tripolis on the Meander; which river Gayâtho'ddin passed over a bridge, made in haste, with rafts or floats of timber joined. The two princes not only gave their hands to each other, but to all their followers of distinction. They agreed, in the strongest terms, to join their forces against the enemy; but the Tankhari, for a while, suspended the war against the soltân, that they might attack the khalif of Babylon [l].

Hejra 643. A.D. 1245. Azzo'ddîn having succeeded by his father's appointment, the great officers and nobles took the oath of fidelity, and he was prayed for in the pulpits.

Twelfth soltân, Azzo'ddîn, sent for by the khân. Next year ambassadors came from the great khân Oktay, requiring the soltân to come and pay him homage: but he

[k] Abu'lf. Hist. Dynast. p. 319. [l] Georg. Acrop. Niceph. Gregor.

excused

excuſed himſelf; alleging, that as both the Greek and Armenian kings were his enemies, they would ſeize his dominions in his abſence. Mean time he obliged the ambaſſadors with gifts; and, at length, ſent his brother Rocno'ddîn, under the care of Bahao'ddîn, the interpreter, whom he made his atâbek, or tutor. He alſo appointed for his own wazîr Shamſo'ddîn, a learned native of Isfâhân; whoſe credit was ſo great, that he married the ſoltân's mother; an alliance at which, however, the grandees were much offended. This year the great khân died; and, the next, a kuriltay, or grand aſſembly, was called; at which, beſides the Mogol princes, there were preſent many potentates; and, among the reſt, ſoltân Rocno'ddîn, from the country of Rûm. In this grand council Kayûk, eldeſt ſon of the late emperor, was choſen to ſucceed him.

In 645, Kayûk, the great khân, ſent lieutenants into ſeveral parts of his empire; appointing Iljîktay Nowayn for the countries of Rûm, Muſol, Syria, and Gorj. At the ſame time he granted the government of Rûm to ſoltân Rocno'ddîn, and ordered ſoltân Azzo'ddîn to be removed. Next year Rocno'ddîn and the interpreter Bahao'ddîn, arriving, with two thouſand Mogol horſe, to put his decree in execution, ſoltân Azzo'ddîn was adviſed by his wazîr Shamſo'ddîn to oppoſe it, and withdraw to ſome caſtle near the ſea. When his atâbek Kortay was informed of this circumſtance, he ſeized the wazîr, and ſent him to Bahao'ddîn; who immediately diſpatched ſome of the Mogol chiefs to Konîyah, to make him diſcover where his treaſures were; and theſe being obtained, they put him to death. After this execution, the interpreter and Kortay meeting, agreed to divide the dominions between the two brothers. Azzo'ddîn was to have Konîyah, Akſera, Ankûra, or Ancyra, Anatolia, and the reſt of the weſtern provinces: Rocno'ddîn was to poſſeſs Kayſarîyah, Siwâs, Malatîyah, Arzengan, Arzen Al Rûm, and the provinces to the eaſt. They likewiſe allotted Alao'ddîn, the youngeſt, a proper portion for his maintenance; and had money coined in all their names, with this inſcription, "The great kings Azz. Rocn. and Ala [m]."

Hejra 645. A.D. 1247.

depoſed by him.

In 652, ſeveral ambaſſadors came, one after the other, to ſoltân Azzo'ddîn, lord of Rûm; requiring him to go and pay homage to Munkaka Kaan (1). He accordingly ſet out; but hearing, at Siwâs, that the omera or chiefs

Hejra 652. A.D. 1254.

Sent for again.

[m] Abu'lf. Hiſt. Dynaſty, p. 319, & ſeq.

(1) Called alſo Mongo and Mangu Khân.

were

were inclined to place Rocno'ddîn on his throne, he returned in haſte to Konîyah, and diſpatched Alao'ddîn in his room, with letters, ſetting forth, that he had ſent his brother, who was no leſs king than himſelf; but that he could not come, becauſe his atâbek Kortay was dead, and his enemies to the weſt were at war with him: however, that when he was delivered from the fears of them, he would wait on the khân in perſon. Alao'ddîn accordingly ſet out; but died on the way, before he reached the Orda, or place where the khân was encamped.

Attempt againſt Rocno'ddîn.

Azzo'ddîn, conceiving that he ſhould never be ſafe while his brother Rocno'ddîn lived, reſolved to put him to death. This deſign being diſcovered, the omera contrived his eſcape. They dreſſed him in the apparel of a cook's boy; and putting a bowl, with meat in it, on his head, ſent him out of the palace and caſtle, along with certain boys who carried victuals to a neighbouring houſe: then, ſetting him on horſeback, they conducted him to Kayſarîyah; where a great number of omeras repairing to him, they got together an army, and marched towards Konîyah againſt Azzo'ddîn: but the ſoltân, marching out with what troops he had about him, put them to flight; and Rocno'ddîn, being taken priſoner, was confined in the caſtle of Dawalu.

Hejra 653. A.D. 1255.

Oppoſes the Tartars;

In the year following, Bayejû Nowayn, being obliged to remove from the plain of Mugân (K), where he uſed to winter, in order to give place to Hûlakû (L), ſent a meſſenger to ſoltân Azzo'ddîn, requiring ſome place to winter in with his troops: but the ſoltân, inſtead of complying with his requeſt, pretended that he had deſerted from his prince; and, collecting forces, gave him battle at Khano'l Soltân, between Konîyah and Akſera. However, Azzo'ddîn being defeated, Bayeju took his brother out of priſon, and put him in poſſeſſion of all the Rûmean dominions [n].

is overthrown;

It was, doubtleſs, in this battle that Michael Paleologus was preſent, as we are told by the Greek hiſtorians; whom we muſt now follow for a time. Theſe hiſtorians inform us, that, in the year 1255, Paleologus, who had been impriſoned, on ſuſpicion of ſome dangerous deſigns, eſcaped,

[n] Abu'lfed. Hiſt. Dynaſty, p. 329, & ſeq.

(K) Or Mokân, a ſpacious plain in the north part of the province of Adherbijân, towards the mouth of the river Kûr, and the Caſpian Sea.

(L) Who afterwards reigned in Perſia.

and

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and fled to the Turks. It happened, that, while he was at the soltân's court, the Tartars, after having ravaged the greatest part of his dominions, came and besieged the city of Axara. Hereupon the Turks marched out against them, conferring on Paleologus the command of the Greek forces. The Tartars, being repulsed at the first onset by Paleologus, or, as others say, dismayed at sight of such numerous forces, were upon the point of flying, when one of the Turkish generals went over to them, with the troops under his command; an incident which changed the fortune of the field. The Tartars, encouraged by this accession, returned to the charge, and, defeating the Turks in their turn, made a terrible slaughter with their arrows, pursuing them a considerable way. Paleologus, upon this disaster, joined the Peklarpek (M) with his troops; and they two retired, for several days together, with the enemy at their heels, till they arrived at Kastamona, near which that officer resided.

flies to the emperor.

The Tartars now over-ran the country, and the Turkish forces being dispersed, the soltân fled to the emperor; who received him kindly, but could spare him only four hundred men, under the command of Isaac Ducas, surnamed Murtzuflus. The soltân, in requital, gave him the city of Laodicea: which, however, soon returned to the Turks; because the Romans could not defend it. After all, the soltân not being able to oppose the Tartars, obtained peace, by becoming tributary. Mean time the emperor wrote to Paleologus, inviting him to return; his pardon having been obtained by means of the bishop of Kogni (or Konîyah); and soon after his arrival the emperor died, in 1258 [a].

Azzo'ddîn opposes the Mogols in vain.

Abû'l-Faraj does not mention what became of Azzo'ddîn, after he was removed from the throne by Bayejû, the Mogol general; neither does he tell us how he recovered it again; but proceeding as if no such revolution had happened, he informs us, that, in 655, this soltân sent an ambassador to Hûlâkû, to testify his submission, and intreat him to drive Bayejû Nowayn out of his kingdom. Hûlâkû, in answer, ordered that he should divide the Rûmean territories with his brother. Hereupon Azzo'ddîn returned to Konîyah, and Rocno'ddîn went with Bayejû

Hejra 665. A.D. 1257.

[a] Pakhamir, lib. i. cap. 9. Niceph. Gregoras, and others.

(M) Or Beglerbeg; that is, *lord of lords*, the *governors of great provinces*.

to

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to the camp. Azzo'ddîn, being ſtill afraid of this Mogol, employed officers in the parts about Malatîyah and Khartabert, to raiſe an army of Kûrds, Turkmâns, and Arabs; and he took into his ſervice Ahmed Ebn Belâs and Mohammed Ebn Al Sheykh Adi, two commanders of the Kûrds, to whom the ſoltân aſſigned the ſaid cities.

Ebn Sheykh Adi, being intercepted on the way to Khartabert by Angûrk Nowayn, was ſlain, with his followers: and the people of Malatîyah, having taken an oath to Rocno'ddîn, refuſed to receive Ebn Belâs; who thereupon treating them, ill they killed three hundred of his men. With the reſt he fled by Klaudîya (N) towards Amed; where he was ſlain by the lord of Mayaferkîn. Azzo'ddîn appointed in his room one Ali Bahâdr; who, being a reſolute man, the citizens, through fear, admitted him. And he did them great ſervice; for he cleared the country of the Al Jâzi, a tribe of Turkmâns, who uſed in their incurſions to kill the inhabitants, and carry off their children. Theſe he defeated, and took their commander Jutabeg priſoner.

Malatîyah ſubmits.

Mean while Bayeju Nowayn, advancing with his forces, obliged all the caſtles, which had been delivered up, to ſubmit to Rocno'ddîn. Then going to the city of Abolofſtayn, he ſlew about ſix thouſand of the inhabitants, and made the women and children captives.

On his approach to Malatîyah, Ali Bahâdr fled to Kâkhtah; and the citizens, going to meet him with preſents, ſubmitted to Rocno'ddîn; who appointed one of his ſlaves to govern them, named Fakro'ddîn Ayyaz: but as ſoon as Bayejû had gotten beyond the borders of Rûm, in his way to Irâk, Ali Bahâdr returned; and, being denied admittance, beſieged the city. At length, proviſions growing very ſcarce, ſome of the common people opened a gate, by which Ali entered with his Turkmâns. Having thus recovered poſſeſſion of Malatîyah, he caſt ſoltân Rocno'ddîn's governor into priſon, and put a few of the leading men, who oppoſed him, to death.

Dreadful famine there.

At the ſame time the famine was ſo great in the diſtrict of this city, that cats, dogs, and leather, were eaten, for want of food. A friend of the author ſaw in a village a company of women in a houſe cutting pieces of fleſh out of a corpſe which lay before them, and broiling them to eat. Likewiſe another, who baked her dead child; imagining,

(N) The ancient Claudiopolis, on the Euphrates, below Malatîyah.

that

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that his flesh would be better food than that of vermin. In short, Ali Bahâdr, though he subdued the town, could not behold the calamity; but retired to soltân Azzo'ddîn.

In 657, Hûlâkû sent for Azzo'ddîn, soltân of the Rûms, and his brother Rocno'ddîn; who obeying his summons, he went to meet them, expressing great satisfaction at their coming. Then he ordered Azzo'ddîn to reign over the country from Kaysarîyah to the borders of Greater Armenia; and Rocno'ddîn to command from Aksera to the sea-coast bounding the territories of the Franks. After this appointment he began his march for Syria; and, when he drew near the Euphrates, the two brothers, taking their leave, returned with joy to their own dominions [p]. Hejra 657. A.D. 1259. *Empire divided.*

Although the two soltâns went home in good harmony; yet, according to the Greek historians, they did not long continue on this friendly footing. After the death of Theodorus Laskaris, Michael Paleologus, associate in the empire with his son John, having strengthened the frontier places with garrisons, sent an embassy to the Turks to notify his advancement; and, not long after, setting out with the young emperor on a new progress, he received, at Nymphæum, an embassy, with presents, from the soltân; whose affairs were in a very bad condition: for, being threatened with an invasion from the Tartars (or Moguls), every individual, instead of exerting himself for the public safety, thought only of saving his own family, and the governors every where revolted. A.D. 1259.

Paleologus, upon intimation of this disorder, gave the soltân an invitation to come and reside at his court, promising to let him return when his affairs were settled. The soltân's apprehension was occasioned by the news which he received of the arrival of Mâlek (O), with a formidable army. This Malek had fled, it seems, to the emperor before; and Azzo'ddîn was afriad he might escape, and frustrate the design he had of re-establishing his affairs [q]. In another place the same author informs us, that the reason of Azzo'ddîn's applying to the emperor was, because Rukratin had assembled fresh forces [r]. However that be, the soltân accepted of the offer; and, relying on the friendship of Paleologus, retired, with his wife, children, *Azzo'ddîn retires to Michael Paleologus.*

[p] Abu'l-Faraj. p. 332. & seq. Ibid. lib. xiii. cap. 22.

[q] Pakh. lib. ii. cap. 7. 10. 24.

(O) Who this Mâlek was, we are quite at a loss to know, the author having said no more about him. Perhaps he was the soltân's brother, mentioned a little lower down.

his

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his mother (who was a Christian), and his sister, to Constantinople [a].

His ill reception at Constantinople:

Paleologus received him with a great appearance of friendship, and promised in time to furnish him with troops, to recover his kingdom. Meanwhile he suffered the soltân to live entirely at liberty, to sit in his presence, to have his guards, and wear the purple buskins. In July 1261, Constantinople being recovered out of the hands of the Latins, he returned thither from Nice, with his colleague John. Next year he sent ambassadors to Khalau Hûlâkû, prince of the Tartars, in Persia, and another to the soltân of Ethiopia (rather Egypt). As for Azzo'ddîn, he was at Constantinople; where, strolling about to view the streets and public places, which were almost unpeopled, he led a debauched life, with his followers, expecting the performance of the emperor's promise: but all Michael's friendship was only dissimulation; for, being very intent on making an alliance with the Tartars, he sent the soltân's wife and children to Nice, under pretence of greater security; at the same time he actually promised Mary, his natural drughter, to Khalau, who died before she arrived at his court. He afterwards concluded an alliance with Apagan (P).

A.D. 1266.

makes his escape by a stratagem.

The soltân, after a tedious residence at Constantinople, having discovered that the emperor was treating with his enemies, wrote to an uncle who dwelt towards the Euxine sea, on the north side, intreating him to effect his deliverance, by exciting Constantine, king of Bulgaria, and Nogas khân of the Tartars, against Paleologus: in which case, he said, he would endeavour to deliver that prince into their hands. The soltân's uncle having agreed to this proposal, Azzo'ddîn or Azatines, pursuant to leave obtained, repaired to the emperor, who was then in the West, under pretence of visiting that part of his dominions. On their return, within a day's march of mount Hemus, Paleologus, to his great astonishment, understood that the Bulgarians and Tartars had passed the straits, ravaging the country, and massacring the inhabitants. The emperor, who had not forces to oppose them, left the soltân, with his baggage, in the night, and, getting to the sea-side, passed in a bark to his capital. Azatines, with those who had care of the baggage, retired to the fort of Ainé.

[a] Pakh. lib. ii. cap. 24.

(P) Abaga or Abaka Khân, son and successor of Hûlâkû.

Presently

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Presently the enemy, besieging the place, it was at length agreed, that the soltân, and his attendants, should be delivered up; on condition that they withdrew, and suffered the rest to retire, with the baggage, to the port. These terms they accepted: and the next day came succours by sea; with whom they returned to Constantinople. The emperor, enraged at their conduct, punished the chief of them; and, imprisoning the wife, mother, daughter, and sister, of the soltân, with their children, confiscated all their effects [u]. The Greek historians say, that Azatines never returned into his own dominions; but died, soon after his escape, in the country to the north of the Caspian sea.

Historians disagree in several respects, with regard to these two soltâns.

Historians, both eastern and western, disagree so much with regard to this soltân, that their accounts can hardly be reconciled. The Greeks and Abu'l-Faraj agree in making Azzo'ddîn soltân of Koniya; and, from all circumstances of the history, he must have been so, at least for a term of years: but D'Herbelot, after the Persian historians, makes Rocno'ddîn the soltân; possibly, because he was supported by the Mogols, and continued his reign after Azzo'ddîn was expelled; yet he recites from them only two transactions of his reign. He informs us, that Rocno'ddîn Solymân, having sent his brother Alao'ddîn Kaykobâd to the court of the great khân of the Mogols, to transact the affairs of the Seljûkians, that prince gained the favour of the khân by his address; and returned with such ample powers, that Solymân, finding himself almost wholly deprived of his authority by Kaykobâd, bribed one of his domestics to poison him: that Abâka Khân, being informed of this ill office which Solymân had done his brother, ordered him to be taken off in the same manner, in the year 664, after he had reigned twenty years. He left for his successor his son Kay Khosraw, who had his confirmation from the same khân [w].

Hejra 664. A.D. 1265.

It is evident, from the testimony of Abu'l-Faraj, a subject of the Seljûkian empire, strengthened by that of the Greek writers, that Azzo'ddîn immediately succeeded his father Gayatho'ddîn. It appears also, that soon after Rocno'ddîn's being set up by the Mogols, and the monarchy divided between them, they both reigned at the same time for several years, each in his respective territories: that, at length, Azzo'ddîn, being expelled by the

[u] Pakh. lib. ii. cap. 24. lib. iii. cap. 3. 25. lib. xiii. cap. 22.
[w] D'Herb. p. 822. art. Solyman Ben Caikhosrou.

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Mogols or Tatars, Rocno'dîn reigned alone over the whole. It seems therefore but just, that Azzo'ddîn should be reckoned among the soltâns, as well as Rocno'ddîn; and the rather, as we find him named first on the coin mentioned by Abu'l-Faraj: but whether we divide the reigns of the two brothers, ending that of Azzo'ddîn with his last abdication, or make but one reign of both, it must be observed, that Khondemir (or whatever author D'Herbelot took these few particulars from) disagrees with Abu'l-Faraj in two or three very essential points: 1. According to him, there were no more than two brothers, Rocno'ddîn and Alaoddîn; whereas Abu'l-Faraj affirms there were three, of whom Azzo'ddîn was the eldest. 2. He says, that Alao'ddîn was sent to the khân by Rocno'ddîn. Abu'l-Faraj says, Azzo'ddîn sent both him and Rocno'ddîn on that embassy. 3. He affirms, that Alao'ddîn returned into Rûm, and was there poisoned by Rocno'ddîn. Abu'l-Faraj asserts, on the contrary, that Alao'ddîn died on the road to Tartary.

Instances thereof.

With regard to this Alaoddîn, which-ever death he died, he may have been one of the Alao'ddîns mentioned in the Turkish history, under whom the father of Othmân served; for he was a king or soltân of the Seljûkian dominions, which came to his share, as appears by the above mentioned coin.

Anatolia over-run by the fugitive Turks.

In the reigns of these two soltâns, the Roman empire, which, ever since the death of Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khosraw, slain by Theodorus Laskaris, in 1210, seems to have been free from the depredations of the Turks, began to be invaded by them with greater fury than ever; not so much from inclination, which governed their former invasions, as necessity, which obliged them to it in their own defence: for as the dissensions between the two brothers gave encouragement to the governors towards the borders of the Seljûkian dominions to declare themselves independent; so, on the invasion of the Mogols, the Turks, to avoid them, retired westward, in great multitudes, under different commanders; who, the better to secure themselves against those formidable enemies, and gain new possessions in the place of those they had abandoned, fell, with all their force at once, on every side of the Roman territories in Asia, which then were in a most defenceless state; and, in the compass of a few years, subdued the whole, as will be shewn more at large in the next reign.

Kay Khosraw III. son of Rocno'ddîn Solymân, being but an infant when he ascended the throne in 664, Abaka Khân,

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Khân, who married his mother, appointed Pervaneh Kashi his tutor (or atâbek). This soltân reigned eighteen years; at the end of which, in 682, he was killed, by order of Ahmed Khân, who succeeded Abaka Khân; and Massûd, son of Kaykaws, was afterwards appointed his successor by Argûn Khân, who succeeded Ahmed [z]. *Thirteenth soltân Kay Khosraw III.*

This is all that D'Herbelot furnishes from the Oriental authors, relating to this prince, whom he reckons the twelfth soltân; nor does Abu'l-Faraj mention any of the soltâns after Azzo'ddîn, uncle to Kay Khosraw. However, we meet with a passage, which we shall cite, as it relates to Pervaneh, the soltân's tutor, and the affairs of his kingdom.

That writer informs us, that, in the year 675, Bendokdâr, soltân of Egypt, excited by some fugitives, resolved to invade the territories of Rûm; which design king Leûn, son of the king of Armenia (Hatem), being informed of, sent notice to the Mogol commanders who were in that country. But this advice being represented as false, by Berwânah, who wished well to Bendokdâr, and hated the Armenian king, they paid no regard to it: so that the Egyptians came upon them at a time when they were so overcome with liquor that they could not mount their horses: and as, by their yasa, or laws, they are obliged not to fly till they have faced the enemy, they gave them battle; in which all the great Mogul officers were slain, besides most of their men, and two thousand out of three thousand Gorj, who were with them. The Egyptians likewise lost a great number on their side. Berwânah fled to a castle for security. Bendokdâr, after his victory, encamped in a place called Kaykobâd, near Kaysarîyah, where he remained fifteen days, without committing hostilities, or plundering the country. Nor did he enter that city more than once; saying, that he came not to destroy the country, but to deliver its lord from slavery. Hejra 675, A.D. 1276. *Soltân of Egypt invades Rûm.*

As soon as Abâka Khân was informed of this misfortune, he assembled forces, and marched into the country of the Rûms: but Bendokdâr, knowing himself unable to withstand him, had retired into Syria before he arrived. Berwânah went to meet the khân, who received him without any shew of resentment, and took him with him in his return to the Tak (Q); under pretence of consulting what *retires on the khân's approach.*

[z] D'Herb. p. 239. & 127. art. Caikhosru Troisieme, & Argoun Khan.

(Q) Al Tâk is the place of encamping, or where he encamped.

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number of forces would be sufficient to guard the country of Rûm against the Egyptians. Being arrived in the camp, the khân made a magnificent feast, wherein he plied Berwânah with mare's milk (R), for he drank no wine. At length, the latter going out to draw water, Abâka gave the sign to his attendants, who followed, and cut him in pieces. This was the fate of a traitor: nor did Bendokdâr long survive him; for he died at Hems, in Syria, in his return to Egypt; some say of a wound received by an arrow, in the engagement with the Mogols; others, by poison, infused by one of his domestics, in the mare's milk, which he called for (S), to drink [y].

Miserable state of the Greeks in Asia.

Having nothing farther to say of the East, let us turn westward, and view the miserable condition of the Greeks; unable to resist the power of the Turks, who, like an inundation, suddenly overwhelmed them. As we have already mentioned the defenceless state of the empire at this juncture, it will be proper to shew by what means it came to be reduced to such a weak condition. To do this the more effectually, it may be necessary to take the matter a little higher. Although, on the accession of Theodorus Laskeris to the throne, the empire of Nice was confined to the narrow bounds of only three cities, Nice, Prusa, and Philadelphia; yet affairs were managed with such prudence, that the state was secure against all its enemies. The better to oppose the Franks, who had taken Constantinople, and were masters of the sea, the ministers made peace with the Turks; paying them yearly a large sum, and then turned all their forces against the former. After they had done with them, they applied themselves to fortify the mountains, in spite of all the endeavours of the Turks to prevent them. They built forts, committing the care of them to the natives of the country; and thus secured the empire on that side.

As the people who inhabited those mountains were inclinable to change sides, and did not care to run any risk by resisting the enemy, the emperors attached them to their interest, by exempting them from certain taxes, and bestowing considerable bounties on the principal persons

[y] Abu'l-Faraj. p. 358. & seq.

(R) The chief liquor used by the people of Tartary; it is called kumis, and is strong and pleasant.

(S) He was fourth soltân of the Bahrîyan mamlûks, who were slaves from Tatary. He was called also Bîbars Al Salehi, *Famous for his Victories.*

among

among them, who, by those largesses, became very rich. Their zeal for their country increased with their wealth: so that they made it their business to surprise the enemy in the night, carrying off much plunder; and chose rather to prevent their coming, than wait for them. The care which was taken of the fortresses had this happy effect; and that those who guarded them might not be tempted to desert them, there were troops in the neighbourhood, ready to support them [z].

By these prudent regulations, the affairs of the Greeks were so prosperous in the East, that when Michael Paleologus returned from Nice to Constantinople, upon its being taken from the Latins in 1260, Asia Minor, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, the Greater and Capatian Phrygias, with Karia, were under the obedience of the Romans, and paid them tribute [a]. A.D. 1260. *to what owing.*

But after Michael had removed the seat of his empire, and the inhabitants, especially those who had been in command, were returned, the people who possessed the mountains were exceedingly weakened; and, no longer receiving any succours, were themselves obliged to sustain the weight of the war. To make the matter still worse, the affairs of the empire (in Europe) falling afterwards into a bad state, Michael Paleologus, by the advice of Kadenus, governor of Constantinople, stripped those people, who were rich, of their effects, and, allowing each forty crowns pension, ordered the rest of the revenues arising from the lands, which amounted to considerable sums, to be brought to the treasury: which ill treatment diminished their strength, and damped their courage.

The emperor, in all likelihood, was the more easily induced to take this step, as he apprehended no danger from the side of the Turks; whom he kept at peace by continual treaties, and who were too much employed by the Tartars to give him any disturbance. But that which seemed to promise most security, proved most pernicious to his interest; for shortly after, by an unforeseen event, the Turks crouding westward, to avoid the army of the enemy, and being too numerous for the country, in order to invade the Roman empire; or, to speak in the words of our author, the most valiant among the Turks, finding, after being vanquished by the Tartars, that they had no other resource but their arms, retired into the mountains, *Turks forced westward.*

[z] Pakh. lib. i. cap. 2, 3. [a] Dukas, cap. 2.

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and committed robberies. With this view, they assembled in great numbers, and attacked the Romans; who, being weak, were obliged to submit.

Seize the mountains. They would have suffered themselves to be quite driven out of the country, if the pensions which they still received had not restrained them. The desire of preserving that little which was left, induced them to defend the places and implore the assistance of Roman troops, when they were hard pressed: but then they never exposed themselves in sallies, or battles in the open field; and as soon as those salaries were retrenched, some of the soldiers joined the enemy, and the rest deserted their posts.

The Turks, having thus become masters of those parts, made incursions through the country, plundering it at at pleasure; and extremely incommoded the Roman forces, who were continually harrassed between them in the East, and the Franks in the West [b].

A.D. 1266. As the emperor had not forces enough to divide them, and thought it of the greatest importance to preserve that part of his dominions which lay in Europe, he employed them chiefly against the last enemy, who threatened Constantinople itself. Thus the East came to be neglected; and, being destitute of troops, as well as garrisons, was exposed to the ravages of the Turks: so that about the time

The country defenceless;

Soltân Azzo'ddîn made his escape from Ainum, the affairs of that country were in dreadful confusion, especially about the river Meander, where the Turks had seized many towns and monasteries: but John, the despot, repairing thither in time, saved the chief of them, and secured Tralles, Karyster, and other advanced places. He likewise prevented the ruin of the Magedonians, those expert archers, who were in danger of being subdued, for want of the forces which had been called away to the defence of the West. The Turks, intimidated by the vigour with which the despot proceeded, offered him their prisoners, and demanded a peace, which was granted.

oppressed by taxes; But while the emperor by his arms saved towns on one side, he lost whole nations and provinces on the other, by his exactions; for he laid such heavy taxes on the Mariandines, Bucellarians, and Paphlagonians, either to pay his foreign troops, or keep those people in subjection, that he quite ruined the country, and obliged the inha-

[b] Pakh. lib. i. cap. 5, 6.

bitants

bitants to deliver up the fortresses, and put themselves under the dominion of the Turks, in hopes of better usage [c].

The affairs of the Franks likewise requiring the presence of the despot in Europe, the country about the Meander, as well as the rest of the East, became exposed again to the depredations of the Turks. The mountain, defended by the forts of Abala, Kaasta, and Mazedon, and the once famous province of Karia, also laid open to their incursions. Trakhium, Stadia, Strabilon, and the lands lying opposite to the island of Rhodes, which, but a little time before, had been reduced under the power of the Romans, were become the retreat of the enemy, from whence they made their inroads. The people inhabiting the northern coast of Asia Minor, the Mariandines, Molinians, and the generous Enetes, were oppressed in a deplorable degree: the fortresses of Kromitus, Amastris, and Tios, which are near the sea, had nothing left of their ancient splendor; and must have been destroyed, but for the advantage of their situation, which made it easy to relieve them. In short, Anatolia was so over-run by the enemy, that the Sangarius served as the frontier, and there was no possibility of travelling to Heraclea by land. This wretched state of the East was owing to the treachery of the men in command; who, that they might have the better opportunity to enrich themselves, made the emperor believe the losses which had happened in those parts were so inconsiderable, that it was not worth his while to cross the sea to repair them: which false report, was what contributed mostly to its ruin [d].

A.D. 1269. *is over-run by the Turks.*

However, no steps were taken, for several years, to put a stop to the progress made by the Turks, till Michael, reflecting on the ruin of Karia, Antioch, and the neighbouring country, and on the necessity there was of sending succours to Kaystro, Priene, Milesus, and Magedon, detached Andronicus, his son, and associate in the empire, with a considerable army, accompanied by a great many persons of distinction. In his march along the Meander, he beheld the ruins of Tralles, formerly a famous city; and, being charmed with the beauty of its situation, resolved to rebuild it, and give it the name either of Andronicopolis or Paleologopolis. As the masons were at work, they found a prophecy cut on a piece of

A.D. 1280. *Tralles rebuilt.*

[c] Pakh. lib. iii. cap. 21, 22, 28. [d] Ibid. lib. iv. cap. 27.

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marble, declaring, that, in time to come, a prince should raise this city out of its ruins, and build it with greater magnificence than ever.

A false oracle.

Andronicus, applying the oracle to himself, in hopes of the long life which was promised to its restorer, undertook to rebuild it, and set about the business with great earnestness. But this prophecy was no other than an illusion, which proved the death of an infinite number of people. When the walls were finished along the Meander, no fewer than thirty-five thousand adventurers came to inhabit the place. However, they were scarce warm in their houses, when they found themselves suddenly besieged by an army of Turks, commanded by Mantakhia, surnamed Salpace; which, in their language, says our author, signifies a *strong man*. As the soil afforded no springs, and there were neither fountains, cisterns, nor wells, in the place, Libadarius, the grand cartulary, who commanded there, knew not what measures to pursue. The inhabitants would have been content, though reduced to eat vermin, and even dead bodies, could they have found drink with such loathsome food. Many died for thirst; and others, to avoid that death, went to beg relief from the enemy, who drove them back, or put them to death.

The city is quickly destroyed.

Those within relying on the oracle, and the hopes of succour, the Turks resolved to make a last effort; and, approaching the wall, sapped it under cover of their bucklers. When they had fixed the shorings, they once more summoned the besieged to surrender; and, on their refusal, set fire to the wood: a breach being thus made, they took the city by storm, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. They had before taken Nîssa; which, in like manner, fell into their hands, for want of forces to relieve it. What is most strange, the young emperor was at Nympheum all the while they were performing those two exploits: after which they ravaged and plundered Anatolia without controul.

A.D. 1281.

Bithynia laid waste.

The Turks, encouraged by these successes, crossed the river Sangarius, and laid waste the country; and the emperor Michael, raising all the forces he could assemble, in haste set forward to stop their inroads. When he beheld the dreadful desolation which they had made, he was struck with the deepest anguish. On this occasion he told the patriarch of Alexandria, that the attempts of certain persons to excite his subjects against him, by condemning his conduct, had obliged him to neglect the care of the provinces,

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vinces, in order to look to his own safety; and that the governors, to whom he had intrusted those distant parts of his dominions, had concealed the distress they were in, either because they had been gained over by presents, or through fear of being punished for their neglect.

They found so great a quantity of fruit under the trees, that it served to subsist one half of the army. The Turks retired as fast as the emperor advanced: who wanting the necessary conveniencies for pursuing them in the hilly countries, whither they had retreated, was content to secure the frontiers, by repairing the old forts, and building others in those places where the Sangarius was most narrow and fordable. He likewise gave orders to fortify the river, for a certain space, with trees; whose branches were so thick and closely intermixed, that a snake could not make its way through them [e]. *The frontiers strengthened.*

Massûd, surnamed Gayatho'ddîn, was the son of Azzo'ddîn Kaykaws, son of Gayatho'ddîn Kay Khosraw. This prince had but little authority left him in the dominions which his predecessors had conquered in Asia Minor, and the Greater Armenia: for, in effect, those countries were entirely subject to Argûn Khân, from whom he received the investiture of them [f]. D'Herbelot, who gives this short account of him, at the end of an article relative to a different prince, neither mentions the time when he began nor ended his reign: but in the table or list of the soltâns of Rûm, his death is placed in 687. It must be observed, that there was an interregnum of one year, at least of some months, from the death of Kay Khosraw, to the death of Ahmed; and it does not appear when Argûn Khân invested Massûd: but supposing it to have been in his first year, or 683, then Massûd must have reigned but four or five years at most [g]. *Fourteenth soltân Massûd.* Hejra 687. A.D. 1288.

This is all the information which has yet come to our hands, from the Oriental historians, concerning this prince: as for the Greek writers, their memoirs are so confused and imperfect, that we can deliver nothing with certainty from them. We find no more relating to Rukratin, or Rocno'ddîn, than what has been already taken notice of, although he must have reigned several years after his brother's expulsion; nor any mention of Kay Khosraw, who reigned after him for the space of eighteen years. They tell us, indeed, that the son of Azetines, or Azzo'ddîn, *His story imperfect.*

[e] Pakh. lib. vi. cap. 20, 21. 29. Sqqud, fil. de Mohammed, sub. fin.

[f] D'Herb. p. 562. art. Massoud, fil. de Mohammed, sub. fin.

[g] Ibid. p. 800.

who

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who retired to Constantinople, and whom they call Mâlek, did, a long time after his retreat from thence with his father, recover his dominions. We cannot positively say that this Mâlek was the Massûd of the Oriental authors, although there are circumstances in his story which favour that opinion.

Obtains the kingdom. The historian who gives the best account of this matter, is Pakhamîr. He says that Mâlek, whom he likewise calls Malek Masur, fled, along with his father Azatines, from the castle of Aine into the country beyond the Euxine sea. There they wandered together for some years; till after the death of Azatines, he crossed the sea into Asia Minor, and, arriving at Thymenum, gained the favour of Argûn, khân of the Tatars. By these means he became master of the country, as his proper inheritance; and reduced to his obedience the principal Turkish commanders. But Amur, father of Ali, having assembled a considerable army of Tatars, fell upon Mâlek, and reduced him to such extremity, that he resolved to go with his wife and children, *Driven out.* and submit himself to the emperor. He repaired first to Heraclea of Pontus, and then to Constantinople [h]. The story thus far is related somewhat differently by the same author, in another place. He there says, that Mâlek, a long time after his father's death, crossing the Euxine, stopped at Kastamona; where, having gained the goodwill of the Tatars, he made an attempt to recover his father's kingdom; but having been defeated by Amur, he retired to Heraclea, and thence to Constantinople [i].

Recovers it again. The emperor Andronicus, who succeeded Michael, being then at Nympheum, Mâlek left his wife at Constantinople, and crossed over into Asia. But when he was near Endromit, he began to suspect the emperor's friendship; and observing that his conductor had too watchful an eye over him, complained openly of it, and quitted him; declaring, that if any body offered to stop him, he would repulse him vigorously. He retired to the Turks; and having, in a short time, acquired a more illustrious reputation, and more considerable forces than he had before, Amur became so much afraid of him, that he came with his seven sons, and humbly submitted to him. But while he lay prostrate at Mâlek's feet, to implore his clemency, *Slays Amur.* that prince reproached him with his former treachery; and having taken a glass of wine, as if to drink, extended

[h] Pakh. lib. x. cap. 25. [i] Ibid. lib. xiii. cap. 22.

his

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his hands: on which signal those in waiting drew their swords, and slew Amur, with his sons.

However, one escaped, named Ali, who resolved to perish rather than not revenge the death of his father and brothers. With this view he gathered a considerable number of Turks; and ranging the country after the manner of robbers, it was Mâlek's ill fortune at length to fall in his way; for as his horse ran full speed, he threw his rider, who at the same instant was run through by his enemy. *Is slain by Ali.*

Ali was so elated at this success, that, assembling some troops, he began to ravage the Roman territories; into which the river Sangarius, by a wonderful accident (T), gave him admittance. Ali and Nastratius his brother, had been a long time with the Romans as hostages; and having gained the affections of the Turks, who dwelt about Kastamona, they committed many acts of hostility against the people who inhabited the borders of the Euxine sea, and the river Sangarius, without daring to advance farther [k].

Massûd was succeeded by his nephew Kaykobâd. Kaykobâd, the last soltân of Rûm, was the son of Faramorz, son of Kaykaws; and succeeded his uncle Massûd, under the authority of Gazân Khân, who confirmed or invested him in the dominions of his ancestors, in the year 687 (U); but having revolted against that prince some A.D. 1288. *Fifteenth Soltân Kaykobâd.*

[k] Pakh. lib. x. cap. 25.

(T) The accident which gave Ali a passage over the Sangarius, was this. In the month of March, that river, deserting the foundations of the banks, made by the emperor Michael Paleologus, resumed its ancient bed, where the emperor Justinian had built a bridge; and although the river Melan took its place, yet it had not water sufficient to fill its channel. Afterwards the Sangarius, being greatly swelled with the rains, changed its course a second time, carrying with it such a vast quantity of gravel, mud, and earth, that it might be crossed on foot. Those who garrisoned the fortifications, seeing themselves exposed, by this alteration, to the inroads of the enemy, withdrew. A month after, the river took its usual channel; as if it had left it only to disperse the garrisons, and favour the incursions of the enemy (1).

(U) D'Herbelot, in another place, p. 363, art. Gazan Khân, puts it in 702, which is two years after the end of his reign, and of the Seljûkian dynasty.

(1) Pakhamir, lib. xiii. cap. 22.

years

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years after, the Mogols deprived him of all his dominions; then seizing his person, put him to death; and, at the same time, an end to this last branch and dynasty of the Seljûkians[1].

This happened, according to the table of the Seljûkian princes given by D'Herbelot, in the year 705 of the Hejra, or of Christ 1300. The Greek historians make no mention of this soltân, with whom they had no transactions: the Turks, whom they were at that time engaged in war with, having been the Seljûk commanders; who, taking advantage of the distractions caused by the Mogol invasion, threw off their dependence on the soltân.

Philantropenus rebels:

In order to repress their progress in the Român territories, the emperor Andronicus made Alexis, surnamed Philantropenus (who was his cup-bearer, and second son of Tarkoniates, the protovestiary,) governor of Asia Minor and Lydia. Philantropenus, having then under his command the troops of Kândia, and at length all the armies of the East, displayed so much valour, and gained so many victories, that, during his government, which continued a long time, he restored the affairs of the empire in the East; and at the same time, by his great liberality and address, gained the affection both of the Romans and their enemies. In all his expeditions he acquired much wealth; but gave the greatest part of it away in presents and rewards. Of this liberality we shall give an instance: near Meladun there was a fort, called the Fort of the Two Little Hills, where the principal wife of Salampaces, lately deceased, had retired with inestimable treasures. As it was not possible to take the place by force, Philantropenus, making use of art to gain his purpose, thought to deceive that lady by secret promises of marriage. After she had rejected his proposal, perceiving that there were posts driven into a little lake which washed the walls of the fort, he ordered planks to be fastened to them, with ropes, and built towers on them; at the same time covering the rest of the lake with vessels filled with soldiers, and military engines, he quickly became master of the place, and all the riches, which he distributed among his followers. These persuaded him to revolt; but Libadarius, governor of Neokastrum, Lydia, and Sardes, marching against him at Nympheum, he was betrayed by the Kandiots; they seized him at the head of his army, and delivered him into the hands of that commander, who immediately ordered

A.D. 1296.

defeated by Libadarius.

[1] D'Herb. p. 240. art. Caikobad.

his

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his eyes to be put out. His troops, which were very numerous, consisting of Turks as well as Romans, fled; while Libadarius, with his small force, made a great slaughter of them.

Greek affairs mend.

The Turks, some time after, to revenge the disgrace of this defeat, assembling in great numbers, laid waste the whole country, from the Euxine sea to that of Rhodes. To put a stop to these disorders, the emperor sent over John Tarkoniates with money and troops, although he was an obstinate abettor of the schism which then prevailed in the church. Tarkoniates, by his conduct, justified the emperor's confidence in his integrity: he brought the soldiery to a proper regulation, by preferring poor men of merit to rich cowards; and obliging those to do duty, who, presuming on their wealth, despised the orders of their commanders. By this discipline, in a short time, he raised a numerous army, and equipped a powerful fleet, with which he had such extraordinary success, both by land and sea, that he soon restored the affairs of the East. But they were ruined again, by the negligence and bad conduct of those who succeeded him; for the money, appointed for payment of the soldiers, being misapplied, the troops dwindled away by degrees, and left the country open once more to the incursions of the enemy.

Relapse anew.

Rise of Othmân.

Among the commanders who headed different armies of Turks, and invaded the empire in different parts at the same time, Othmân was one; who, from a small beginning, in a few years laid the foundation of a mighty empire, which rose out of the ruins of the Seljûkian dynasty [m].

[m] Abu'lf. Excerpt. ad fin. Vitæ Saladin. edit Schultens, p. 57.

CHAP.

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CHAP. VIII.

The History of the Moguls and Tartars from the Time of Jenghiz Khân.

SECT. I.

A Description of Western Tartary, as divided at present among the three Branches of Mungls or Moguls.

Division of Tatary. GREAT Tatary or Tartary, is divided into East and West. The Eastern Tatary is possessed by several nations, who being subject to the Manchews, at present masters of China, go by that general name. The Western Tatary, which is considerably more extensive than the other, is in like manner occupied by a great number of nations or tribes of people, who are called Mungls or Mungals by themselves, and Moguls or Tatars indifferently by other nations.

These Mungls or Moguls, after various revolutions, the most remarkable of which will be related in the following history, became latterly divided into three great bodies, under different sovereigns. One retained the name of the Mungl simply; the second took that of Kalkas; and the third assumed the appellation of Aluths or Eluths: and among these three Mungl powers is all the Western Tartary divided: so that at present Western Tartary may be said to fall under a tripartite division. However, it must be observed, that as the country of the two first of these three Mogul branches, as well as that part properly called Eastern Tartary, are subject to China, therefore some authors, particularly the Jesuits, who have lately given us the history and description of that empire, divide Great Tartary in general into nearly two equal parts, by assigning Mount Altay for the western limit of Eastern Tartary.

SECT. II.

Country of the Mungls properly so called.

Country of Mungls. THE country of the Mungls or Mungals, called by the European geographers Mongalia, is bounded on the east by Eastern Tartary; on the south by the Chinese wall;

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wall; on the west and north-west by the Kobi or Great Desart, and country of the Kalkas, from which it is divided by the Karû, or limits fixed by the late emperor of China Kang-hi; and on the north by the Kalkas, and part of Eastern Tartary. This is a very large region, situated between the 124th and 142d degrees of eastern longitude, and between the 38th and 47th degrees of latitude: so that it is length, from the borders of Eastern Tartary in the east, to the parts over-against Ninghya, in China, to the west, about three hundred leagues; and about two hundred in breadth from north to south, although in some places it is narrower [a].

The part of Tatary, within this division, has been the scene of the greatest actions performed both by the eastern and western Tatars. Here the great empire of Jenghîz Khân and his successors had its rise; here the empires of Kitay and Karakitay were founded; and here the present empire of the eastern Tatars or Manchews (now in possession of China) had its beginning. Here, for several ages, bloody wars subsisted, and many battles were fought, which decided the fate of these monarchies. Here all the riches of the southern Asia, at several times, were amassed and dissipated. Lastly, in these desarts, for a time, arts and sciences were cultivated, and many populous cities flourished: but at present they are all destroyed [b]; nor do any signs of wealth remain, which may serve to evince the once opulent condition of the country.

Mountains and rivers.

These territories of the Mungls are full of mountains, especially in the south parts adjoining to China, and interspersed with rivers. Among these may be reckoned the Whangho, which, passing out of China, surrounds the country of Ortûs, and then enters the empire again in the province of Shensi; the Shantû, which enters Pe-che-li towards the sea; and the Sira Muran, which, rising to the north of the Shantû, runs east, and then turning south, passes through Lyau-tong by the name of Lyau. There are several lakes in this country, but none remarkable for their magnitude.

Division into standards.

The countries of the Mungls are divided into several territories or districts, according to the tribes which possess them. But since they have put themselves under the protection of the emperor of China, they have been divided into forty-nine districts called shassaks, that is *banners* or *standards*,

[a] Du Halde's Descript. of China and Tartary, vol. ii. p. 249. 261. Engl. fol. edit.

[b] Collect. Trav. 4to. vol. iv. p. 367.

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standards, under so many princes or chiefs. The situation of these territories may be considered as they respect the four gates in the great wall of China, viz. Hi-fong-kew, Kû-pe-kew, Chang-kay-kew (these three in the province of Pe-che-li), and Sha-hew-kew, in Shan-si.

First course. Passing north from the gate Hi-fong-kew, we soon arrive in the countries of Karchid, Tumet, Ohan, Nayman, and Korchin.

Karchin. Karchin, which begins at the said gate (A), is divided into two districts, called standards; the most remarkable place here is Chahan Suberhan Hotun. It is by far the best belonging to the Mungls; for, as the present princes of it were originally Chinese, they have brought thither many of their countrymen, who have built towns, and improved the lands. Here are likewise mines, some of excellent in, with large forests of fine timber; by which the great ancestor of the present family got immense riches. Karchin is forty-two great French leagues from north to south, but much larger from east to west: and here are the emperor of China's fine houses of pleasure, near which the late Kang-hi frequently hunted, and usually spent his summer, especially at Je-ho, about forty-leagues from Pe-king [c].

Korchin. Korchin (Y) is divided into ten standards, including the countries of Turbeda and Chaley or Chalayr. The principal residence of the Korchin Tatars is along the river Queyler (Z), and their possessions extend to the Sira Muren; but they have neither springs for drink, nor wood for fuel, which they supply by wells, and dung of cattle. The principal point of Turbeda is Haytahan Pira; the Chaley Tatars dwell by the Nonni Ula. So that Korchin, from north to south, contains almost four degrees, extending six leagues to the north of Haytahan; but it does not exceed three degrees four minutes from east to west.

Nayman. The country of Nayman contains but one banner or standard, and begins from the south side of Sira Muren; its principal north point being Topin-tala [d].

Ohan. Ohan is chiefly inhabited along the river Narkoni Pira, where some rivulets, as the Shaka-kol fall into it. On this side the latitude of 41 degrees 15 minutes are seen the ruins of a city called Orpan or Kurban Suberhan Hotun, on the little river Nûchûka or Nuchaka, which falls into

[c] Du Halde, ibid. p. 249, & seq. [d] Ibid. 249. 264.

(A) Karchin signifies the *Black Tribe.*

(Z) Lat. 46° 17′, long. 4° 22′ east of Pe-king.

(Y) That is the *Red Tribe.*

the

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the Talin Ho. Nayman and Ohan, though far leſs, are yet much better than Korchin, being interſperſed with ſhrubby hills, which furniſh wood for fuel, and abound with game, eſpecially quails. Theſe three countries, with Turbeda, are ſandy, and extremely cold.

Tumet is divided between two banneret princes, and inhabited chiefly beyond the river Subarhan, where appear the ruins of Modun Hotun. This country extends ſouthward to the great wall of China; eaſtward to the paliſade incloſing Lyau-tong; and northward to Halha or Hara Paychang. *Tumet.*

2. From the gate Ku-pe-kew we enter upon the territories formerly part of Korchin and Onhiot, but now converted to a foreſt, where the emperor hunts, and has ſeveral fine ſummer-houſes. Farther north are the countries of Onhiot, Kechikten, Parin, Sharot, Uchû Muchin, Arukorchin, and Abuhanar. *Second courſe.*

Onhiot is divided into two ſtandards of two princes, on the river Inkin. *Onhiot.*

Parin, divided alſo into two ſtandards, has its principal habitation on the Hara Muren, which falls into the Sira Muren. This territory is larger than Onhiot, but in other reſpects like it, the ſoil being but indifferent. The princes of theſe countries are allied to the imperial family of China, and are regulos of the firſt and ſecond order [e]. *Parin.*

Kechikten or Keſikten, is divided into two ſtandards, and has its principal habitation on a ſmall river, which runs north-eaſt into the Sira Muren. *Kechikten.*

Uchu Muchin or Utſi Muſin, has two ſtandards along the Hulakar or Hulgar Pira; its prince is a prime regulo. *Uchu Muchin.*

Sharot, divided into two ſtandards likewiſe, is inhabited chiefly towards the confluence of the Laban Pira and Sira Muren. *Sharot.*

Arukorchin has but one banner, which reſides on the river Arukondulen. *Arukorchin.*

Abuhanar has two ſtandards, and is beſt inhabited about the Taal Nor or lake of Taal. *Abuhanar.*

Within this ſecond diviſion, almoſt due north from Ku-pe-kew, we meet with ſome towns, and the ruins of ſeveral conſiderable cities, as Ilan Hotun, Poro Hotun, Kurtu Palhaſſun, and Chau Nayman Sume Hotun, all upon the river Shanghtu or Shantu. The laſt of theſe places ſeems to have been the city of Shantu, called by the Chineſe Kay-ping-fu, whoſe ruins Gerbillon ſaw in 1691 [f]. It was *Ruins of cities.* *Shang-tu.*

[e] Du Halde, p. 249, & ſeq. [f] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 335.

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built by Koblay Khân, the fifth Mungl emperor, and grandson of Jenghîz Khân, who removed the imperial seat thither, in order to be nearer his new conquests; and served as the summer residence of his successors in China, who in winter lived at Khân-balik, or Pe-king.

Third course. 3. Passing out of the gate Chang-kya-kew, we enter on a country which was conquered by the emperor Kang-hi, and is his property. These lands, and all the rest along the Chinese wall as far as Hi-fong-kew, are occupied by farmers belonging to his majesty, the princes, and several Tatar lords. Here are Mungl Tatars also of different countries, ranged under three standards, and commanded by officers appointed by the emperor, therefore not reckoned among the forty-nine Mungl banners.

Farther to the north of Chang-kya-kew are the countries of the Mungl princes of Whachit, Sonhiot, Sabahay, and Twinchûz.

Whachit. Whachit is divided into two standards near the river Chikir or Chirin Pira.

Sonhiot. Sonhiot has two standards, and the principal habitation is near a lake.

Abahay. Abahay is divided into two standards, which encamp about some lakes or meers, the southernmost whereof is called Siretu-huchin.

Twinchûz. Twinchûz contains but one banner or standard near the Orgun Alin or mountain Orgun.

Fourth course. 4. From the gate of Sha-hû-kew we enter on the emperor's lands. In this country Hûhû Hotun or Khûkhû Hotun is most remarkable. Here inhabit the chiefs of two Tatar banners, called also Tumet, who are appointed by the emperor. Hûhû Hotun is the capital of all the country of the proper Mungls, where the emperor's governor, and the kûtûktû, or high-priest of those people, reside.

Hûhû Hotun.

Beyond the territory of Hûtû Hotun lie the countries of the Mungl princes of Kalka-Targar Maumingan, Urat, and Ortos.

Kalka Targar. Kalka Targar is watered by the little river Aypaha Mûren, and contains but one banner.

Maumingan. Maumingan has but one banner.

Urat. Urat or Virat is divided into three standards, and is mostly inhabited along the river Kondolen[s] or Quendolen.

Ortûs. The Mungls called Ortos or Ortûs are bounded on the south by the great wall, which in that part, and indeed

[s] Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 264.

throughout

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throughout Shen-ſi, is only of earth, and fifteen foot high. On the three other ſides they are hemmed in by the Whang-ho, or *Yellow River*, which paſſing out of China, near the fine city of Ninghya, makes a great ſweep, and enters the empire again near Pau-te-chew. Theſe Mungls are governed by ſeveral petty princes under ſix ſtandards, and pride themſelves in the number and largeneſs of their tents, as well as multitude of their flocks. They had beyond the great wall, on the Whang-ho, a city called Toto, which ſeems by the ruins to have been pretty extenſive; though at preſent they have no ſkill in building, nor take any delight in that art[b].

Limits ſettled.

Although the ſeveral tribes or branches of the Mungls lead a roving life, yet they have their reſpective limits fixed by cuſtom, beyond which they muſt not paſs to ſettle; for ſuch tranſgreſſion is reckoned an act of hoſtility among them.

SECT. III.

The Country of the Kalka Mungls.

Country of the Kalkas.

OF all the Mungl nations depending on China, the moſt numerous and famous are the Kalkas, who take their name from the river Kalka, written alſo Khalkha, and Halha. They poſſeſs above two hundred leagues of the country from eaſt to weſt, and the banks of the fineſt rivers in this part of Tartary. They dwell beyond the Mungls, northward, and have the Aluths, or Eluths, on the weſt. Their country, according to Gerbillon the Jeſuit, extends from Mount Altay in the weſt, to the province of Solon in the eaſt; and from the 51ſt degree of latitude to the ſouthern extremity of the great Kobi, or Deſart, which is reckoned to belong to them; for they encamp there during the winter, when they ſtand leſs in need of water, which is rarely to be met with in their territories, and generally bad.

Great Kobi, or Deſert.

The Deſert above mentioned, called Kobi, or Gobi, by the Mungls, and Sha-mo by the Chineſe, ſurrounds China, and is larger and more frightful towards the weſt (Y).

[b] Du Halde, p. 253. 265.

(Y) This is the great deſert of which Marco Polo has given us ſuch frightful ideas; and of which, till lately, our geographers had but very imperfect notions.

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Gerbillon passed it in four different parts. From its eastern extremity to the mountains north of the great wall, it extends about a hundred leagues, not including the country beyond the Kerlon; which, though thinly inhabited, abounds with water and pasturage. The Kobi is much larger from north to south, and above a hundred leagues over. In some parts it is quite bare, without trees, grass, or water, excepting certain ponds and marshes made by the rains, with here and there a well of bad water.

Kalkas origin.

The Kalkas are the descendents of the Mungls, who, about the year 1368, were expelled from China by Hongvû, founder of the Ming family, which the Manchews succeeded, and, retreating northward beyond the Great Desert, settled chiefly along the rivers Selinga, Orkhon, Tula, and Kerlon; where, after being long accustomed to the delicacies of China, they returned to the roving and sordid life of their ancestors [i].

The Kalka Pira.

The Kalka Pira is not much frequented by the Kalkas, although they take their name from thence. It flows from a famous mountain called Suelki, or Siulki, eighty-four leagues from Parin to the north-north-east, and sixty-four from Tsitsikar, the capital of Eastern Tartary to the west. After passing through a lake called Pu'ir, it changes its name to Urson, and runs due north into a larger called Kulon Nor.

The Kerlon.

The Kerlon, Tula Twi, and Selinga, though less famous for their origin among these people, are yet more esteemed for their clear and wholesome waters, abounding with trout and other good fish, as well as for the fruitful, large, and populous plains they glide through. The Kerlon, or Kerulon, running from west to east, falls also into the lake Kulon Nor, which discharges itself into the Saghalian Ula by the river Ergona, or Argun, the boundary of the Manchew empire on that side. The Kerlon, which is about sixty feet broad, and not deep, washes the richest pastures in all Tartary.

The Tula

The river Tula, or Tola, runs from east to west, and in most places is larger, deeper, and more rapid, than the Kerlon, has finer meadows, and more woods; the mountains, also, on the north side are covered with large fir. This river having joined itself to the Organ, Orkhon, or Urkon, which comes from the south-west, runs towards the north, and, after being increased with several others, as the Selingha Pira, at length falls into the greatest lake

[i] Du Halde, China, vol. ii. p. 259.

in

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in all Tartary, called Baykal, or Paykal, in that part of Siberia belonging to the Russians.

The Twi Pira, whose waters resemble those of the Kerlon, makes its way through fertile plains, and after a pretty long course, loses itself in the ground near a little lake, without appearing any more [k]. *The Twi Pira.*

The river Selingha has several sources; the chief branch, called Wersh Selingha, issues from a lake, named by the Mungls Kosogol. Its course is nearly in a line from south to north, through very fertile plains; and after receiving many other rivers, falls into the lake Baykal. Its waters are good, but do not afford plenty of fish; both its banks from its springs, till within one day of Selinghinskoy (a city of the Russians built on its south side) are in the hands of the Mungls; but the neighbouring country, from that city to the lake, belongs to the Russians. *The Selinga.*

The Orkhon above mentioned, formerly called Kalassui, runs north-north-west into the Selingha; and on its banks the khân of the Kalka Mungls, and their khutûktû, or high-priest, usually make their abode. *The Orkhon.*

The river Altay, at present called Siba, has its spring towards the frontiers of the Kalmûks, or Eluths, in the mountains called Uskun-lug-tugra, to the south of the springs of the river Jenisea, and running from thence east-north-east, loses itself to the north of the Kobi, or Desert, and south-south-east of the springs of the Orkhon. A petty khân of the Mungls usually resides about the Siba. *Altay, or Siba.*

The Tsan, or Jan Mûren, has its source in the mountains which cross the Kobi; and running south-south-east, falls into the Wang-ho, on the frontiers of Tibet. Two petty khâns dwell on its banks. *Jan Mûren.*

The river Argun, or Ergona, rises in the country of the Mûngls, from a lake called Argun Dalay, or Kulon Nor. Its course is nearly east-north-east; and having run about a hundred leagues, it falls into the great river Amur [l], as the Russians call the Saghalian Ula. *The Argun.*

The princes of the Kalka Mungls usually inhabit the banks of the rivers already described, with those of Hara, or Kara Pira, Iben Pira, which falls into the Orkhon, Karaujir, Ira Pira, Patarik Pira, and the Tegurik Pira, towards the source of the Irtish, and city of Hami, or Khamil, in Little Bukharia.

[k] Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 250, & seq.

[l] Bentink ad. Abu'l-ghazi Khan, Hist. Turk. &c. p 515, & seq.

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Ruins of cities. There were formerly several cities in this part of Tartary possessed by the Kalkas. The missionaries who surveyed Chinese Tartary, by order of the emperor Kang-hi, met with the ruins of a large square city, two leagues in circuit, named Para Hotun, that is, the Tiger's City, from the cry of that animal, which was thought a good omen. Not far from thence is a place called Kara Ussun, with a small lake and fine spring, in a fertile plain abounding with deer, mules, &c. all wild. There may be other monuments in these quarters of the early times of the Mungls under Jenghîz Khân, and his four immediate successors; but there do not appear to be any footsteps of Karakoram, the capital of the whole empire during that time; at least those missionaries were wholly at a loss about it, supposing it to be Kara Ussun above mentioned, although the situation does not agree with that which authors have given of Karakoram.

Para Hotun.

Karakoram city. However, Gaubil, a Jesuit, who settled at Pe-king some time after his brethren returned from Tartary, by consulting the Chinese historians and astronomers, found out the situation of that city, which they call Ho-lin. It was in being before the time of Jenghîz Khân, having been the residence of the khân of the Kara-its, the famous Van Khân, or Ung Khân; but when Jenghîz Khân took it from that prince, it was a very inconsiderable place. The conqueror much improved it, and his son Oktay Khân rebuilt and made it a famous city [m]: with this account the Chinese history agrees. So that when Abu'l-Faraj, who says it is the same with Ordubâlik, affirms that it was built by Oktay [n], it is to be understood of the improvements of that prince, who built a magnificent palace there in the year 1225 [o]. Yet Rubruquis, the Minorite friar, who was at Karakoram in 1253, says it had then only a mud wall; and that the place itself, and the khân's palace, compared with European edifices, were but poor buildings; however, he allows it to have been very populous, and to have contained a great many palaces, temples, &c [p].

Now ruined. Karakoram stood to the north of the great Kobi, or Sandy Desert, and near the lake Kurahan Ulen, marked by the Jesuits in their map of Tartary, although they looked for it at Para Hotun, four hundred and

[m] De la Croix Hist. Gengh. Can. p. 27. 362. [n] Hist. Dynast. p. 310. 320. [o] Abu'lghazi Khan, Hist. Turk, &c. p. 354. 513. [p] Purch. Pilgrim. vol. iii. p. 39.

twenty

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twenty miles distant to the north-east. It was the imperial seat of the khâns till Kublay removed it to Shang-tu, already mentioned, which continued to be the place of their summer residence as long as the Mungls were in possession of China; but after their expulsion, about the year 1368, it is probable Karakoram became again the capital of the khâns; although, according to De la Croix, they resided ever since the time of Oktay (Jenghiz Khân's immediate successor) at Ulug Yurt, a city not far distant [q], if it be not the same place. Here Alchi Timûr, the thirteenth from Kublay, ascended the throne in 1405, and we find it subsisting in the time of Aday, the fifteenth successor; but after that period we are told no more is found of Ulug Yurt in the Oriental authors [r]. Yet neither the time nor occasion of the destruction of that city, or of Karakoram, is mentioned by any historian yet known to us.

Tartary, according to Regis the Jesuit, abounds with all sorts of game, even of the kinds common in Europe; as hares, pheasants, deer, and the like: the yellow goats are seldom seen in the plains except in large herds. They are of the shape and size of common goats, only their hair is yellow: they are likewise extremely fleet, which makes it difficult to catch them. The wild mules go in small herds, but cannot be brought to carry burthens. Their flesh is of an agreeable taste; and, in the opinion of the Tartars, as nourishing and wholesome as the wild boar's (Z). This last animal frequents the woods and plains beyond the river Tula, and is traced by the earth it turns up to come at the roots on which it feeds.

Store of game.

Wild mules.

Wild boar.

The wild horse and dromedary are natives of this region. These are found chiefly in the western parts of great Tartary, although sometimes they are met with in the territories of the Kalkas, bordering on Khamil in Little Bukharia. The wild horses go in large droves; and when they meet with tame ones, surround and force them away; they are so very fleet, that the swiftest hunters can seldom reach them with their arrows.

Horses and dromedaries.

[q] Hist. Genghis Can, p. 386. [r] Ibid. p. 401.

(Z) Gerbillon, in his second journey into Tartary, saw a young wild mule, of a kind which propagates. This was a female, had large ears, a long head, slender body, and long legs; its hair was ash-colour, and its hoofs and feet uncloven, like those of other mules. Collect. of Voyag. and Trav. 4to. vol. iv. p. 686.

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The hautehan. The hautehan is an animal which resembles an elk; the missionaries saw some, which, when killed, were bigger than the largest ox. They are found only in particular districts, about Mount Suelki, in boggy grounds, where they delight to resort, and are very easily killed, their great weight retarding their flight.

The chelison. The chulon, or chelison, is about the size of a wolf, and seemed to Regis a sort of lynx. It has a long, soft, and thick hair, of a greyish colour, and their furs are valued at the courts both of China and Russia.

Tartary is infested with tigers and leopards. The tigers found eastwards are surprisingly large and noble. Their skins are commonly of a fallow red, striped with black lists; some are white with black and grey lists. The skins of the leopards are whitish, spotted with red and black. Although they have the head and eyes of tigers, they are not so large, and have a different cry.

Deer-hunting. The deer, which multiply exceedingly in the deserts and forests, differ in colour, size, and shape of their horns, according to the different quarters of this vast region; and some are like the deer of Europe. One way of hunting them, termed the stag-call, is thus; the huntsmen, carrying some stags-heads, counterfeit the cry of the hind, which brings the largest stags towards the place from whence they hear the cry; they then stop and look about, till perceiving the stags heads, they tear up the ground with their horns, and immediately run forward, but are shot by some who lie in ambush. The emperor *Horses.* Kang-hi took great delight in this diversion. The intrepidity of Tartarian horses in encountering tigers is surprising; yet it is owing wholly to use; for they are as fearful of them at first as other horses. The Mungls are very expert in taming and breaking, as well as catching them running with the slip-knot of a cord. They understand their distempers, but use such remedies as would no more agree with the horses of Europe than their food. They are of a middle size, yet some of them are as large as ours; but the Tartars wisely prefer strength and hardiness to either largeness or beauty.

The taelpe. The Kalkas are not rich in sable-skins, but have plenty of squirrels, foxes, and a creature as small as an ermine, called tael-pe; of whose skins at Pe-king they make mantles to resist the cold. These animals are a kind of land-rats, and dig in the earth a range of as many little holes as there are males in the company; one of whom always keeps watch above, but retires under-ground at any body's approach.

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approach. When the hunters discover their nest they surround it, and opening the earth in two or three places, throw in lighted straw to frighten them out; thus they take great numbers, so that their skins are very cheap.

The fish.

The rivers in the country of the Mungls do not afford any great variety or plenty of fish, like those of eastern Tartary. The sturgeon, which they sometimes find in the Tula, comes from the lake Baykal; and the Urson, falling into the Saghalian Ula, or Amur, receives from thence the fish which is found in the eastern rivers. In the same river you meet with an amphibious animal called turbegha, resembling an otter, but the flesh is tender, and almost as delicious as that of the roe-buck [s].

Shonkar bird.

As to uncommon birds, there are bred vast numbers of an extraordinary beauty in the plains of Grand Tartary. That mentioned by Abû'lghazi Khân seems to be a kind of heron, which is found in the country of the Mungls towards the frontiers of China. It is all over white, except the beak, wings, and tail, which are of a very fine red. The flesh is delicious, and tastes somewhat like that of the wood-hen. However, as the bird which that author speaks of is very rare, Bentink thinks it may be the stork, which is very scarce all over Russia, Siberia, and Great Tartary; yet some are found in the Mungls country near China, which are generally white [t].

SECT. IV.

The Countries belonging to the Eluths, or Eluth Mungls.

THE countries belonging to the Aluths, or Eluths, nicknamed Kalmûks, are to be considered, as that nation is at present divided into three branches, the Dsongari or Jongari, the Koshoti, and the Torgaüti.

Eluth Jongari's country.

1. The Eluths Jongari, who are the most considerable branch of the three, possess the larger half of what Europeans call the Western Tartary; extending from the Caspian sea and river Jaïk, in 72 degrees of longitude, from Ferro, to mount Altay, in 110 degrees; and from the 40th to the 52d degree of latitude. Whence it may be computed about one thousand nine hundred and thirty miles in length, from west to east; and in breadth, at most, from south to north, six hundred and fifty miles.

[s] Du Halde's China, &c. vol. ii. p. 255.

[t] Hist. Turks, p. 500, & seq.

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It is bounded on the north by Ruſſia and Siberia, from which it is ſeparated by a chain of mountains; on the eaſt, by mount Altay; on the ſouth, by the countries of Karazm and the two Bukhârias; from which alſo it is ſeparated partly by another chain of mountains, and ſome rivers, particularly the Sîr; and on the weſt by the river Jaïk and the Caſpian ſea, or rather by Turkeſtân, which lies between.

Mountains Tubra Tubuſluk. There are in the country of the Eluths or Kalmûks, three conſiderable chains of mountains, viz. the Tubrâ Tubuſluk, the Uſkunluk Tugra, and the Altay. The firſt, which makes its northern frontier, and is called alſo Ulugtâg, or *the Great Mountain*, begins at the eaſtern bank of the Irtiſh, to the north of the lake Sayſan, through which that river paſſes, and runs due eaſt, as far as the Selinga, which it coaſts northward to the lake Baykal; then turning eaſt, it proceeds to the Amur, or Saghalian Ula, about Nerchinſkoy; and follows the courſe of that river, on the north ſide, to the eaſtern ocean.

Uſkunluk Tugra. The ſecond branch, called Uſkunluk Tugra, bears alſo the name of Kichik-tâg, or *the Little Mountain:* it commences in the confines of Turkeſtân and Great Bukhâria, to the ſouth of the river Sîr; and running nearly eaſt, makes the bounds between Great Bukhâria and the country of the Eluths. It continues its courſe on the ſame line, till, arriving to the ſouth of the ſprings of the Jeniſea, it ſtrikes off to the ſouth-eaſt; and falls in with the frontiers of China, as far as the province of Lyau-tong. There forming an elbow to the north-eaſt, it ſeparates that province, and Korea, from the country of the Mungls; and ends at laſt on the ſhore of the ſea of Japan, about the 42d degree of latitude.

Mount Altay. The mountain Altay, (by ſome called Kaltay, and in Abu'lghazi Khân's hiſtory Kut) is a branch of the Uſkunluk Tugra, taking its riſe to the weſt of the ſource of the Jeniſea. It runs almoſt in a ſtrait line from ſouth to north, along the weſtern bank of that great river, at a diſtance of one or two days journey, till it joins the Tugra Tubuſluk, in about 50 degrees of latitude.

Rivers. Though this region of the Eluths is bounded by mountains, yet it is watered by very few rivers which deſcend from them. *The Tekîs and Ili.* The moſt conſiderable known to us are the Tekîs and Ili, the Chui and Talas. The Tekîs riſes in the mountain bounding Little Bukhâria on the north; and having run about ſeventy miles north-eaſt, falls, by ſeveral mouths, into the Ili, which has its ſource in the ſame hills,

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hills, and runs north-west about a hundred and fifty miles; then, shaping its course north a hundred and fifty miles farther, falls into the lake Palkati, in about 48 degrees of latitude. On this river the khân of the Eluths has his chief residence or camp, which is called Harkas, or, as others spell it, Urga.

Chui and Talas.

The Chui and Talas descend from the above mentioned mountain; and running north-west about a hundred and eighty leagues each, fall into different lakes, the Chui into Kalkol, and the Talas into Sikirlik Nor [a].

Besides the rivers already described, we meet with none of any great consequence, except the Irtish; nor does more than a part of it run through this country.

The Irtish.

This river, which is the most considerable in the north of Asia, hath its rise from two lakes, thirty miles asunder; in about 45 degrees 15 minutes of latitude, and 113 of longitude, on the west side of mount Altay, and to the north of the province Khamil, or Hami, in Little Bukhâria, inclining to the east. The rivers formed by them run westward. The northern stream is called Khar Irtish; the southern, Khor Irtish: these about thirty miles distance from their sources uniting, form the river called Irtish, Irtis, or Erchis. Having run west about fifty leagues, it makes the lake Sayšan, that is, *of the Nobility*, forty miles long, and twenty broad. Passing out of the lake it runs northward, as far as Uskamen, the first Russian fort and settlement on this river, in the borders of the Eluths country on that side. The rest of the Irtish belongs to Siberia; where, after passing by the capital Tobolskoy, it joins the Obi, a little above Samara.

The Obi.

Strahlenberg places the sources of the Obi, or Ubi, also in the country of the Eluths. It is formed like the Irtish, by the confluence of two rivers, the Khatun and Ba, from which last it derives its name. The Ba or Bi, takes its rise in a lake, to which that author gives the names Altun Nor, Altun Kurke, Altin, and Teleskoy; perhaps the same called in the Jesuits map Kirkir. But both maps seem to have been made, in this part, from very doubtful information.

Soil and produce.

The vast region of Tartary, being situated under the finest climate in the world, is every-where of an extraordinary fertility. But though almost all the great rivers of Asia have their springs in the mountains of this country, yet the land being perhaps the highest any-where on earth,

[a] Hist. Turks, &c. p. 522. 524. 526.

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it is, in several parts, destitute of water; so that it is inhabitable only near the rivers and lakes. Verbiest, the Jesuit, in the country of the Mungls, about eighty leagues to the north of the great wall, towards the source of the river Karga, found the ground to be three thousand geometrical paces, or three miles higher than the sea-coast neareſt Peking. Hence it is that Great Tartary appears so much colder than other countries in the same latitude. At midsummer the north-east wind is so piercing, that one must cover himself well in the night; and often in August one night produces ice the thickness of a crown-piece. In summer, at the depth of four or five feet below the surface of the earth, clods are found quite congealed, and even entire heaps of ice; which Verbiest ascribes to the salt-petre with which the soil is impregnated.

Great fertility. The same extraordinary elevation of the earth is also the reason why there are so many deserts in Grand Tartary; but these deserts are not altogether so frightful as Europeans fancy them. For excepting the vast Kobi, or Gobi, before mentioned, and a few other small sandy deserts, all the rest afford excellent pasture; producing rich grass in abundance; but, for want of water, it soon decays at the root, and as withered grass quite choaks up the young, the inhabitants, in spring, set fire to the old herbage, which sometimes spreads above a hundred leagues round. In less than fifteen days after this conflagration, the new grass shoots up every-where to the height of a span; which proves the great fertility of the soil: and so much of this vast country, as is supplied with water, is sufficient for the support of four times the number of its present inhabitants, if it was but well cultivated. None, besides the Mohammedan Tartars, till their lands; while the Eluths, and most part of the Mungls, subsist entirely upon their cattle: this is the reason why they can have no fixed habitations, being obliged to change their quarters, according as the seasons change. Yet, though the soil is so luxuriant, Great Tartary does not produce a single wood of tall trees, of any kind whatever, excepting in some few places towards the frontiers: all the wood, found in the heart of the country, consist in shrubs, which never exceed the height of a pike; and these are very rare [w].

No forest trees.

The khân's residence. The khân of the Eluths dwells continually under tents, although he possesses Little Bukhâria, with its dependencies,

[w] Hist. Turks, p. 381, & seq. also Collect. Trav. 4to. vol. iv. p. 393.

wherein

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wherein there are a good many towns; only when his affairs call him thither, he resides at Yarkien, or Yarkân, the capital of that country. He has continued about the river Ila and Tekîs for some years past; that he might be near at hand to watch the motions of his cousin Ayuki Khân, as well as the Mohammedan Tartars and Mungls, between whom the Eluths are situated. His camp is a great curiosity; distributed into several quarters, squares, and streets, a league in compass, and able, at a minute's warning, to send into the field fifteen thousand horse. The quarter where the khân resides, is in the middle of the camp. His tent is made of kitayka, a strong sort of callico; which, being raised very high, and of all sorts of lively colours, exceedingly delights the eye at a distance. In winter the tent is covered with felt, which makes it impenetrable by the weather. His wives are lodged in little wooden houses, which may be taken down in an instant, and set on waggons, when they are going to decamp [x].

Although, according to the account of the missionaries who surveyed Chinese Tartary, there are no plants to be met with in that region: yet we are assured, by a certain curious author, that, in the parts above the rivers Orkhon and Selingha, towards Selinghinskoy, rhubarb grows in great abundance; all that Russia furnishes foreign countries with, comes from about this city. *Plenty of rhubarb.*

The animals in this division of Western Tartary are much the same with those to be found in the two other parts; unless we except one called by Bentink, the glutton, which abounds in the country of the Eluths. It is a carnivorous beast, not quite so tall as a wolf, and peculiar to the mountains of northern Asia: the hair, which is strong and long, is of a very fine dark brown all over its back. This beast is exceedingly mischievous; for it climbs the trees, and watching the game which passes underneath, leaps down on its back, where it fastens with its claws, and makes a great hole; while the poor creature, quite spent with anguish and struggling to get rid of its enemy, at length falls on the ground, and becomes his prey. It requires three stout dogs to master this beast, small as it is. The Russians greatly value its skin, which they use for muffs, and borders of bonnets [y]. *The glutton animal.*

2. The Eluths Koshoti possess all the kingdom of Tan- *Eluths Koshoti.*

[x] Abu'lg. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 543, & seq. [y] Bent. ap. Abu'lg. Hist. Turks, p. 528.

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gut, and are subject to the Dalay Lama, or great pontiff of Tibet, who governs them by two khâns; of whom one has the government of Tibet, the other of Koko Nor.

Koko Nor country. The country of Koko Nor, or Kokonol, is so called by these Eluths from a lake of the same name, termed by the Chinese Si-hay, that is, *the Western Sea.* It is one of the largest in all Tartary, being above twenty great French leagues in length, and more than ten in breadth; situated between the 36th and 37th degrees of latitude, and between the 16th and 17th of longitude, west of Peking [z].

Extent and site. This country lies between Tibet on the west, and China on the east, bordering on the provinces of Shen-si and Sechwen. It is pretty large, extending from north to south above seven degrees. It is separated from China by mountains, so high and steep, that they serve almost every where instead of the great wall. Those to the south, which separate it from the kingdoms of Pegu and Ava, are frightful and inaccessible, inhabited by a savage people. They also make so strong a barrier to China, by their great length and breadth, that the entrances on that side are left unfortified.

Eluths Torgauti. 3. The Eluths Torgaüti are the least considerable of the three branches. They dwelt formerly towards Turkestân, and were subject to Kontaish: but about the beginning of the present century, Ayûka, or Ayûki, one of his cousins, flying from his court, under pretence that he was in fear of his life, passed the river Jâïk, with the tribe of the Torgaüti, and put himself under the protection of Russia. In winter Ayûka Khân usually encamped with his ordas in the sandy ground about Astrachân, to the east of the river Wolga, between it and the Jaïk; and in summer he often went to reside on the banks of this river, about Saratof and Zaritza. Although the Koshoti, and Torgaüti Eluths have their own khâns, yet Kontaish preserves a kind of sovereignty over, and draws considerable supplies from them, when he is at war with his neighbours the Mungls, Chinese, or Mohammedan Tartars [a].

[z] Du Halde's China, vol. ii. p. 265.

[a] Bentink, ap. Abu'lghazi's Hist. Turks, &c. p. 538, & seq.

CHAP.

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CHAP. IX.

Of the Mungls, or Moguls, and their ſeveral Branches.

SECT. I.

Their Name, Perſons, Manners, Cuſtoms, Way of Living, Habitations, Language.

THE Moguls, or rather Mungls, derive their name from Mungl Khân, one of their ancient emperors; and one branch of them ſtill retain it, called, by our authors, Mungals or Mongals, of which the word Moguls, commonly uſed by the Aſiatics, as well as Europeans, is a corruption. Theſe people are frequently confounded with the Tartars; a miſtake which may be owing to the following cauſes: firſt, the people of the north of Aſia having been known, for many ages, by the name of Tatars, to the inhabitants of the ſouthern countries, particularly the Chineſe and Perſians; theſe latter, ſeeing the Mungls come from the ſame quarters, and no way different as to features, language, and manners, from the Tartars, conſidered both as the ſame people, under different names (A). Secondly, there were, in the army of Jenghîz Khân, when he invaded thoſe countries, tribes of Tatars as well as Mungls; which made thoſe nations, who were acquainted with the Tatars before, give both names, indifferently, to the followers of that conqueror. Laſtly, the Tatars having been very ſerviceable to Jenghîz Khân in the battle againſt Vang Khân, or Ung Khân, which put him in poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty, he, in order to reward them, joined their name [b] with that of the Mungls, in the title which he thereupon aſſumed, ſtyling himſelf Grand Khân of the Mungls and Tatars.

Name Mungls, and Tatars, whence.

Whatever was the cauſe of introducing this cuſtom, it is certain that it obtained, and ſtill continues in force: for moſt authors, by Mungls and Tatars, mean the ſame

uſed indifferently.

[b] De la Croix, Hiſt. Gengh. p. 63.

(A) The Chineſe ſay Kalka as well as Kalka Mungls and Tatars and Eluth Tatars, as Eluth Mungls.

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people (B). It must be confessed, it would be much better to lay aside a practice which tends to create great confusion, and at least to confine the name of Tatars, to those commonly called Mohammedan Tatars, to whom another custom has in effect appropriated it. After all, those names should be applied only for distinction sake, neither of them being strictly due to the people who enjoy it; for as the name of Tatars is given to many tribes who are not Tatars, so that of Moguls extends to many who are not Moguls: the name of the conquering, or most powerful tribes having passed to the conquered or less powerful tribes.

Three Mogul branches.

The Moguls or Mungls are, at present, divided into three great branches; the Mungls, properly so called, the Khâlkas, and the Aluths, or Eluths. The first branch retains the ancient name of the nation, which has been already accounted for. The Kalkas, which may also be written Khâlkha, and Halhâ, derive their name from the river Kalka, already described, which runs through their country. Whence the Eluths, Aluths, or Aluts, derive their name, it is not so easy to determine. These are the people commonly known by the name of Kalmâk, or Kalmûk, whose etymology is also unknown to us. All we are certain of is, that it is a nick-name given to them by the Mohammedan Tatars, in hatred of their idolatrous religion; or for some other cause. The Russians took it from those Tatars, and from the Russians it came in use among Europeans; while the name of Eluth was unknown to them. They consider it as an affront to be called Kalmûks, and say, they have a better title to the name of Mungls than their neighbours, who at present enjoy it; as these latter are sprung from that part of the Mungls and Tatars who were expelled China, by Hongvû, the founder of the Ming family, in 1368 [c].

Mungls in general.

Although the two last branches have, for distinction sake, or some other reason, assumed different names from the first, yet they still retain the appellation of Mungls, which they highly honour; as the Jews did that of Israelites, to denote their origin and descent. As all these tribes have the same customs, language, religion, and form of government, what may be said of one branch, will serve for the other two: for this reason we shall connect together, under the general name of Mungls, what materials

[c] Abu'lg. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 259, & seq.

(B) And, after all, they are, in effect, the same people: as being the descendents of the Huns, or Turks.

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the beſt travellers, and other authors, afford us, concerning theſe three branches; only diſtinguiſhing what may be peculiar to each of them.

The Mungls, in general, are of a middle ſize, but exceeding robuſt and well-ſet: they have large and broad heads, flat faces, and complexions of a dark olive colour, pretty near that of American copper; very black and ſparkling eyes, but too far aſunder, and opening but a little, although they are very long: the bridge of their noſe is quite flat, and almoſt level with the face, ſo that there is nothing of a noſe to be ſeen but the end, which is very flat alſo, with two great holes, which form the noſtrils: their ears are very large; their beards very thin: hair black, and ſtrong, like horſe-hair; but they ſhave all off, excepting a lock on the crown of the head, which falls down the back, and is let grow to its natural length. To make amends for this want of beauty, they have very pretty mouths, with ſmall teeth, as white as ivory, and are perfectly well limbed. Their women have much the ſame features, only not ſo large; but then they are commonly of a good ſize, and well-ſhaped [d]. *Their ſhape.*

Gerbillon, the Jeſuit, ſays they are quite rude and unpoliſhed in their manners; yet honeſt and good-natured: the Eluths, in particular, do harm to nobody, if not firſt provoked; and although extremely brave, yet they do not live by robbery, like their neighbours the Mohammedan Tatars, with whom they are continually at war. The proper Mungls and Kalkas are naſty and ſlovenly in their tents and cloaths, living amidſt the dung of their beaſts; which ſerves them for fuel, for they have no wood. They excel in horſemanſhip and hunting; and are dextrous archers, either on foot or on horſeback. In general, they lead a wretched life; and being averſe to labour, prefer grazing to every other occupation [e]. *their manners,*

Regis, another of the miſſionaries, obſerves, that the utmoſt ambition of the Mungls is to preſerve the rank of their families. They value things only for their uſe; having no regard to their rarity or beauty: are naturally of an eaſy chearful temper, always diſpoſed to laugh, and never diſturbed with melancholy. Indeed, they find little occaſion for care; having generally neither neighbours to manage, enemies to fear, nor lords to pleaſe. Perplexed with no difficult affairs, nor buſineſs, they divert them- *their humour,*

[d] Bent. ap. Abu'lg. Hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 533, & ſeq. [e] Du Halde ibid. p. 256.

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selves wholly with hunting, fishing, and other bodily exercises. However, these people are capable not only of
and genius: the sciences, but the greatest undertakings; witness their subduing China, in 1264; which they governed, even in the opinion of the Chinese, with great judgement and address.

their dress, As to their dress, according to Bentink, they wear very large shirts, and callico drawers; their habits are commonly made of callico, called kitayka, or some other slight stuff, which they line with sheep-skin: and sometimes they wear entire garments of the same materials They fasten their garments, which reach to the ancles, with leathern straps about the waist. Their boots are exceeding large, and usually made of Russia leather: their bonnets small and round, with a fur of four fingers breadth. The women's dress is nearly the same, excepting that their garments are longer, their boots generally red, and their bonnets flat, with some little ornaments [f]. Regis says, they know how to dress those skins, as well the skins of stags, deer, wild-goats, &c. which serve the rich for under-garments in the spring: yet, for all their care, you smell them as soon as they come near you; whence the Chinese have given them the name of Tsau-ta-tse, that is, *Stinking Tatars* [g].

winter and summer. The Eluths wear much the same kind of cloaths with the proper Mungls and Kalkas. In the southern provinces they use no shirts in summer, contenting themselves with a kind of sheep-skin doublet, without sleeves; which they put on next their skin, with the woolly side out, tucking their shirt within their breeches; so that all the arm is left bare up to the shoulder. In winter they wear a sheep-skin over the doublet, which reaches to the calf of the leg, and turn the woollen side inward. These upper skins have sleeves so long, that they are obliged to turn them up, when going about any work. Their bonnet is red, and commonly adorned with a tuft of silk or hair, of a bright red. Their women go habited much after the same manner; their callico shift making all their cloathing in summer, and a long sheep-skin gown, with a bonnet, the same with their husbands, covering them in winter.

Red colour esteemed. Red is the colour in greatest esteem with the Tatars; and how ill clothed soever their princes may be, in other respects, they never fail to have a scarlet robe for state oc-

[f] Bent. ap. Abu'lg. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 505, & seq. [g] Du Halde, ubi supra, p. 254.

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caſions. Their chiefs would rather be without a ſhirt, than a ſcarlet coat; and the women of quality do not think themſelves well dreſſed, if the ſcarlet gown be wanting. The very meaneſt people affect to wear red cloaths, although the cloth be ever ſo ordinary. This whim has ſpread even among the inhabitants of Siberia. In ſhort, all over the north of Aſia, a man may do more with a piece of red cloth, than four times its value in ſilver.

Mungl arms.

The arms of the Mungls conſiſt in the bow and arrows, the pike and ſabre, which they wear after the Chineſe manner: and they always go to war on horſeback.

Their cattle.

Theſe people live entirely on their cattle; which conſiſt of horſes, dromedaries, oxen, cows, and ſheep. Their horſes are very good and ſpirited: their oxen larger than thoſe of the Ukraine, and the talleſt in the world. Their dromedaries are large and ſtrong. Their ſheep are very large alſo, but have very ſhort tails; which are buried in a caſe of fat, weighing ſeveral pounds, and hanging perpendicular: the wool of them is very long and coarſe; they have a bunch or riſing on the noſe, like the camels, and hanging ears, like hounds [h]. This obſervation is to be underſtood properly of the Eluths; for although the Mungls and Kalkas have the ſame ſort of cattle with them, yet they are far inferior, both for goodneſs and appearance, except the ſheep; whoſe tails are about two ſpans long, and near as much in compaſs, weighing commonly between ten and eleven pounds: it is almoſt one entire piece of very rank fat. They, above all things, abhor ſwine; and the Eluths never either either eat them or poultry. They, in general, eat nothing but horſeflesh and mutton; not eſteeming that of bullocks or cows ſo good. They are alſo fonder of mare's than cow's milk, being much better and richer. Indeed, the cows, after their calves are taken from them, will ſuffer none to draw their teats: they likewiſe quickly loſe their milk; ſo that neceſſity has introduced the uſe of mare's milk.

Their diet.

Drink ſpirituous liquors.

Gerbillon ſays, that, in ſummer, the Mungls feed on milk; uſing indifferently that of cows, mares, ewes, goats, and camels. Their drink is water, boiled with the worſt ſort of Chineſe tea, in which they put cream, butter, or milk. They make a ſpirituous liquor from ſour milk, which is diſtilled after fermentation. The rich lay mutton to ferment with their ſour milk. This liquor is ſtrong and

[h] Abu'lgh. ubi ſup. p. 536.

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nouriſhing, and they delight to get drunk with it. They alſo ſmoke a great deal of tobacco [i]. Bentink informs us, that the Kalmûks have a way of making the milk ſour in two nights time; after which, pouring it into an earthen pot, they ſtop it very cloſe, and putting a funnel to it, ſet it on the fire for diſtillation. This ſpirit is as clear and good as that which in Europe is diſtilled from grain; but to make it ſo, it muſt be ſet twice over the fire. They call it arak, in imitation of the Indians their neighbours, who give all their ſtrong liquors that name.

Koſmos, or Kimis.

Rubruquis tells us, that, in the time of Mangu Khân, the Mungls, beſides wines which came from foreign countries, made excellent drink of rice, millet, and honey; being well-flavoured, and high-coloured, like wine: but that their chief liquors were the koſmos (C) and karakoſmos; which, according to that author, are made by the following proceſs. For the koſmos, they fill a great ſkin-bag with mare's milk, and beat upon it with a club, which has a knob at the end, as big as a man's head, but hollow. As ſoon as they beat, the milk begins to ferment like new wine, and turn ſour: they continue this labour till the butter comes: then taſting the whey, if it be pretty ſharp, it is fit to drink; for it is pungent on the tongue like rape-wine, and leaves a flavour like that of almond-milk. It intoxicates weak heads, is very pleaſant, and diuretic.

Karakoſmos, or black koſmos, is the drink of great lords, and made thus: they beat the milk till the groſſer part ſubſiding, like white-wine lees, the purer remains at top, like new whey. The ſettlings are given to ſervants, who ſleep very ſound after it. This, ſays our author, is a very pleaſant and wholeſome liquor [k].

Great drinkers.

The inhabitants of Great Tartary, in general, are fond of ſtrong liquors; for when they can get any, they never let it reſt while they are able to ſtand. When they chooſe to make merry, each brings what liquor he can procure; and then they ſet themſelves to drink night and day, never ſtirring till every drop is exhauſted. They are no leſs fond of ſmoking; which cuſtoms prevail moſt, in proportion as they live more northerly [l].

Their traffick.

Theſe people, having no manufactures, exchange their cattle with the Ruſſians, Bukhârs, and other neighbours,

(C) By other authors called Kumis, or Kimis.

[i] Du Halde, ubi ſup. p. 256. [k] See Purch. Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 5, & ſeq. [l] Abu'lgh. ubi ſupra, p. 493, 536.

for

for what they want; nor is it possible commerce could flourish there as it did in the time of Jenghîz Khân, so long as the vast regions they inhabit remain divided among several princes; some of whom will always oppose the designs of others. Besides, the rapine of the Mohammedan Tartars, who rob the karawâns, keep off the merchants of the West. However, on the side of Siberia, China, and the Indies, they may arrive in perfect safety. Those from China, resort in great numbers to the Mungls, bringing them rice, bohea-tea, which they call karachay, tobacco, cotton, cloth, and other ordinary stuffs; besides several sorts of houshold utensils, and other necessaries.

No slave trade.

As the heathen Tatars lead a very harmless life, they are not so earnest to procure slaves for their service as the Mohammedan Tatars. Besides, having no need of more than their own families to guard their cattle, which are all their riches, they do not care to burthen themselves with useless mouths. Hence it is, that none except the khâns and the tayk, are allowed to have slaves. When they take any from their enemies, all, except those whom they keep, are distributed among their subjects, in order to augment their number; which, at the same time, increases their revenue. On the contrary, the Mohammedan Tatars often make war with their neighbours, on no other reason but to procure slaves; selling those they do not keep. Which practice prevails so much with the Chircassian, Dagheſtân, and Nogay Tatars, that, when they cannot meet with grown people, they steal children to sell; and, if they cannot get other people's, do not scruple to sell their own; especially their daughters, if beautiful; as they do their wives, on the slightest disgust. In short, the trade of slaves being all their wealth, they spare neither friends nor foes, when they find a fair opportunity of carrying them off[m].

Polygamy.

The Eluths are not restricted in the number of their wives, besides concubines, whom they chuse out of their slaves: and whereas the Mohammedan Tatars must not contract within certain degrees, the Pagan may marry any of their kindred, except their natural mothers. In this particular, our author supposes they are restrained rather by the age of their female parents than by any law; because it is not unusual, among the Eluths and Mungls, for the father to take his daughter to wife; and they abandon their wives when they draw near forty, consi-

[m] Abu'lg ubi supra, p. 418, 505. & 536.

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dering them thenceforth as no other than ſervants, to whom they give victuals, for taking care of the houſe, and tending the young wives who ſucceed in their places.

Inheritance. The children born of concubines are equally legitimate, and capable of inheriting: only if the father has been khân, or chief of ſome tribe, the iſſue of the wives ſucceed before thoſe born of concubines. The offspring of common proſtitutes are looked on with contempt by everybody: and very rarely ſucceed their fathers, eſpecially if people of diſtinction; becauſe there is no knowing if the perſon, ſuch a woman lays the child to, be the real father. Polygamy is not ſo inconvenient to the inhabitants of Tatary, as it is to the reſt of the Aſiatics; their wives being of great uſe, and little expence, to them. For the old ones manage the houſewifery, take care of the cattle, and, in ſhort, provide entirely for the ſubſiſtence of the family; ſo that the huſband has nothing to do but ſleep, and follow his diverſions.

Great filial reſpect. Nothing equals the reſpect paid by children, of all ages and conditions, to their fathers, who are conſidered as kings of their families: but they pay little attention to their mothers, unleſs under ſome particular obligations to them. They muſt lament a father for many days, and deny themſelves all ſorts of pleaſure during the whole time: the ſons muſt even abſtain from the company of their wives for ſeveral months. Nothing muſt be ſpared to render his funeral honourable; and at leaſt once a year they muſt pay their devotions at his tomb, calling to mind the infinite obligations which they owe to him: but the Mohammedan Tatars are not ſo exact in their duties paid to the dead [n].

Burials and graves. The Mungls burn their dead, and inter their aſhes on ſome eminence; where, raiſing a heap of ſtones, they place thereon little banners [o]. The greater part of the Pagan Tatars bury along with the deceaſed his beſt horſe and moveables, ſuch as wooden porringers, for his uſe in the other world. In many parts, towards the borders of Siberia, there are to be ſeen little hills, under which are found ſkeletons of men, accompanied with horſe-bones, and many ſorts of ſmall veſſels, beſides jewels of gold and ſilver. Likewiſe the ſkeletons of women, with gold-rings on their fingers. As this finery does not agree with the condition of the preſent inhabitants, they are doubtleſs

[n] Abu'lg. ubi ſupra, p. 406, & ſeq. [o] Du Halde's China, &c. p. 256.

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the graves of the old Mungls, who died after their return with the plunder of the ſouthern countries of Aſia, into theſe deſerts, where they buried veſſels of gold and ſilver, with other riches, as long as they had any left. The Swediſh priſoners in Siberia, as well as the Ruſſians, uſed to go in troops to plunder thoſe tombs, which lie far within the lands of the Eluths: but a great number of them having been ſlain by thoſe people, all farther expeditions were forbidden, under ſevere penalties. This behaviour of the Eluths, otherwiſe ſo very peaceable, ſhews that they conſider them as the tombs of their anceſtors; for which all the Pagan Tatars have an extraordinary veneration.

Ancient ſepulchres.

On this occaſion it may be proper to mention what frier Rubruquis, who, in 1225, was at the court of Mangu Khân, writes, concerning the ſepulchres of the Komanians, or people of Kipchâk. They build a large tomb over their dead, and ſet his image upon it, with its face towards the eaſt, holding a drinking-cup before his belly. On the monument of rich men they erect pyramids, or little conic houſes. In ſome places the author met with vaſt brick towers: in others, ſtone pyramids, although there are no ſtones found in the neighbourhood. Near the grave they generally leave one of the defunct's horſes. At one he ſaw ſixteen horſe-hides hung up on high poſts, four towards each cardinal point; with koſmos (or kimis), ſet for the deceaſed to drink, and fleſh to eat: but could never learn that they buried treaſures with the corpſe. He obſerved other kinds of ſepulchres towards the eaſt: namely, large ſtone floors, or pavements, ſome round, others ſquare; with four tall ſtones erected at the ſides, facing the cardinal points [p].

Their tents.

The Mungls dwell either in tents, or little moveable huts. Regis, ſpeaking of the Mungl tents, ſays, they are round, and covered with a thick grey or white felt, ſupported within by poles, with one end tied round a hoop. They thus form the ſuperficies of a broken cone; with a round hole at top, to let out the ſmoke, which aſcends from the hearth, placed in the middle underneath. While the fire laſts they are warm enough, and then grow cold again; and, in winter, would, without care, freeze in their beds. To avoid this, as well as other inconveniencies, they have their tent-door very narrow, and ſo low that they cannot enter without ſtooping. They have

(p) Purch. Pilg. vol. iii. p. 6, 7, 8.

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alſo the art to join theſe looſe pieces ſo nicely, as to keep out the piercing blaſts of the north wind [q].

moveable houſes; The Eluths, according to Bentink, have, in ſummer, great tents of ketayka, a ſort of callico; and, in winter, ſheds made of boards, and covered with felt; which they can ſet up and take down in leſs than an hour's time. The huts, or houſes, uſed both by them and the Mungls, are made round, with great poles of light wood, joined together with leathern thongs (D), for the more eaſily fitting up and removing them. They cover them on the outſide with a thick felt, for defence againſt the cold and bad weather. In the middle of the roof, which is conical, they leave an opening, which ſerves both for a window and chimney: the fire-place being directly underneath, and the ſleeping places round the hut againſt the wall. The chiefs, and perſons of diſtinction, have huts larger and more convenient [r].

carried on waggons. Theſe moveable habitations are occaſionally carried on waggons, with four wheels.

Ancient houſes, Their houſes, in the time of Rubruquis, were thirty feet in diameter, ſtretching on each ſide five feet beyond the wheels. Over the felt they laid mortar, marle, or bone-aſhes, to make it appear white; adorning the roof with beautiful pictures, and hanging before the door a felt painted with birds, trees, and beaſts. That traveller counted twenty-two oxen drawing one cart, eleven on a ſide. The axle-tree was as big as the maſt of a ſhip, and the driver ſtood at the door of the houſe. Their houſhold ſtuff and treaſure were kept in ſquare wicker cheſts, rounded at top, and covered with felt, greaſed over, to keep out rain. They were adorned with paintings, or feathers, and fixed on carts, carried by camels, for croſſing rivers; but never taken down like the houſes.

how placed. Theſe houſes, when ſet on the ground, are placed with the door facing the ſouth, to avoid the north winds, which are very piercing all over Great Tartary. Then they range the cheſt-carts at a little diſtance, on each ſide, forming two walls. One rich Mungl had one or two hundred ſuch carts with cheſts; ſo that ſuch a man's court looked like a great village [s].

[q] Du Halde, ubi ſupra, p. 254. [r] Abu'lgh. Hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 409. [s] Purch. ubi ſupra, p. 3. & ſeq.

(D) In the time of Rubruquis, they were intewoven with wickers; and the foundation (or floor) of the ſame materials.

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The fixed habitations of the Eluths, which are but few, excepting the roof, which is in the form of a dome, are built in all respects like the moveable huts; without either chambers, windows, or garrets: the whole consisting of one single room, about twelve feet high. But these houses are not near so large and convenient as those of the Manchews, who build them square[t]. *Fixed habitations.*

In that part of the country between the Jaïk and Sîr, which is inhabited by the Eluths, towards the borders of the Kassatcha Orda, who possess the other part, the Russians, about 1714, discovered a town, quite deserted; in the midst of vast sandy grounds, eleven days journey to the south-west of Yamisha, and eight to the west of Sempalat. It is about half a league in compass, with walls five feet thick, and sixteen high: the foundation free-stone, and superstructure brick, flanked with towers in several places. The houses were all built with sun-burnt bricks, and side-posts of wood, much after the common fashion in Poland. The better sort had several chambers. There were likewise great brick buildings, with each a tower; which, in all likelihood, served for temples. These buildings were in pretty good condition, without the least appearance of violence having been used to them. *A deserted town.*

In most of the houses was found a great quantity of writings in rolls. One sort was in China ink and silk paper, white and thick. The leaves were two feet long, and nine inches broad, written on both sides; and the lines ran from the right to left across the page. The second sort was engrossed upon fine blue silk paper, in gold and silver. The lines were written length-ways, from right to left; and varnished over. The first sort were found to be in the Mungl language: the second in that of Tangut or Tibet; both treating of religious matters. Since that period, two other towns were discovered, deserted in the same manner by the Eluths; probably on account of their wars with the Mungls. The discovery made in 1721 was much of the same kind: some rustics, sent from Tobolskoy, by the governor of Siberia, privately to look for ruins and ancient sepulchres, found certain images of gold, silver, and brass, in all the tombs: and, having advanced a hundred and twenty German miles toward the Caspian sea, met with the ruins of splendid buildings; among which were some chambers under ground, the floors and sides of which consisted of shining stone. They saw here and there black *Writings found there, relating to devotion.*

[t] Abu'lgh, ubi supra, p. 419.

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ebony chests; which, instead of treasure, contained writings or books. Of these they carried away only five leaves; one whereof, being tolerably well preserved, was made public (E). The learned of Europe, to whom the emperor Peter I. also communicated these writings, were much puzzled about them; but were immediately known by messieurs Freret and Fourmont, of the academy of Inscriptions at Paris, to be the language and character of Tibet. They found it to be a funeral sermon, with a moral on the life to come, extremely well handled [u].

Language. The language spoken by the numerous tribes of Mungls is simply called the Mungl tongue. They have indeed several dialects; but understand each other very well [w]. The characters found on the ancient monuments are the same with those in present use; but different from the Manchews, which are no older than the family now reigning. They have not the least resemblance of the Chinese letters, and are no more difficult than the Roman. They are written on tables with an iron pencil: for which reason a book is a great rarity among the Mungls. The emperor Kang-hi, to please them, had some of their authors translated, and printed at Pe-king. But the chief book among them is the Kalendar, published by the mathematical tribunal in that capital, and engraved in Mungl characters.

Learning. The Mungls, in the flourishing times of their empire, cultivated arts and sciences; which they learned from the southern nations of Asia, whom they conquered. Among the rest, astronomy, geography, and other parts of mathematics, are much indebted to the labours of their countrymen. But, with their dominion out of Tatary, they lost their love for learning; and, at present, are involved in their ancient ignorance. However, as they are studious to preserve the knowlege of their genealogies, tribes, and other matters appertaining to their own history, they still retain a method peculiar to themselves of computing time, and settling the dates of events [x].

[u] Abu'lgh. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 556. & seq. [w] Du Halde, ubi supra, p. 256, & seq. [x] Ulug. Beigh Epoch. Celebr. p. 6.

(E) In the Acta Eruditorum, vol xlvi. p. 375. July 1722, and in the literary news of Leipsick, the 25th of June, the same year, p. 414.

SECT.

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SECT. II.

Religion of the Mungls.

THE Mungls, before the time of Jenghîz Khân, were, in all probability, ſtrict deiſts; ſince that conqueror, at the head of his Yaſſa, or laws, ordained the belief of One God, the creator of heaven and earth: but, in the reigns of his ſucceſſors, the lamas of Tibet found admiſſion into Tatary; and, by degrees, ſo corrupted the inhabitants, that, at preſent, all but the Mohammedan Tatars profeſs the religion of Fo, called in their language Fo-ſhaki; which, beſides the doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls, teaches the belief of a future ſtate, purgatory, invocation of ſaints, worſhip of images, confeſſion, pardons, abſolution, and other doctrines, ſo very conformable to thoſe of the Romiſh religion, that it ſeems the counterpart of it, as well in eſſentials as ceremonies, even to croſſing, the uſe of beads, and holy water. They have not, indeed, any thing ſo abſurd as tranſubſtantiation, but they have an article of faith equivalent to it; for they believe, that the god Fo, whom they call God Incarnate, not only aſſumes a human form, and actually reſides in Tibet, where he is worſhipped as the true Deity, or Sovereign both of heaven and earth; but that he communicates his divinity to his choſen ſervants, who officiate, in the ſeveral parts of his ſpiritual dominions, in his ſtead. Theſe are the vicars or deputies of the Tibetian god, and are called, in the Mungl language, khûtûktû. There are ſeveral of them in Great Tatary. The Mungls have one, who reſides among and preſides over them. The Khalkas another. The khûtûktû, or vicar of the Mungls, has his abode at Khûkhû Hotûn, mentioned before in the geography of their country; where he lives in great ſtate, and receives the adorations of the Mungls, who make pilgrimages, to viſit him, with as much devotion as the Romaniſts expreſs in their pilgrimages to Rome.

Mungl religion,

that of Tibet.

Gerbillon the Jeſuit, who was at Khûkhû Hotûn in 1688, with the emperor Kang-hi, ſaw the khûtûktû, who was then about twenty-five years old: for although they believe he never dies, yet they ſay he from time to time diſappears; in which interval, his ſoul, being ſeparated from his body, immediately enters that of ſome child, who is diſcovered

The khûtûktû of the Mungls;

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discovered by the lamas, or priests: hence they are called Fûsheki, or the Living Fo (F), and worshipped as God on earth. He was flat-faced, and very long visaged; sat in an alcove, at the end of the temple, on two large cushions, one brocade, the other yellow sattin. There were several lamps on each side; but only one lighted. He was covered all over with a gown or mantle of yellow damask, so that nothing could be seen but his head, which was quite bare. His hair was curled, and his mantle edged with a parti-coloured galoon, four or five inches broad, like a priest's cope; which that vestment nearly resembled. All the civility he shewed the emperor's ambassadors was, to receive standing their compliments, or rather adorations: for when they had advanced within six paces of him, they cast their caps on the ground, and prostrated themselves thrice, striking the earth with their foreheads. After this ceremony, they kneeled by turns at his feet, when he put his hand on their heads, and made them touch his chaplet, or beads. The ambassadors then paid a second adoration, and, the pretended immortal being first seated, took their places in alcoves, one on each side. Some of their retinue also, after paying their adorations, received the imposition of hands and touch of the beads. Then an entertainment was made; and while the counterfeit god reached a cup of Tatarian tea, served in plate, our author observed, that his arms were bare up to the shoulders; and that he had no other cloaths underneath but red and yellow scarfs, wrapped about his body. The collation being over, and the tables removed, they conversed for some time. The living idol spoke no more than five or six words, and those very softly, in answer to the ambassador's questions; but was continually rolling his eyes, looking earnestly, now at one, then at another; and sometimes vouchsafed to smile. In this temple were no images, as in other temples; but portraits of their deities, painted on the walls. In a chamber they saw a child, of seven or eight years old, with a lamp burning beside him, dressed and seated like the khûtûktû, and seemed designed for his successor. When

his behaviour.

(F) The Chinese is Ho-Fo. In Tibet he is called Lama Konju; and, by the Chinese and Tatars, God the Father, according to the Jesuit Grueber. See Collect. of Voyages and Travels, in quarto, vol. iv. p. 653. He is called also Lama Lamalu; that is, the Lama of Lamas; and Dalay Lama, or the Great Lama; being the pope of those countries.

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the ambaſſadors took their leave of this mock deity, he neither moved from his ſeat, nor paid them the leaſt civility [y].

Khûtûktû of the Kalkas;

The khûtûktû of the Kalkas is not ſubject to the Dalay Lama of Tibet, though originally a deputy from him to them and the Eluths; but having taſted the ſweets of ſpiritual command, he made bold (towards the year 1680) to ſet up for an independent deity. This ſcheme he executed with ſo much addreſs, that there is ſcarce any mention made at preſent of the Dalay Lama among the Kalkas; who believe their living Fo to be no leſs divine and immortal than him of Tibet. The court of China had a great ſhare in this new apotheoſis, in order to divide the Kalkas from the Eluths; a diviſion which they ſaw could not well be effected ſo long as both nations continued attached to the ſame head of religion; who would, at all times, in caſe of difference, endeavour, for his own ſake, to reconcile them [z]. The emperor Kang-hi, therefore, at the intreaty of the khûtûktû, aſſiſted the Kalkas againſt Kaldan Pojuktu, khân of the Eluths, in 1688: but before the Chineſe forces arrived, Kaldan had made great ravages in the country of the Kalkas; and, among the reſt, deſtroyed the magnificent temple, which the khûtûktû had built near the river Tula, with yellow varniſhed bricks.

His reſidence, perſon, and manners.

This living Fo, who was the chief occaſion of the war by his cruelty and injuſtice, was named Chemitzun Tamba Khûtûktû, and brother to the khân of the Kalkas, called Tuſhetu Khân. After his temple was deſtroyed, and Kaldan was repulſed by help of the imperial troops, he went and dwelt in tents, on the banks of the Iben Pira, a little river which falls into the Selinga. As the veneration which the Kalkas had for him drew crouds of people thither, the place, in a little time, might be called a large city of tents, the hurry being much greater there than any where elſe in that part of Tartary; for it is reſorted to by the Ruſſians, and other nations, for the ſake of trade, as well as by the prieſts of all ranks, from Hindoſtân, Pegu, Tibet, and China. Gerbillon ſaw this khûtûktû, in 1691, at an audience of the emperor Kang-hi; who obliged that pretended god to pay him homage. He was a corpulent man, and the only fat Kalka our author had ever ſeen, of a middle ſtature, and though upwards of fifty, had a very ruddy complexion. He was dreſſed in a long

[y] Du Halde, China, &c. vol. ii. p. 279.

[z] Abu'lgh. Hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 508.

gown,

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gown of yellow sattin, with a border of rich fur, and a collar of the same. Over his shoulder he wore a great linen scarf of a dark red, His head and beard were shaved. His bonnet was a kind of mitre of yellow sattin (G), with four red corners turned up, and faced with extreme fine black sable. He had on red boots peaked at the toes, a narrow galoon running along the seams, he was followed by two servants, and conducted by the president of the tribunal of the Mungls. Being afterwards sent for by the emperor, he, notwithstanding his pride, put on the habit of ceremony appointed him by his Chinese majesty, and received a present of about three hundred and thirty pounds [a].

Lamas, or priests, their characters.

These khûtûktûs are attended by lamas, or priests, who have a great ascendant over the people, and are held in high veneration by them; although the Jesuits tell us, that they are commonly not only ignorant, but also great libertines, debauching women with impunity. They sing their prayers, which they scarce understand, with a solemn yet harmonious air; and this chanting constitutes almost the whole of their religious worship. They make no sacrifice or offering; but they give absolution to the people who demand it bare-headed, on their knees; and are so bigotted to them, that the missionaries say, there are very little hopes of converting them to the Romish faith. It is generally believed that they can call down hail and rain. They pretend also to the knowlege of medicine, which they practise. Their dress is like that in which the apostles are painted; and they wear a mitre and cap like bishops. They do not live in community in Tartary; but in some places have a kind of prebends, consisting of the lands and flocks of those whom they succeed. They go from tent to tent, and repeat certain prayers, for which they have a salary [b].

SECT. III.

Government of the Mungls.

Aymaks, or ordas.

IN order rightly to understand the nature of government in use among the Mungls, it must be observed, that each of the three great branches is divided into ay-

[a] Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 338, & seq. [b] Ibid. p. 252, & seq. & p. 263.

(G) The colour of yellow denotes being in the interest of the emperor of China, whose livery that is.

macks

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macks or tribes. Every aymak is composed of a number of families, who usually encamp together, and never separate without acquainting their chief, that he may know where to find them. When an aymak or tribe is assembled, whether to fight their enemies, or for any other particular reason, it is called orda, or, as the Europeans term it, a hord.

Tayki and khân.

Every tribe or branch separated from it has its particular chief, who is called tayki, or tayghi; which dignity descends regularly to the eldest son. These are their nobility; and riches being equally divided among them, there is no difference between one head of a tribe and another, but that of merit, or the number of families in his orda [c]. These chiefs of tribes are subject to some khân, whose vassals they are, as also by birth his generals and counsellors. Khân, or Hân, is the title given to the sovereign of any state, great or small: thus several petty Mungl princes are styled khâns, though tributary to the khân of the Kalka Mungls, who is himself under the protection of the emperor of China; and this last monarch, originally coming from Tartary, is also called khân; being considered as the great khân of the Manchews, proper Mungls, and Kalkas, who are subject to him. It is not permitted to any of the family, except the reigning prince alone, to assume the title of khân [d]; that which belongs to the princes of the blood being tayki [e].

The dignity elective.

When a khân dies, all the princes of the reigning family, and heads of tribes, which are under the dominion of that house, meet at the usual residence of the defunct, where they proceed to the election of a new monarch. They only examine who is the eldest among those princes, without regard to the seniority of the several branches of the family, or to the children of the deceased; and they never fail to elect him who appears to be oldest, unless some extraordinary personal defect be found in him. It is true, force and usurpation may set this order aside; but this case happens much seldomer among the Pagan than Mohammedan Tartars [f].

The Mungls submit to the Manchews.

The Mungls, for some considerable time after their dividing into three great branches, continued independent under their respective khâns; but at present only the Eluths retain an absolute sovereignty, the Mungls and

[c] Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 397. & seq. [d] Ibid. p. 391. [e] Souciet. Obs. Math. p. 160. Not. 3. [f] Ibid. p. 398.

Kalkas

Kalkas having become subject to the Manchews, now reigning in China.

After the descendents of Jenghîz Khân, towards the middle of the fourteenth century, were driven out of China, the princes of his house seized on certain territories, and formed different hords; however, the title of khân remained to their chief, called Chahar Khân, descended from Hubelay, or Kublay. To this prince the other Mungl tribes (who had continued in Tartary), and even the Eluths themselves, were tributary, till about the beginning of the seventeenth century; when his subjects, unable to bear his cruelties and irregularities, called in the founder of the Manchew monarchy in China, who obliged him to quit the title of khân for that of vang, and entirely subdued the Mungls about the great wall.

Their government. These new masters, after their conquest of China, conferred on the most powerful of them the titles of vang, pey-le, pey-tse, and kong, answering to those of regulo, prince, duke, and earl; divided them into forty-nine standards, and settled a revenue on each chief; fixed the bounds of their lands, and established laws, by which they are governed to this day. There is a grand tribunal at Pe-king (called that of the Mungls), to which appeals are brought from the judgment of the princes themselves; who are obliged to appear when cited. The Kalkas, since their subjection, are under the same regulation.

The Kalka Mungls submit to Kang-hi. It does not appear at what time that part of the Mungls called Kalkas assumed the name. These had at first a khân, who, as well as the other Mungls and Eluths, was tributary to the Chahar Khân above mentioned; but the Kalkas increasing greatly in process of time, and the descendents of Kublay, who had only the title of tayki, growing numerous, the more powerful among them became by degrees independent on each other, and of the khân himself, to whom they paid only a slight homage. Before the year 1688 they are said to have amounted to six hundred thousand families, divided into seven standards, under so many chiefs, on three of whom the Dalay Lama of Tibet conferred the title of khân; although the taykis allowed them no greater superiority that the first place in assemblies; but, in the year above mentioned, Kaldan Pojuktu, khân of the Eluths, having invaded their territories, to revenge himself on the khûtûktû, both for his usurpation, or revolt from the Dalay Lama, and the death of a khân, which he had concerted; the Kalka khâns, after half

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half their subjects had been destroyed by the enemy, implored the assistance of the emperor of China, Kang-hi; to whom, after the war, two of them submitted immediately, with their subjects. These he divided into shassaks, or standards, like the Mungls, conferring new titles on their princes, and appointing them lands for their maintenance.

At present powerful.

Tushetu, or Tushektu, the most powerful of the khâns (H), after his defeat by the Eluths, fled; but was not followed by many of his people; most of whom retired into the woods, on the north side of the river Tula; and afterwards, submitting to the emperor, were divided into three standards, under so many princes [g]. However, we are told by other authors, that this submission, procured by the intrigues of the lamas, was merely nominal; for that his son Tushidtu Khân, who in 1720 had his urga, or camp, on the river Orkhon, twelve days journey to the south-east of Selinghinskoy, was very powerful, and had several petty khâns, who dwelt about the springs of the Jenisea, and the Great Kobi, or Desert, tributary to him. The emperor of China sends him every year magnificent presents, and the attention with which he is treated, shews that he is feared more than any of the neighbouring princes; for should he ever come to an agreement with the Eluths, the union might endanger the present family reigning in China [h].

Eluths government, power, and forces.

The Eluths, who at first were tributary to the Chaher Khân, as well as the Kalkas, at length became independent also; and are at present the most numerous of all the great branches into which the Mungls are divided. These people grew very formidable in the last century. After having subdued Little Bukharia, under the famous Kaldon Pojuktu, before mentioned, they ruined the Kalkas, and even threatened to attack China itself; but he was overthrown at last, although with much difficulty. Since which time they keep themselves within their proper bounds, and have not been so troublesome to their neighbours as before.

The khân (called Kontayki, or *the Great Lord*) is a potent prince, being able to bring into the field above a hundred thousand men.

[g] Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 251. 259. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 505, & seq.

[h] Bentink ap. Abu'lgh.

(H) His territories extended along the Selinga, Orkhon, and Tula, as far as Mount Kentay.

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Arms of the Eluths, The arms of the Eluths are chiefly great bows, with sizeable arrows; which they draw very true, and with great force: it having been observed in the dispute which the Russians had with them in 1715, on account of some settlements on the river Irtish, that they pierced men quite through the body with their shafts. They have also great arquebusses, six feet long, with barrels an inch thick; and yet the ball they carry is hardly an inch in diameter. They fix them on rests, and never miss at six hundred yards distance; firing them off with a match. When they march they carry them across their backs, fastened to a strap; and the rest hangs on the right-side. As they never go to war but on horseback (having no infantry), they all use lances, and most of them coats of mail, and iron caps. Their commanders wear sabres, like the Chinese, the handle behind, and the point before, that they may draw backwards, which is the more convenient way. Most of the inhabitants of Tatary hang their bows at the left-side, in a sort of case, when they take horse; but they carry their quivers at their backs. The left-hand is the place of honour with most of the Oriental nations; particularly the Mohammedan Tatars.

how worn by them.

Way of fighting; They shoot their arrows with as much skill flying as advancing; for this reason they chuse rather to provoke their enemies at a distance than come to close fight with them, unless they have much the advantage. They have not the method of fighting in lines and ranks: but, upon going to action, divide themselves, without any order, into as many troops as there are ordas, which compose the army; and in this manner each advances, led by its chief, to charge the enemy, lance in hand. The Tatars have been ever very expert in fighting flying, as Quintus Curtius, and other ancient authors, relate. In this the swiftness of their horses is of great advantage: for often, when they are supposed entirely routed, they return, and fall upon their enemy with redoubled vigour; and when their adversaries are eager to pursue them, without preserving order, they run an imminent risk of being defeated. The Eluths are extremely brave, and want nothing but European discipline to make them formidable [1].

Ensigns or colours: Each aymak has its particular ensign or banner; which is usually a piece of kityka, or some other coloured stuff, an ell square, fixed upon the top of a lance, twelve feet long. The Eluths and Mungls exhibit the figure of a dro-

1 Bent. ap. Abu'lgh. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 535.

medary,

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medary, cow, horse, or other animal, putting under it the name of the tribe: and as all the branches of the same tribe still retain the figure represented in its ensign, adding thereto only the name of the branch for whose use it is designed, these ensigns serve them, in some measure, instead of a genealogical table [k].

Hazard all at war.

The present inhabitants of Great Tatary in general, who have exactly preserved the manner of living of the ancient Mungls, carry their whole substance along with them wherever they go: hence it comes, that when they happen to lose a battle, their wives and children commonly remain a prey to the vanquisher, with their cattle, and generally all they possess in the world [l].

The Tatars of all denominations pay two tythes annually of all their effects; first to their khâns, and then to their heads of tribes. The Eluths and Mungls, not cultivating their lands, give the tenth of their cattle and the booty which they take in war.

Eluths Torgaüti.

With regard to the government of the other two branches of the Eluths, the Torgaüti and Koshoti: the first, who separated from the Jongari, in the beginning of the present century, put themselves under the protection of the Russians; and still make use of it, although they possess a considerable extent of country, to the east of the kingdom of Astrakhân, and river Jaik. In other respects they live under the same form of government with the rest of the Eluths, divided into aymaks, or *tribes*, with their taykis, and a khân over all.

and Koshoti, their government.

The Eluths Koshoti have been settled in the country of Koko Nor ever since the Mungls were driven out of China. They are subject to eight taykis, or *princes*, who have their respective territories, but are leagued together for their mutual preservation. They are all of the same family, and dignified by the emperor of China with the titles of regulo, or petty king, prince, duke, and earl: they are all vassals to the khân, who resides at Tibet, or rather to the great lama; on whom one of the ancestors of that khân bestowed Tibet about the year 1630, after he had conquered it from the lawful prince: but after the defeat of Kaldan, khân of the Jongari Eluths, by the troops of the emperor of China in 1691, the emperor Kang-hi sent to invite these eight taykis to become his vassals. The chief in rank among them, accepting the invitation, was

[k] Bent. ap. Abu'lgh. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 401. [l] Ibid. p. 537.

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made tsing vang, or prime regulo. Some of the others submitted to pay him homage by proxy; and the emperor chose to win the rest by presents, and allowing them a trade custom-free [m].

CHAP. X.

History of the Mogul or Mungl Empire, founded by Jenghîz Khân.

SECT. I.

The Reign of Temujin till elected Grand Khân.

Mogul empire,

THE empire of the Moguls, whose history we are now entering upon, is one of the most surprising phænomena which has appeared on the theatre of this world; and what deserves more than any other to attract the reader's admiration, whether he considers its rise, its extent, or the rapidity of its progress. It was thought that the Arabs had carried conquest to its utmost height; and that no human power could ever exceed the efforts of that people, who in the compass of seventy years, subdued more countries than the Romans had conquered in five hundred: but the Moguls have far transcended the Arabs, and from as small a beginning acquired a much larger empire in less time; for Jenghîz Khân, in a few years, extended his dominions, from a very confined territory, to more than one thousand eight hundred leagues from east to west, and above one thousand from north to south, over the most powerful as well as wealthy kingdoms of Asia: hence he is with justice acknowleged to be the greatest prince who ever filled the eastern throne; and all historians have bestowed on him the highest titles, as well as greatest encomiums, that ever monarch acquired.

its vast extent;

We have already given an account of the Mogul tribes, and their ancient history, to the time of Jenghîz Khân: we shall therefore in this place, only touch on such matters preceding the time of that conqueror, as more im-

[m] Du Halde, vol. i. p. 29, & seq. and vol. ii. p. 265.

mediately

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mediately relate to him, and may be necessary to complete his history. A.D. 1163.

Jenghiz Khân's descent.

According to the tradition of the Moguls, Jenghîz Khân was of divine descent, since his family can be traced no farther back than Alankû or Alankawa; who being compressed by a spirit, brought forth three sons, who from thence obtained the surname of Niron (I), which their posterity enjoyed; those of her former children being called Dirlighin, to denote that they had no miraculous original. As Jenghîz Khân descended in a right line from Buzenjir (K), the third of Alankû's celestial offspring, and his predecessor in the ninth degree, some authors call him the Son of the Sun (L). According to Fadl-allah (M), who wrote his life, his descent from Alankû is as follows: 1. Buzenjir Khân. 2. Bûka Khân. 3. Tutumiten Khân. 4. Kaydu Khân. 5. Baysankar Khân. 6. Tumena Khân. 7. Kabal Khân. 8. Purtan Khân. 9. Yesukay Behadr. 10. Jenghîz Khân[n].

His ancestors.

Among these princes three or four were particularly famous; Buzenjir, surnamed the Just, was khân of Kotan. Basankar or Bassikar (as Abû'lghazi Khân calls him), was a prince of great conduct, and conquered many provinces. Kabal or Kabul Khân, made himself the admiration of all Asia by his courage; he had six sons, in whom the name of Kayat, which had been lost for three thousand years, was revived[o]. Bisukay or Yessuki Behadr, the father of Jenghîz Khân, was remarkable for having brought under his command the greater part of the chiefs of the Mogul nations, with the king of Karakatay or Karikitay, who disturbed his repose. He vanquished them, although they were frequently assisted by the king of Katay, which comprised the northern province of China.

Their conquests.

After these exploits, having received an affront from the tribe of Su Moguls or Tatars, he entered their country, which he pillaged, and being met by Temujin Khân, lord

[n] De la Croix Hist. Gengh. p. 9, & seq. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 55, & 63, & seq.

[o] See also Abu'lgh.

(I) This, the Oriental authors say, is a corruption or contraction of Nûraniyûn, which signifies *Children of Light*.

(K) Abû'lghazi Khân's translators call him Budensir Mogak.

(L) According to Abú'lghazi Khân's history, something as bright as the sun fell into Alankû's chamber, and assumed the shape of a man.

(M) This is the first and most eminent of all the authors who have written of Jenghiz Khân, and his successors.

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of several tribes, who came to drive him thence, he put him to flight, after a bloody battle, and returned with honour to his country-seat, where he commonly resided, called Dilon Ildak, in Yeka Moguliſtân. To commemorate this victory, he gave the name of the vanquished khân to a son, of whom Olon Ayka, the first of his wives, was soon after delivered, calling him Temujin. As he was born with congealed blood in his hands, Sûghujin, the khân's relation and first minister, foretold by his skill in astrology, that he should overcome his enemies in battle, and at length attain the dignity of grand khân of all Tatary. On the death of Sûghujin, Pisûka chose his son Karasher Nevian, a man of exalted parts and learning, to educate Temujin; who had scarce attained his ninth year, when he would apply himself to no other exercise than that of arms [P].

Yesukay at length was unfortunately taken prisoner by the khân of Kitay; but after a long imprisonment, making his escape by bribing his guard, he resolved to be revenged for his confinement. With this view he married Temujin, though not thirteen years old, to the khân of the Naymans daughter; but died before he could execute his design.

Hejra 559. A.D. 1175.

State of Asia.

Before we proceed, it will be proper to acquaint our readers with the state of Tatary, and the neighbouring countries, at the time of this prince's death. The whole region betwen Mount Altay and the Eastern Tatary was divided among a great number of aymaks or tribes, who had each one or more khâns, according as it was more or less numerous, and subdivided. Among these, that of Kara-its was most powerful, whose prince assumed the title of grand khân: to him most of the other tribes, and among the rest the Moguls, were tributary; but according to the Chinese historians, both one and the other paid tribute to the emperor of Kitay or Katay.

Empire of Kitay;

China was divided into two parts: the nine southern provinces were in the hands of the Chinese emperors of the Song family, who kept their court at Hangchew, the capital of the province of Che-kyang: the five northern provinces, except part of Shen-si, with the adjoining parts of Tatary, were possessed by the Kin, a people of Eastern Tatary, from whom the Manchew, at present masters of China, are descended. This great dominion was named Kitay or Katay, and divided into two parts: that which

[P] De la Croix Hist. Gengh. p. 12, & seq.

belonged

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belonged to China was properly called Kitay, and the part appertaining to Tatary was named Karakitay; in which some even include the territories of the Moguls, Kara-its, and other nations, mentioned in this history.

of Hya; The western part of proper Kitay was possessed by a prince of Turkish extraction, who had lately formed an empire there, called by the Chinese Hya and Si Hya; whose capital city was Hya-chew, at present Ning-hya, in Shensi, from whence the kingdom took its name. To the west of Hya lay Tangut, a country of great extent, and formerly very powerful; but at that time reduced to a low state, and divided among several princes; some of whom were subject to the emperor of Hya, and others to the sovereign of China.

and Turkestân; All Tatary to the west of Mount Altay, as far as the Caspian Sea, with the greater part of Little Bukhâria, which then passed under the general name of Turkestân, was subject to Gurkhân, Kurkhân or Kavar Khân, to whom the Oygûrs, Vigûrs or Igûrs, and even the Karazm Shâh, who reigned over Great Bukhâria, Karazm, and most part of Irân or Persia, were tributary. This Gurkhân had been prince of the Western Kitân or Lyau, who, driven out of Kitay by the Kin, settled in Little Bukhâria, and the country to the north, between Turfân (about which the Oygûrs inhabited), and Kâshgar, where they founded a powerful state in the year 1124.

at Pisukay's death. This was the state of the north part of Asia at Pisukay's decease; at which time between thirty and forty thousand families, all from the same stock, were subject to his dominion. But Temujin being so young, the Tayjuts first, and then two thirds of the rest, deserting him, went over to one Burgani Karíltuk. All the Kataguns, the Jipjuts, the Jaygherats or Jajerats, and the Nirons, excepting a few families, joined him to a man. The Markats, who never would submit to Yesughi or Pisûka Bahadr, submitted to him. They who continued faithful to Temujin were the descendents of his great-grandfather, half the tribe of the Markats, and several families of other tribes. Temujin, when scarce thirteen years old, took the field against those revolters, and fought a bloody battle; but as it did not prove decisive, he was obliged to temporize till the fortieth year of his age [q].

Temujin succeeds; Pisûka's death threw things into confusion; for soon after it the khâns of Tanjut Merkit, and several other Ni-

[q] Abu'lghazi Khan Hist. Turks, p. 66, & seq.

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ron tribes, his relations, whom he had subdued, with his cousin Jemuka, revolting, attacked Temujin; who, encouraged by his mother, erected his standard, which displayed a horse's tail, and marched along with her at the head of his forces, which engaged the enemy with success.

This affair is related more particularly in the Chinese history; which takes notice, that Temujin being very young, his mother Ulun governed in his minority, and brought back several of his vassals, who had gone over to Taychot and Chamuka, two princes, enemies to his family. These having formed an army thirty-thousand strong, of soldiers chosen out of seven hords, came back to attack Temujin: but he being assisted by his mother and by Porji, a young lord of the hord of Orla, only thirteen years old, after a bloody battle, in which those three performed wonders, Taychot was slain, and Chamuka put to flight. This action made a great noise all over Tatary, much to the advantage of the young Mogul prince; who discovered on this occasion generosity in rewarding his officers and soldiers. Almost all Taychot's hord, which was very numerous, and possessed a large country, submitted to the victor; and Potû, lord of the country about the river Ergona or Argun, became his faithful ally, marrying his sister Tumulun; upon whose death Jenghîz Khân gave him his daughter to wife[r]: but after this victory, fortune turning against Temujin, he was defeated, and fell several times into the hands of his adversaries; from which, however, he always found means to escape.

gains a victory;

In his fourteenth year he espoused Purta Kujin, daughter to the khân of the Kongorats, and kinswoman to Vang or Ung, khân of the Kara-its, by whom he had a daughter: but next year, while he was engaged in an expedition from home, the Merkits entered Niron Kayat, which belonged to one of his tribes; and having defeated the few forces who guarded it, carried off all that was valuable, with the princess Purta Kujin, who was big of her second child. Her they sent to Vang Khân, and her husband's enemies pressed him to marry her; but though she was very beautiful, he declined it, saying he could not marry his son's wife. He spoke thus, because, at the time when he formed a league of amity with Yesukay, he called Temujin his son.

A.D. 1176.

loses his wife.

The Moguls revolt;

As soon as the Mogul prince heard of his wife's captivity, he sent an ambassador to Karakorom, to demand her of the

[r] Gaubil, ubi supra, p. 2.

khân,

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khân, who immediately granted his requeſt. Being delivered of a ſon on the road, ſhe wrapped him in paſte, and ſo carried him in her lap, without hurting his tender limbs, to the palace of her huſband, who called him Juji (N). Two years after this event, his own tribe of Niron Kayat, ſeduced by Tukta Bey, khân of the Merkits, his moſt powerful enemy, took up arms againſt him, and he was himſelf made priſoner by the tribe of Tanjut or Tayjut. He had however the addreſs to eſcape again from the hands of his enemies. Reflecting in the ſequel on the bad poſture of his affairs, he offered the khâns all they could deſire to procure an accommodation; but their deſign being entirely to ruin the houſe of Yeſukay, they rejected his propoſals, and ſeized the greater part of his dominions. In conſequence of this diſaſter, reſolving to take refuge under the grand khân, he ſent a nevian or prince of his court to Karakorom, to implore the protection of Vang Khân, who readily granted it; in conſideration, as he ſaid, of the ſignal obligations which he lay under to his father Piſûka. Upon this occaſion Temujin married his mother Ulun Ayka to Buzrak, an eminent man, whom he placed on his right hand above all the princes; and leaving the regency of his kingdom to his uncle Utejekin, departed with Karaſher and all his faithful ſervants, eſcorted by a guard of ſix thouſand men, for the court of the grand khân[a]; of whom it may be proper to give ſome account.

A.D. 1178.

retires to Karakorom.

The predeceſſors of this prince, whoſe original name was Togrul, had been powerful lords in Moguliſtân, Jelayr, Tûrkeſtân, and Karakitay. Some of his anceſtors had even aſſumed the title of emperor; but their greatneſs in time decayed. His family, one of the moſt illuſtrious in Karakitay, contained ſix great tribes of Derlighin Moguls; among whom were the Kara-its, who made war with their neighbours. Mergûs, the grandfather of Togrul, whoſe tribe reſided at Karakorom, was one of the moſt conſiderable and valiant khâns of the Kara-its, but at the ſame time unfortunate; for ſeveral khâns of Karakitay having combined againſt, and twice vanquiſhed him, one of them, named, Nawr, his relation, drew him into an ambuſcade, took him priſoner, and ſent him to the king of Kûrga in China, who cauſed him to be ſewed up in a ſack, and left to expire on a wooden aſs.

Vang Khân's deſcent.

[a] Mirkhond Marakaſhi, ap. De la Croix, ubi ſup. p. 16, & ſeq.

(N) That is, in the Mogul language, *happily arrived.*

Kutuki,

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A.D. 1178. Kutuki, the widow of Mergûs, enraged at the treachery of Nawr, yet feigning to be angry with none but the king of Kûrga, fifteen months after sent to tell the former that she passionately desired to divert herself in his company, and that if he retained the affection which he professed for her before her marriage with Mergûs, she would not scruple to make him her husband. Nawr falling into the snare, the lady immediately set out, attended by waggons laden with great vessels made of ox-hides, filled with kammez or kimis, a hundred sheep, and ten mares, which were ordered to be dressed. The khân met the princess with all the demonstrations of joy; and having drank plentifully of the liquor which she presented him, she gave the signal to her attendants; these opening the great barrels, there came forth armed men, and cut to pieces Nawr (whom she had already stabbed), with all his domestics. After this execution she made her retreat, without the least suspicion; and for such an heroic action was highly esteemed by all the princes of that age.

Female courage.

Vang Khân's fortune.

Mergûs Khân had two sons by his princess, Koja Boyruk and Gûrkhân. The first at his death left several children, the eldest of whom was named Togrul: at ten years of age he accompanied his father in the wars, and was in that expedition where his grandfather was taken by Nawr, and with much difficulty escaped. As he had more merit than the rest of his brothers, he succeeded his father; a circumstance which exposed him to their hatred. Having afterwards frequent quarrels with his brothers and cousins, he put some of them to death; which rigorous treatment incited his uncle Gûrkhân to make war upon him. Vang Khân, being vanquished, and dispossessed of his dominions, fled to Pisûka, Temujin's father; by whose assistance he recovered his throne, and pursued Gurkhân even to the kingdom of Kashîn [t].

Prester John,

This Vang Khân (or, as it is commonly written, Ung Khân) was the prince who made so great a noise in the Christian world towards the end of the twelfth century, under the title of the Prester John of Asia, which the Nestorians first conferred on him: and there are four letters extant, said to be sent by him to Pope Alexander III. Lewis VII. of France, the emperor of Constantinople, and the king of Portugal. That to the king of France, of which there is a French copy, begins, "Prester John, by the grace of God, the most powerful monarch, king of all

[t] Fadlallah apud De la Croix, p. 21. & seq.

Christian

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Christian kings, wisheth health, &c." He boasts of his great wealth, and the vast extent of his dominions; speaking of seventy kings who serve him, and boasting of the tribute which he extorts from an Israelitish king, who is lord of many dukes and Jewish princes. He invites the king of France to come and see him, promising to give him great dominions, and make him his successor. He proceeds to name the different kinds of people and rarities that are in his kingdoms. He calls himself a priest, because he performs the sacrifice of the altar; and a king, as he executes the office of a sovereign judge. He speaks of St. Thomas according to the fabulous notions of the Indians; and, at the conclusion, desires the king to send him "some valiant cavalier of French generation[u]."

a Nestorian fiction.

But it is not difficult to discover that this letter is spurious, and written, not by Vang Khân, but the Nestorian missionaries; who were very numerous, and had been established there in the year 737, by means of those of Musol and Basrah. These, by their emissaries, had spread a report all over Christendom, that they had converted the greater part of the inhabitants of Tatary, and even the great khân himself; who, they said, was actually become a priest, and had assumed the name of John. They invented these fables to make their zeal more conspicuous, and render their sect more respected. There is also a letter of the pope, which styles him, a most holy priest; although, in reality, there is not the least appearance that he was a Christian; but only, that he permitted Christians to live in his dominions, with their bishops; and that some of his subjects had embraced their religion.

A.D. 1182.

Vang Khân's power.

All that can be allowed as true, is, that this prince was the most powerful khân of the country north of Kitay; and that a great many sovereign princes paid him tribute. Abu'l-Faraj observes, that he was lord over all the eastern Turks; for, in his time, the greater part of the inhabitants of Tatary were called Turks. Vang Khân was a native of the tribe of Kara-its, whose dependents were the inhabitants of Jelayr and Tendûk, who possessed most part of that region. The capital of this kingdom was Karakorom, situated about ten days journey from the place where Temujin first kept his court, and about twenty days from the borders of China. This city, after Vang Khân's reign, became the residence of the Mogul emperors, and

[u] Math. Paris, apud eund. p. 24. & seq.

had

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A.D. 1182. had the name of the Ordûbaleg given it by Oktay Khân, the succeſſor of Jenghîz Khân [w].

Temujin eſteemed. This prince was in his twentieth year when he arrived at Karakorom, where he was received with great marks of affection by the grand khân, whom he aſſured of his obedience, profeſſing to devote himſelf entirely to his ſervice. Vang Khân, on the other hand, promiſed him his protection, and to force the Mogul khâns to return to their duty. He ſent lords to threaten them with war, if they continued hoſtilities againſt Temujin; and daily heaped honours on his royal gueſt; called him his ſon, and even placed him above the princes of his own blood; increaſed the officers of his retinue; and committed the conduct of his armies to him, in the war he had with the khân of Tendûk. Temujin diſplayed his courage on this occaſion, and humbled ſome Mogul khâns, who refuſed to pay Vang Khân the uſual tribute: but this ſucceſs and favour of the ſovereign created him many enemies among the courtiers [x].

Marries his daughter. This enmity was increaſed by another accident. The princeſs Wiſûlûjine, daughter to the grand khân, charmed with the valour and perſon of the young Mogul prince, fell in love with him; and rejected the offers of Jemûka, khân of the tribe of Jajerat, who had, with much earneſtneſs, aſked her in marriage: but Vang Khân having given her to Temujin, Jemûka was ſo enraged, that he vowed revenge, and ſtirred up many perſons, as envious as himſelf, to join with him; yet the credit which that young prince had with the grand khân, who had made him his prime miniſter, and the great number of his friends, for a long time defeated all their contrivances. However, Vang Khân, who wanted nothing but firmneſs, at laſt ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced by calumnies.

Tatars reduced. The Chineſe hiſtory informs us, that the hord of the Tatars, who uſually encamped along the Onon, having revolted againſt the emperor of Kitay, this monarch ordered all his tributary princes to aſſemble near that river, and march againſt them. To-li, lord of the Kara-its, and Temujin, having diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion, the firſt was made a vang or wang, which anſwers to khân; whence afterwards called by his ſubjects Vang Khân; and Temujin was gratified with a conſiderable poſt in the army.

[w] De la Croix. p. 26. & ſeq.

[x] Abu'l-Faraj. apud eund. p. 28. & ſeq.

To-li's

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To-li's brother, afterwards fled, in discontent, to the Naymâns, and prevailed on their khân to attack him. This invasion obliged him to fly to the countries of the Whey-hu, to the west of the Whang-ho, or Yellow River, which runs through China. In this distress Temujin lent his troops to Vang Khân; who, marching to the river Tula, defeated the Merkits or Markats, who were neighbours and allies of the Naymâns; then joining Temujin, both together attacked the Naymâns, and routed them: but although Vang Khân obtained much plunder in these actions, he gave none to his benefactor, who notwithstanding concealed his resentment. A.D. 1184.

Next year Temujin assembled a formidable army of Karaits, with intent to restore the grand khân: nor was that of the confederate khâns less considerable. After skirmishing some time, Temujin, at the head of his troops, began a general battle, the most bloody, perhaps, that was ever fought. At last the leaders of the enemy gave way, and fled, followed by their troops; of whom the pursuers made a terrible slaughter. The grand khân entered victoriously into Karakorom, in 1179, and was re-established on his throne. *Restores the khân.*

Abu'lghazi Khân does not mention this restoration of Vang Khân by Temujin, but speaks of his dethronement as an event which happened in the reign of Yessukay Behadr[r]. That author leaves Temujin in a state of inaction for the space of twenty-seven years. He tells us, that, after the battle which he fought when but thirteen years old, finding himself not able to reduce the tribes which had revolted, to Burgani Kariltûk, he was obliged to temporize till the year Bars, or *the Tiger*; when entering into the fortieth year of his age, a man belonging to the revolted tribes informed him, that the Tayjuts and Nirons were joined with the Bayjuts, the Markats, and the Tatars, intending to surprise him. On the receipt of this intelligence, Temujin, who had already considerably augmented his forces, and acquired great experience in war, reviewed the thirteen tribes, which were then under his obedience: when he ordered the baggage and cattle to be placed in the middle of the camp; and putting himself at the head of his troops, proposed, in that posture, to wait for the enemy: but, at their approach, he ranged his thirty thousand men in a line, to cover, by so large a front, his baggage and beasts. Having in this manner en- A.D. 1201. *Temujin subdues the revolted tribes.*

[r] Abu'lghazi Khan, p. 72.

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gaged his foes, he gained a complete victory, with the slaughter of near six thousand slain on the spot, and a great number taken prisoners.

His severe revenge. Immediately after the battle, he ordered seventy large caldrons of water to be put on the fire, and caused the chiefs of the revolters to be thrown in headlong, when the water was boiling hot. He afterwards marched to the habitations of the revolted; and having plundered them, carried away the men, cattle, and all other effects. He condemned to slavery the children of the chief men of the tribes; and distributed the rest among his troops, as recruits [z].

Confederates against him, Prince Chamaka or Jemûka, envying the reputation of Temujin, excited several princes, the chief whereof were those of Hatakin, Sachihu, Kilupan, and Tatar, to seize on both him and Vang Khân. Te-in, lord of the Honkirats or Kongorats, who had been forced into the league, retired to his own lands, and sent notice to Temujin, who had married his daughter. Hereupon Temujin and Vang Khân took the field, when least expected, and defeated the confederates in several battles. The Moguls were considerably reinforced by the accession of the Ulutay, Mangu, Chalar or Jalayr, Honkirats, and I-ki-lye-tse. These five hords, which furnished excellent officers, and sprung from the five sons of Laching Patûr, sixth ancestor of Te-in, dwelt along the Onon, Kerlon, Ergone, Kalka, and other neighbouring rivers. At this time Temujin and Te-in formed a treaty, famous in the history of the Moguls; by virtue of which the chief of each family was to take his first wife out of the other: which treaty was strictly observed, as long, at least, as the descendents of Temujin reigned in China [a].

A.D. 1202. *raised by Jamûka.* In 1202, Jamûka having assembled the confederate princes near the river Tulu Pir, they elected him their chief, and took an oath of allegiance. This league was exceedingly strengthened by the accession of Boyrak, king of the Naymâns. Temujin, who was assisted by the princes of his house, and his allies, had in his army four generals, called Palipankula, or the *Four Intrepids*, named Muhuli, Porchi, Porokona, and Chilakona. Besides these, there was a stranger called Say-i, who was skilled in the art of war; and, being a fire-worshipper, was called Chapar.

[z] Abu'lghazi Khan, p. 69. & seq. [a] Gaubil, ubi supra, p. 5. & seq.

Next

Next year Temujin joined Vang Khân, near the mountain Kau, where Jamûka and his allies had aſſembled their forces: but Jamûka, fearing the ſucceſs of a battle, choſe rather to render the Kara-it prince jealous of Temujin, by ſuggeſting to him that he was not be truſted. Vang Khân hereupon ſecretly decamped in the night, and retired firſt to the river Haſwi, and thence to Salî, between the Tula and Onon. They had ſcarce ſeparated, when the khân of the Naymâns attacked ſeveral parties of the Kara-its, and plundered the habitations of that hord. On this inſult, Vang Khân diſpatched couriers to Temujin, deſiring the aid of his Four Intrepids; who, on their arrival, defeated the Naymâns, and recovered the booty. This ſeaſonable aſſiſtance produced a firmer union than ever between the two; and each promiſed a daughter in marriage to the other's ſon. *Vang Khân's inconſtancy.*

Mean time Ilaho, Vang Khân's ſon, who had long envied Temujin's reputation, by the inſtigation of Jamûka, perſuaded his father, ever wavering and diſtruſtful, that the prince of the Mungls had betrayed him. In this belief he reſolved to deſtroy Temujin ſecretly: with which view he invited him to his camp, with his ſon Chuchi or Juji, and the princeſs his daughter; under pretence of accompliſhing the double marriage before agreed on. Temujin indeed ſet forward; but returning, ſent an officer to defer the ceremony till another opportunity. Soon after, being informed of the whole plot, he ſent to his allies, and took proper meaſures to prevent a ſurprize [b]. *Ilaho's envy.*

The reaſon of Temujin's ſudden return is not mentioned in the Chineſe hiſtory; nor does Gaubil inform us in what manner he came to know of the plot: but both are related by Abû'lghazi Khân. According to this author, Vang Khân, at the ſame time that he invited Temujin, under pretence of making a more ſtrict alliance by the marriage, ſent to tell Menglik Izka, Temujin's father-in-law, that, as nothing ſtood between him and the crown but his wife's ſon, he would aſſiſt him to put that prince to death, and then divide his poſſeſſions between them. As Vang Khân was an intimate friend of Poſuki, and owed great obligations to him, Temujin, after having received his ambaſſador with honour, proceeded towards his court: but meeting on the road with his father-in-law, who diſcovered the grand khân's propoſal to him, he turned back, and diſmiſſ- *Plot againſt Temujin.* *how diſcovered.*

[b] Gaubil p. 6. & ſeq.

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ed the ambaſſador, with an apology to his maſter for putting off his viſit for the preſent.

Five or ſix days after the ambaſſador's departure, Badu and Kiſhlik, two brothers, who kept the horſes of one of Vang Khân's chief domeſtics, came and informed Temujin, that the grand khân, finding he had miſſed his point, was reſolved to ſet out inſtantly, and ſurprize him next morning, before he could ſuſpect any danger. They ſaid they heard their maſter communicate this deſign to his wife, the day before, when they went to carry milk to his houſe; and, without delay, came to give him notice [c].

Temujin ſtands upon his guard. Temujin was then, according to De la Croix, encamped at ſome diſtance from Karakorom, by Vang Khân's order; who had ſent him from court, under pretence that his preſence was neceſſary in the army; but, in reality, to remove him from his own guards: for all the ſoldiers adored him for his courage and liberality. Although the Mogul prince could hardly believe what Badu and Kiſhlik had told him, he thanked them for their affection; and having conſulted Karaſhar, with the reſt of his friends, it was reſolved that they ſhould lie in ambuſcade. As the ſlaves had aſſured him that he was to be ſeized in his tent, he ordered all things of value to be removed out of it; that all his domeſtics and officers ſhould quit their's; and that fires ſhould be left burning all night in the camp. After which precaution, he marched, with all his troops, to take poſſeſſion of a narrow lane or paſs, called Jermegah, two or three leagues diſtant.

They had ſcarce departed from the place, when Vang Khân's forces arrived, commanded by Sankûn and Jemûka. The prince rode full ſpeed up to the illuminated tents, and, with his followers, ſhot a prodigious number of arrows at Temujin's; not doubting but the cries of the wounded would ſoon bring out the perſon they wanted to diſpatch: but hearing no noiſe, they entered the tents; where, to their ſurprize, they found not a living creature. Hereupon, concluding that he had fled through fear and guilt, they followed him by the tract of his troops, in great hurry and diſorder.

Defeats Vang Khân. Mean time Temujin had poſted himſelf at the foot of a mountain, in a narrow paſs, which was covered by a wood, with a brook before him: but when he ſaw the enemy advancing in diſorder, although much inferior in force, having only ſix thouſand men againſt ten thouſand, he

[c] Abu'lghazi, ubi ſup. p. 49. 72. & ſeq.

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crossed the stream, and attacked them with such impetu- A.D. 1202.
osity, that, after a very slight resistance, they fled. In this fight they lost a great number of soldiers and officers: prince Sankûn, who, with the rest, escaped to Karakorom, was wounded in the face with an arrow. This action happened when Temujin was forty years of age, and had been eighteen years in Vang Khân's service [d].

Sends to reproach him.

According to the Chinese history, when Vang Khân perceived that his plot was discovered, he openly attacked Temujin on all sides; but the Mogul prince got the advantage in four battles, in the last of which he fought with Vang Khan himself; Ilako, being wounded with an arrow, retired from the engagement. Temujin afterwards encamped at the lake Tong-ko, from whence he sent an officer to reproach Toli in the following manner: "When your uncle Kior defeated you at Hala-when, you lost your possessions. My father defeated Kior in Ho-si, and restored you. When your brother armed the Naymâns against you, and you were obliged to retire westward, I sent my troops, who defeated the Markats, and hindered the Naymâns from destroying you. When you were reduced to such great misery, I gave you part of my flocks, and every thing else that I had; yet you sent me nothing of all the great plunder which you got from the Markats: although it was by the help of my officers that you became so rich, and my four generals brought you out of the distress in which you were involved. You know what I have done to prevent the ill designs which the confederate princes so often formed against you: will you, after so many obligations, attempt to destroy me in so base a manner?"

All Tatary in motion.

The rupture between Temujin and Vang Khân put most of the princes of Tatary in motion: the first was joined by his brother-in-law Hasar Whachin, prince of the Hongkirats (or Kongorats), and Putu, prince of I-ki-lye-tse; Queli, Vang Khân's brother; Chapar, and several other lords. After many consultations with his four generals, the army advanced; and being arrived at the river Panchuni, or Long-ku, whose water was very muddy, Hasar caused a horse to be killed. Then Temujin, taking up some of the water, drank it; and, invoking heaven, promised to share with his officers, during his life, both the sweet and the bitter; wishing, in case he ever should be so unhappy as to violate his oath, that he might become as

[d] De la Croix, p 37, & seq. Abu'lghazi, p. 74.

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A.D. 1202. the water which he drank. All his allies and officers followed his example. This ceremony bound them exceedingly firm to his intereſt; and the families of thoſe who drank the water on that occaſion, valued themſelves much on account of their fidelity [e].

League of Panchuni.

Meets the Kara-its.

Temujin having marched from that river in queſt of the enemy, the two armies met between the Tula and Kerlon, or Kerûlon; and though that of Vang Khân was by far the moſt numerous, yet, after a bloody conteſt, Temujin gained a complete victory; after which, he was joined by the greater part of the vanquiſhed troops. Vang Khân eſcaped with great difficulty; and many of his own officers would have killed him. He was purſued, however, and taken by one of the parties ſent after him; but the ſame day eſcaped, and retired into the territories of the Naymâns; where an officer of that country knowing him, cauſed the unfortunate prince to be ſlain. His ſon Ilaho (or Ilako Sanghin) retired firſt into the kingdom of Hya; from whence being driven, and flying to the country of Kiu-tſe, between Turfân and Kaſhgar, he was killed, by order of its prince [f].

With this account the weſtern hiſtorians agree, but relate the ſeveral incidents more circumſtantially.

His dominions ſeized.

Temujin, when informed of Vang Khân's death, without loſs of time ſeized his dominions, as his right by conqueſt; and Sankum being no-where to be found, he remained peaceable poſſeſſor of all the Kara-it territories. About the end of the year he returned to his own country, where he was received with acclamations by all the Mogul khâns, who came to pay their acknowlegements to him, for having delivered them from the tyranny of Vang Khân, whom they called the perſecutor of their nation.

Hakembû ſubmits.

After this event, Hakembû, a brother of Vang Khân, offered his ſervice to Temujin, and a daughter in marriage. The grand khân received him favourably, gave him the employment he deſired, and accepted of his daughter with joy; at the ſame time telling him, "that he owed him a kind treatment, in return for that which his brother had given to him in his misfortunes. That although both Vang Khân and prince Sankûn had, without cauſe, conſpired againſt his life, yet he never blamed them, but imputed all their perſecutions to Jemûka; nor had he on that ſcore leſs reſpect for their memories than if they had always continued his friends." Temujin fully deſigned to

[e] Gaubil. Hiſt. Gentch. Kan, p. 8. [f] Gaubil, ubi ſup. p. 10.

have

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have married his daughter; but perceiving that the captain of his guards, whom he much esteemed, had fallen in love with that princess, he gave her to him for a wife. A D. 1203.

Jemûka stirs up the other khâns.

Tayyân, khân of the Naymâns, one of the most considerable princes of Karakitay, was alarmed and uneasy at his son-in-law's surprising fortune, notwithstanding the harmony which had long subsisted between them. While his thoughts were employed on this subject, Jemûka, who had escaped out of the late battle, with the remains of Vang Khân's army, and most of the officers, arrived at his court; and being known to be a man of great abilities, was very well received. As he possessed the most insinuating wit, and was skilled in all the arts of courts, he endeavoured to excite his jealousy against Temujin. He represented him as a man of unbounded ambition, who quarrelled with princes, for a pretence to invade their dominions; as well as the most ungrateful and perfidious wretch; alleging that he contrived to deprive both Vang Khân and Sangun of their empire and lives, at the same time that they loaded him with their favours. Tayyân Khân knew this charge to be mere calumny; yet, urged more by his own fears than Jemûka's sollicitations, he resolved to make war on Temujin. For this purpose he proposed a league with some other khâns, whose interest it was to put a stop to the new emperor's growing greatness: into which Tuktabey, and the other Merkit khâns, the khân of the Virats, and he of the Kerit, who was a relation of Vang Khân, presently entered; and Jemûka engaged for the whole tribe of Jajerats (or Joygherats) [g].

The plot discovered.

Among the rest, Tayyân khân had likewise invited Alaku (or Alakus) to join with him and prince Jemûka, in order to curb the power of Temujin. This Alakus was chief of the White Tata, who dwelt on the south-south-east of the mountain Altay. These Tata are different from the Tatars; that name being sometimes given by the Chinese to the people in general inhabiting beyond the great wall; and at other times to certain particular hordes, whereof some were called Tata of the Waters, situate almost due north of Korea; others White Tata, of whom we are speaking. Their chief, Alakus, was a descendent of the ancient Turkish princes; and having had a very great esteem for Temujin, he detained the messenger who came from Tayyân Khân, and gave the Mogul prince notice of the proposal. When he received this intelligence,

[g] De la Croix, p. 60, & seq.

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his brother Kanchekin, preſſing him to take ſpeedy and vigorous meaſures, he mounted his horſe; and, followed by his choiceſt ſoldiers, marched to the mountain Hang-hay, where Tayyân wss encamped with his Naymâns; who, though much more numerous, were defeated, and their khân was ſlain. On which occaſion many hords declared for the victor, who before were reſtrained by fear. This event happened in 1204; and next year Temujin began to make incurſions on the territories of the king of Hya.

Naymâns routed.

The Naymans reduced.

The kingdom of the vanquiſhed being thus ſubdued by Temujin, who brought under his obedience a great tract of land, he returned to Karakorom; where, during the winter, his court was filled with ambaſſadors, who were ſent by their maſters, either to congratulate him, aſk his protection, or ſubmit to his government. Almoſt all the Kalmûk tribes in the eaſtern parts put themſelves under his protection; but, to the north, ſome khâns, jealous of their liberty, and even ſome Mogul tribes, refuſed to ſolicit his favour. Tukta Beg, who was once a very powerful prince, could not bear to ſee the ſudden grandeur of the new emperor, endeavoured all he could to foment their hatred againſt him. On the other hand, Temujin, conſidering him as his worſt enemy, reſolved to turn his arms againſt this khân, who had ſo highly injured him: accordingly, early in the ſpring, he ſet out at the head of a powerful army againſt the Merkits (or Markats).

The Merkits defeated.

Tukta Beg was not inſenſible of the provocations he had given Temujin; yet his envy flattering him with hopes of ſucceſs one time or other, he alſo made great preparations of war; and was joined by ſome Tanjuts (or Tayjuts), with prince Kaſhluk: but when he heard that Temujin approached his capital city Kaſhin, with ſuch an army as was never ſeen before in Moguliſtân, he was intimidated; and he, with his eldeſt ſon, fled to Boyruk, Tayyân Khân's brother, to whom Kaſhluk, his nephew, had already retired for ſhelter [b].

The grand khân after this flight found none in the field to oppoſe him. However, the city of Kaſhin ſeemed reſolved to ſtand a ſiege: but although, at firſt, the inhabitants made a vigorous reſiſtance, yet they were in a ſhort time obliged to ſurrender; and Temujin, having put all to the ſword who had been in arms againſt him, raſed the fortreſs. After this exploit, he took an oath of fidelity from all the tribe of Kaſhin, as well as others of the Mer-

[b] Abu'lk. ap. De la Croix, p. 74, & ſeq.

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kit tribe; and all the khâns whom he pardoned ſwore to obey him.

The grand khân, having finiſhed the conqueſt of Moguliſtân, returned to his capital Karakorom; where, reflecting on the great number of his acquiſitions, he judged it proper to regulate his empire. With this view he called a general diet, which he appointed to be held on the firſt day of ſpring the next year, when the ſun entered Aries; to which were ſummoned all the great lords, both the Mogul and Tatar. In the interim, to eſtabliſh good order in the army, he divided his ſoldiers into ſeveral tomâns, hèzarehs, ſedehs, and dehehs; that is, bodies of ten thouſand, one thouſand, one hundred, and of ten men: with their reſpective officers, all ſubordinate to the generals who commanded the tomâns; and theſe were to act under one of his own ſons. He next turned his thoughts to legiſlature, and ordered a code of new laws to be drawn up, which he communicated to his privy-council, before he expoſed it in the general diet. Hejra 602. A.D. 1205. *Military regulations.*

At length the princes of the blood and great lords met at the place appointed, dreſſed in white. Then the grand khân, cloathed like the reſt, ſitting on his throne, with his crown on his head, was complimented by the whole aſſembly, who wiſhed the continuance of his health and proſperity. After this ſalutation they confirmed the Mogul empire to him and his ſucceſſors; adding all thoſe kingdoms and nations which he had ſubdued, the deſcendents of whoſe vanquiſhed khâns were deprived of all right or title to any of their dominions. When he had thanked them for theſe marks of love and reſpect, he declared his reſolution to add to the ancient laws ſome new ordinances which he commanded them to obſerve [1]. *Temujin inſtalled.*

After this ſeſſion, in the tenth month of the year 1206, the princes of the family of Temujin, the chiefs of hords, and generals of the army, aſſembled at the ſource of the river Onon. All the troops were divided into nine bodies; each of them having erected a pavilion and diſplayed a ſtandard, they acknowleged Temujin for their ſovereign, by exclaiming, Chinghîz Kohân (O). Then he nominated Muhuli and Porchi his two chief generals and prime miniſ- A.D. 1206. *and acknowleged.*

1 Mirkhond, Khondemir. Abu'l. ap. De la Croix, p. 76, & ſeq.

(O) Which is not a Mongol word; but a ſound expreſſing the cry of a bird, to which they aſcribe extraordinary qualities, and made its appearance the preſage of good luck.

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A.D. 1206. ters. From this event the Chinese history commences the empire of the Mongol (or Mungl) conqueror [k].

Abu'lghazi Khân, conformable to the Chinese historians, gives Temujin the empire and name of Jenghîz Khân at the same time: but De la Croix places those events three years apart; the first in 1202, just after the defeat and death of Vang Khân (in which year Abu'lghazi places both), the latter in 1205. They likewise relate them with different circumstances.

Boyruk Khân defeated. The year 1206 was farther memorable for the entire defeat of Pologu (or Boyrak), brother of Tayyân, khân of the Naymâns. His son Kushluk, and Toto (or Tokta Bey), lord of the Markits, retired to the river Irtish; where

A.D. 1208. the former had still a powerful party: but in 1208, Chinghîz Khân, having attacked them both, slew Toto with his own hand, and Kushluk fled into the kingdom of the Kitan. This victory enabled him to subdue the rest of the hords, which still resisted.

SECT. II.

Jenghîz Khân invades the Kingdoms of Hya, Kitay, and Turkestân.

Jenghîz Khân invades Hya. THE grand khân, having finished the conquest of Mogulistân, or that part of Tartary inhabited by the various tribes of people comprehended under the name of Moguls and Tatars, (extending from the borders of what is called Eastern Tatary to Mount Altay in the West), began to think of invading the countries to the south of Tartary: which, unlike the deserts he had already subdued, where no works of stone appeared to stop the progress of an enemy, were full of fortified cities, and strong places, as well as inhabitants.

Jenghîz Khân, who had, in the year 1205, made incursions upon the territories of the king (or emperor) of

A.D. 1209. Hya, in 1209, attacked his dominions, with design to reduce them under his obedience: but, after having forced several posts near the great wall, Li-gan-tsven, to save his capital, which Jenghîz Khân was preparing to attack, submitted to become his tributary.

Almost at the same time that prince conquered the countries of Krekir and Kashin; which last name, we are told,

[k] Gaubil. ubi supra, p. 11, & seq.

formerly

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formerly the region of Tangus bore [l]: but where those countries lay is difficult to determine. A.D. 1210.

The Igurs revolt.

The same year, Parchukorte Tikîn, prince of Igûr, styled Idikût, slew the Kitan (P) officers, who were in his city; and, going in person, put himself under Jenghîz Khân's protection: who gave him a daughter in marriage [m].

Their country described.

Idikût was of an ancient family among the chiefs of the Igûr tribe, for above five hundred years standing. They first possessed the country where the Selinga rises. In process of time they subdued the country of Kau-chang, Igûr, or Kyau-chew, being the same with that of Turfân, in little Bukhâria. The Chinese geographers agree, that the country of Igûr (Vigûr, or Oygûr), was situated where Turfân now stands; but seem unacquainted with its extent. The same author farther inform us, that the Igûrs understood the Chinese characters, and had the books of Kong-fu-tse, or Konfusius: that they honoured the Spirit of heaven, had many bonzes among them, and followed the Chinese kalendar. The chief city, where Idikût resided, was called Ho-chew; the ruins of which still remain, seven or eight leagues to the east of Turfân [n]. To the north of this last city lay Bîshbâlig, which all the Oriental writers make the capital of the Igûrs; whose territories, according to Abu'lghazi Khân, extended to the Irtish: for they were divided into three branches; some living in towns, others in the fields [o].

The Kitân empire.

Jenghîz Khân, being now at peace with all his neighbours, and strengthened by the accession of so many princes, who either submitted to, or joined in league with him, resolved to shake off the yoke of the Kin; to whom at this time the Moguls were tributary, as they had been before to the Kitân. Some time before the Mungls and other hords of Tatary had acknowleged that prince for their sovereign; Tay-ho, emperor of the Kin, sent Yong-tsi, a prince of the blood, to the city of Tsing-chew (now called Khûkhû-hotun), to receive from them the annual tribute. On this occasion Yong-tsi slighted Temujin, and advised framing some pretence to put him to death: but the emperor rejected the proposal; which coming to Temujin's ears, he resolved to be revenged on its author.

[l] De la Croix, p. 92. [m] Gaubil. p. 13. [n] Gaubil. p. 13. 38. & 40. [o] Abu'lgh. p. 35.

(P) These were the Western Kitân, or Layau, settled to the east of Kâshgar, then subject to Gurkhân, king of Turkestân and the Kitân; whose country was from them called Karakitay.

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A.D. 1210. Wang-Yen-King, emperor of the Kin, dying in the tenth month, Yong-tsi, who succeeded him, sent, the following year (1210), an officer to order Jenghiz Khân to pay the tribute. That prince demanded, whom he came from? and being told, from Yong-tsi, then emperor, he absolutely refused; saying, he was himself a sovereign, and would never acknowlege Yong-tsi for his master. "It is said, (added the khân, by way of sneer), that the Chinese ought to have the Son of Heaven for their master; but at present, they know not how to chuse a man." Having spoken these words, he mounted his horse, and rode towards the north. Yong-tsi was extremely nettled at these sarcastic expressions. Jenghiz Khân had other reasons to be displeased with the Kin. Among the rest, Ching-pu-hay, a prince of his house, had been slain in 1206; to revenge which injury the Mungls waited for an opportunity: besides, their khân was told, Yong-tsi intended to have him seized. These considerations determined him to go and encamp along the Kerulon; where he assembled a formidable army, composed of veteran troops. From thence he ordered Chepe Noyân, and Yelu Kohay, to march towards the borders of Shan-si and Pe-che-li: who, having observed the country, and gained some spoils, returned to the main army [p].

Jenghiz refuses to pay tribute.

With a great army invades the Kin.

The Kin had considerable forces in Lyau-tong, which was the bulwark of their empire. In the same province, and countries depending on it, there still remained also a great number of Ki-tân, and many princes of the family of the Lyau, whom they had deprived of the empire. But as Yong-tsi grew jealous of them since the rise of Jenghiz Khân, he commanded double the number of Nyu-che (or Kin) families to be put in all places where they were settled, in order to watch their motions. After this precaution, which occasioned a general discontent among the Kitân, the emperor published every where, that the Mungls intended to attack him, raised powerful armies, and posted troops in all the fortified places on both sides of the great wall, from the Whang-ho to Lyau-tong.

A.D. 1211. In the spring, and first month of the year 1211, Arslân, prince of the Karluks in the west, came with a body of troops, to offer his service to Jenghiz Khân, and Idikût, prince of Igûr, to consult about the preservation of his country. The army began its march southwards, in the beginning of the second month; on which motion Yong-tsi sent

[p] Gaubil, p. 13, & seq.

to

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make propoſals of peace; but they were rejected, Chepe with the choiceſt of the troops forced the poſts of the great wall, to the north-weſt and north-eaſt of Tay-tong-fû, whilſt others ſeized the fortreſſes without the barrier. Mûhûli took the poſts about Pau-gan, and Yen-king, in Pe-che-li. Chapar ſurpriſed the garriſon of Ku-yang-quan (Q) an important place: and Jenghîz Khân defeated a conſiderable body of the Kin, near Swen-wha-fû; which city he took, with the fortreſſes about Tay-tong-fu, then called Si-king, or *the Weſtern Court*, all in Shan-ſi: in ſhort, the Mungls made incurſions as far as the capital.

Haſar Wha-chen, prince of the Honkirats (or Kunkurats), Jenghîz Khân's brother-in-law, who had been ſent to the frontiers of Lyau-tong, to ſound the intentions of the Kitân lords, and attack the Kin on that ſide; found the prince Yelu Lyew-ko at the head of a hundred thouſand men, ready to declare in favour of his maſter. In teſtimony of his ſincerity, that prince, aſcending the mountain Kin ſacrificed a white horſe and black ox, broke an arrow, and took an oath to be faithful to Jenghîz Khân. Lyew-ko, who was of the royal family of the Lyau, a good officer, and had many vaſſals, provoked at the indignities which the Kitân daily received from the Kin, took arms, as ſoon as he heard that the Mungls intended to make war upon them. The khân, to prevent Layew-ko from being ſeduced again, made him very advantageous offers, and conferred on him the title of king; furniſhing Wha-chen and Chepe with good troops to aſſiſt him. Lyew-ko ordered himſelf to be proclaimed king wherever he came; and, having taken many places, marched againſt the Kin army, over which he obtained a ſignal victory. After this event, many Kitân lords ſhook off their yoke, and ſeveral cities ſubmitted. After which atchievements, he reduced Tong-king, or Lyau-yang, a city of Lyaû-tong. This great ſucceſs ſwelled the reputation of the new Kitân king: and induced the Kin to raiſe numerous forces, to ſave that province [q].

The Kitân revolt.

In 1212, Jenghîz Khân ſubdued Whan-chew (R); and Mûhûli, the fortreſſes without the great wall, near the Whang-ho. A.D. 1212. *Jenghîz Khân*

[q] Gaubil. p. 14, & ſeq.

(Q) A fortreſs nine leagues north-north eaſt of Pekin; and Yen-king is three or four north of Ku-yang-quan. Gaubil.

(R) A city of Tatary, north-eaſt of Pe-king, between the 42d

Whang-ho. When the Mungls had reduced all the ſtrong places between that city and the river, they prepared to beſiege Tây-tong-fû. Yong-tſi, in order to check their progreſs, ſent Hûjakû, or Ki-ſhelye, and Wan-yen, at the head of three hundred thouſand men. The khân, by advice of Mûhûli, marched to meet this army, which was encamped near the mountain Yehû, where they were attacked by the Mungls; who, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of their numbers, defeated them. In autumn he inveſted Tay-tong-fû; where, although the governor Hujûkû fled, he met with more reſiſtance than he expected. At laſt, having in a vigorous attack loſt many men, and been dangerouſly wounded by an arrow, he raiſed the ſiege, and retired into Tatary: after which, retreat, the Kin retook Paugan, Swenwha-fû, and even Kû-yang-quan.

A.D. 1213. *Progreſs in Kitay.*

Jenghîz Khân, being cured of his wound, re-entered China in 1213; recovered Swen-wha-fû and Pau-gan; defeated an army of the Kin, after a bloody battle, near Whay-lay; and one of his generals took Kû-pe-kew. After this battle, the khân, not able to enter Pe-che-li by Ku-yang-quan, ſtormed the fortreſs of Tſe-kin-quan, and took I-chew and Cho-chew. However, Chepe, in his return from Lyau-tong, paſſed on to Nan-kew (a place of importance), and took Kû-yang-quan, which is not far diſtant. On the other ſide, in the ſeventh month, a great battle was fought at the mountain U-whey-lin, near Quan-chan-hyen; wherein the Kin were overthrown, with great ſlaughter.

The emperor murdered by Hûjakû.

In the eighth month, Hûjakû, generaliſſimo of the Kin troops, who had been chaſhiered in 1212, for miſdemeanors, and reſtored, ſeized on the perſon of Yong-tſi; and, ſoon after, cauſed him to be murdered. The true cauſe of the ſucceſſes which attended the Mungls was, that general's hatred to thoſe who were the occaſion of his diſgrace. After being replaced, he was ordered to encamp to the north of the court: but, inſtead of endeavouring to ſtop the enemies progreſs, minded nothing but hunting, nor regarded the emperor's order. At length he marched with his army to the imperial city, under

4-d and 43d degrees of latitude, now deſtroyed But Gaubil more juſtly places it almoſt north of Pe-king, or north north-weſt. It ſeems to have been Poro-hotun, whoſe ruins are ſeen about twenty miles, ſouth-by-weſt, from thoſe of Shan-tu, one of the ancient capitals of Tatary.

pretence

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pretence of preventing a conſpiracy which he had diſcovered. Being arrived before it, he ſent horſemen to the palace, to cry aloud, that the Mungls were at the city gates: he next put to death thoſe he ſuſpected; and, having diſpoſed his troops in different quarters, the officers both civil and military aſſiſted him; not imagining that he had a deſign to dethrone their prince: but as ſoon as he had ſecured the gates of the city, he ſeized the palace, and confined the emperor; then depoſed and put him to death. After this ſtep, finding he could not get himſelf declared emperor, he enthroned San, a prince of the blood. Theſe diſtractions determined Jenghîz Khân to beſiege the imperial city. Chepe, after having taken Kuyang-quan, departed with fifty thouſand choſen horſe to join the army. But the van-guard, coming to the river Tſau (S), and endeavouring to paſs the bridge, was entirely defeated by Hûjakû; who was carried in a car, being hurt in the foot. Next day, being prevented from marching in perſon, by his wound, he ordered Chu-hukau-ki to advance with five thouſand troops, to oppoſe the enemy; but that general coming too late, Hûjakû would have put him to death; an execution which the emperor, knowing him to be a good officer, would not ſuffer. Then Hûjakû ſaid to him, "If you defeat the enemy, I will ſpare you; if you are defeated, you ſhall die." Kau-ki marched againſt the enemy; but a north wind ariſing, which blew the ſand into his ſoldiers' eyes, he was obliged to re-enter the city with loſs. Being convinced that Hûjakû would put him to death, he ran with his troops to that general's palace: who, being appriſed of his deſign, mounted his garden-wall; but, falling, broke his leg. The ſoldiers having killed him on the ſpot. Kau-ki carried his head to the gate of the imperial palace, and ſurrendered himſelf to the mandarins, in order to be condemned to death: but the emperor publiſhed an edict, wherein he charged Hûjakû with ſeveral crimes, and commended Kau-ki: whom he appointed generaliſſimo in his room [r]. A.D. 1213.

The aſſaſſin ſlain.

Li-gan-tſven, king of Hya, finding himſelf preſſed by the Mungls, demanded aſſiſtance of the Kin; who refuſed *The Kin hard preſſed.*

[r] Gaubil. p. 18, & ſeq.

(S) A canal, whoſe waters, coming from Chang pang-chew, paſſed by the imperial city; from which the bridge could not be far.

it,

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A.D. 1213. it, as having occasion themselves for more troops than they had. Hereupon the Hya, after they had made a treaty with the Mungls, before mentioned, in 1210, declared war against the Kin; with whom they had been at peace for fourscore years, and attacked Kya-chew, in Shen-si. The same year, Li-gan-tsven dying, Li-tsun-hyu, his relation, succeeded him. This prince, more successful than his predecessor, reduced King-chew, at the end of 1213.

Since the time at which Jenghîz Khân began to invade the Kin empire, many Chinese officers, who had been taken prisoners, entered into his service. He shewed a great esteem for these, and gave them parties of their own nation to command. As he now resolved to attack the enemy on every side, he mixed the Chinese and Tartarian troops together, forming out of them four armies. One he ordered to encamp to the north of Yen-king, the imperial city; another to ravage the country to the north and east as far as Lyau-tong; the third, under three of his sons, was to destroy all to the south and south-west, as far as the Wang-ho; while he himself, with Tuley, his fourth son, marched through Pe-che-li to Tsi-nan-fû, the capital of Shan-tong.

Great devastation. The Kin, for their defence, sent their best troops to guard the difficult passes of rivers and mountains; obliging all people fit to bear arms to retire into the cities. The khan being informed of this regulation, ordered his generals to take all the old men, women, and children out of the villages and unfortified towns, and place them in front of the army. The people from the walls, on hearing the voice of their friends and relations, refused to defend themselves. The desolation was general throughout Shan-si, that part of Ho-nan to the north of the Whang-ho, Pe-che-li, and Shan-tong. The Mungls plundered and destroyed more than ninety cities, reduced to ashes an infinite number of towns and villages, took all the gold, silver, and silk they met with, and massacred thousands of infirm people; carrying into slavery a great number of young women and children. The spoil which they took in cattle was inestimable; and in all those spacious countries there were but ten cities which the Mungls could not subdue; among which in Pe-che-li were Yen-king, the imperial city, Tong-chew, Ching-ting-fû, and Tay-ming-fû. All this devastation happened in 1213.

A.D. 1214. Next year Jenghîz Khân, being returned from Shan-tong, assembled all his troops in one body, and invested

The capital invested. Yen-king, in the fourth month, pitching his camp on the north

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north side. His generals pressed him to scale the walls, and ruin the city; but the khân having had other views, instead of following their advice, sent an officer to inform the Kin emperor, that his master was willing to return into Tartary: however, that, to appease the anger of the Mungl troops, it was necessary to make them considerable presents; adding, that he ought to consider Yen-king was almost the only place which remained in his possession to the north of the Whang-ho. One of the Kin ministers, provoked at this message, proposed to march out and fight the army of Ta-che (T): saying, that many of the Mungl soldiers were sick; and that they were not in a condition to withstand a vigorous attack [s]. A.D. 1214.

Another minister opposed this advice: saying, that they had every thing to fear, if they lost a battle; and but little good to expect from a victory. He added, that the troops in the city had nothing in view but to quit it, as most of them had families of their own: that the best measure therefore was to accept of peace; and when the Mungls were retired, they should be better able to consult what was proper to be done. The emperor, approving this counsel, sent a lord to the Mungl camp, to negotiate a peace; wherein it was stipulated, that a daughter of the late emperor Yong-tsi should be given to Jenghiz Khân; with five hundred young boys, and as many girls, three thousand horses, silk, and a great sum of money. As soon as the conditions were performed, the khân raised the siege; and, departing by the way of Ku-yong-quan, commanded all the children, whom he had taken in the four provinces of Shan-tong, Honân, Peche-li, and Shan-si, to be massacred. *Buy a peace.*

After the retreat of the Mungls, the emperor San declared to his council, that he resolved to remove his court to Pyen-lyang (U), in Honan. Tu-shi-ni, a wise and faithful minister, represented, that, in such case, the northern provinces would be lost. He observed, that Lyau-tong being very strong by situation, it was easy to maintain themselves there: that no more was to done, than to make new levies, fortify the court, fill the garrison, *The emperor removes the court.*

[s] Gaubil. p. 20, and seq.

(T) One of the names given by the Chinese to that large region, at present possessed by the Mungls and Kalkas. Gaubil.

(U) Called also Nan-king, or *the Court of the South*, and still Pyen.

and

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A.D. 1214. and recruit the troops of that province. Moſt of the grandees were of his opinion: but the emperor ſaid, that as the treaſury was exhauſted, the troops weakened, and cities round the capital deſtroyed, Yen-king was no place of ſecurity. Accordingly he departed, with his family and ſome troops; leaving the prince, who was to be his ſucceſſor, to encourage the inhabitants.

Its bad conſequence.

The Kin monarch had ſoon occaſion to repent of this impolitic ſtep. Being arrived at Lyang-hyang (a city five leagues ſouth-weſt of Pe-king) he demanded from his troops their horſes and cuiraſſes. The major part of them, refuſing to obey, ſlew their general, and choſe three others in his ſtead: after which election they returned, and ſeized the bridge of Li-kew. From thence Kanta, one of their generals, ſent a courier to Jenghîz Khân, who was then encamped at the city Whan-chew, in Tatary, to offer himſelf and his troops for his ſervice. As ſoon as that prince was appriſed of the emperor's retreat, he was much incenſed; complaining that he had been deceived by the Kin, and thereupon reſolved to enter China. With this view he ſent his general Mingân, with a great force, to join Kinta, and beſiege Yen-kin. When theſe tidings reached the emperor, he ordered his ſon to leave that city, and repair to Pyen-lyang. This ſtep alſo was againſt the advice of his miniſters, ſupported by the example of Ming-whang, or Hivn-tſong, a Chineſe emperor of the Tang race. The departure of the prince diſcouraged the garriſon, not only of Yen-king, but of other ſtrong places [t].

State of China.

The rapid conqueſts of the Mungls, and retreat of the Kin emperor, gave great uneaſineſs to the Chineſe monarchs of the Song race; who were then maſters of the ſouthern provinces of China, called by ſome authors Manji, viz. Quan-tong, and the iſle of Haynan, Quang-ſi, Yun-nan, Se-chwen, Quey-chew, Hû-quang, Kyang-ſi, Che-kyang, Fo-kyen, and almoſt all Kyang-nan, where the Kin had a few cities. In Shen-ſi they poſſeſſed the country of Hang-chong-fû, beſides ſome places in the diſtrict of Kong-chang-fû, and on the borders of Sechwen. The great wars which they had carried on againſt the Kin, had forced them to make a ſhameful peace, whereby they were to pay a yearly tribute in ſilk and ſilver. It was reſolved therefore, at this juncture, to refuſe paying tribute any longer: but the pro-

[t] Gaubil. ubi ſupra, p. 23, & ſeq.

poſals

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posals, made by the king of Hya, to join forces against the Kin, were rejected. A.D. 1214.

Conquests in Lyau-tong.

The Kin possessed in Lyau-tong an army of one hundred thousand men, who had retaken many places, subdued the preceding years by king Lyew-ko; and, among the rest, Lyau-yang: but in the ninth month, Mûhûli, followed by the general Wîr, of the hord of Shan-tsû, entered that province, in order to succour the prince, and cut off the communication with Pe-che-li. The numerous army of the Kin, being filled with traitors, dispersed; and the inferior officers killed their general. King Lyew-ko recovered Lyau-yang; and Pe-king, now called Mugden, surrendered to Mûhûli. This general put to the sword a great number of soldiers, under pretence that they came in too late; but restrained the slaughter, on being told, that such a conduct would hinder many other places from yielding. Towards the end of the year, the city of Tong-chew, and important post, to the east of Yen-king, surrendered to the Mungls. The emperor of the Kin having been obliged to lay taxes on the people, this measure furnished several lords with a pretence, some to throw off their dependence, and others to submit to the Mungls.

A.D. 1215.

Lyew-ko's fidelity.

In 1215 many of the Kitân advised Lyew-ko to declare himself emperor, independent of the Mungls: but that prince rejected the proposal, as contrary to the oath which he had taken, to be Jenghîz Khân's subject. At the same time he sent his son Sye-tû to the khân, with ninety waggons loaded with rich presents; and a list of the families which had submitted to him, amounting in all to six hundred thousand. Towards the end of the year he came in person, to do homage to the Mungl sovereign. Mean time the emperor of the Kin, being informed of the distress Yen-king was in, sent a great quantity of provisions, with forces for its relief: but the first convoy, under the escort of an inexperienced general, arriving at Pachew, his army was defeated; on the news of which disaster, the other generals fled, and left all the provisions a prey to the enemy [u].

Wanyen's death.

The two generals who commanded in Yen-king, were Wan-yen Chang-whey and Mo-nyen Ching-chong; the former of whom, being destitute of all hope of succours, proposed to the latter to die for their country. Mo-nyen, on whom the troops immediately depended, declining

[u] Gaubil, p. 25, & seq.

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A.D. 1215. this propoſal, Chang-whey retired in a rage. On the firſt day of the fifth month he addreſſed a memorial to the emperor, wherein he touched on matters of government; and mentioned the crimes of a bad miniſter, whom his maſter made uſe of, meaning Kau-ki, who ſlew Hûjakû: he finiſhed his epiſtle by confeſſing himſelf guilty of death, for not being able to ſave the imperial city. This ſtep being taken, he with a compoſed air, aſſembled his domeſtics, and divided all his effects among them: then ordering a cup of poiſon to be filled, he commanded the mandarin who was with him to leave the room, drank it off, and died immediately.

The capital taken. The ſame evening the emperor's wives, knowing that Mo-nyen was preparing to leave the city, acquainted him, that they would go out along with him. He ſeemed pleaſed with the propoſal; but ſaid he would go before, to ſhew them the way. The ladies, confiding in his promiſe, returned to the palace: but Mo-nyen, unwilling to be troubled with their company, marched off, and left them behind. On that general's departure, the Mungl army entering the city, a great number of the inhabitants and mandarins periſhed in the diſorder which enſued. A troop of ſoldiers ſet fire to the palace, which continued burning for a whole month. Jenghîz Khân, who was then at Wan-chew, in Tatary, ſent to compliment the general Mingan on the occaſion: ordering him to diſpatch into Tatary the ſilks, gold, and ſilver, found, in the imperial treaſury. When Mo-nyen arrived at Pyon-lyang, the emperor, though extremely troubled at the loſs of his capital city, did not ſpeak to him about it, and beſtowed upon him a very conſiderable employment: but ſhortly after he was put to death, for having been engaged, as it was ſaid, in dangerous deſigns. On the other hand, having read Chang-whey's petition, he declared him vang, or wang, that is king.

Honan invaded. San-ke-pa being ſent with ten thouſand horſe to beſiege Ton-quan, a ſtrong paſs in the mountains, between Shen-ſi and Honan, marched through the territories of the king of Hya; who ſtill continued the war againſt the Kin, and this year wreſted from them the city of Lin-tau-fu. He took his route by Si-gan-fû (the capital of Shen-ſi); but failing in his attempt on Ton-quan, marched to Yû-chew, in Ho-nan, through private roads, full of deep torrents, over which they made bridges with their pikes and halberts. At laſt arriving, after many difficulties, in ſight of Pyen-lyang, capital of that province, the Kin troops ſallied,

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ſallied, and obliged him to retire to Shen-chew, on the Whang-ho; which being frozen, San-ke-pa croſſed it, and eſcaped. The emperor San afterwards ſent to deſire peace of Jenghîz Khân; who propoſed ſuch hard condition, that he could not accept of them. Mean time Mûhûli and Wîr, in Lyau-ton, diſperſed, with much addreſs and courage, ſeveral parties which endeavoured to ſhake off the Mungl yoke [w].

In 1216, the Mungls took their meaſures ſo properly, that Ton-quan was forced in the tenth month: after which reduction, they poſted themſelves between the city Yû-chew and the mountain Song. A.D. 1216. *Many places taken.*

Mûhûli, after the parts of Lyau-tong towards Lyau-yang had been conquered, ordered Chong-ping, one of the generals in that province, to march into China, and join the other troops; but being informed that he was a traitor, cauſed him to be put to death. Chang-chi, in order to revenge his brother's death, revolted, and took King-chew, with moſt of the other cities of the province, included between the great wall of China, the river Lyau, the wooden palliſade, and the ſea. He afterwards cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king; and in 1216, declared for the Kin, who gave him the command of their troops in Lyau-tong. Mûhûli, who had retaken Quang-ning-hyen the preceding year, at the end of this, beſieged King-chew. Chang-chi had veteran troops; and the place being very ſtrong, Mûhûli ordered Wîr to attack an important poſt on a neighbouring mountain, while another general ſhould be ready to cut off the troops detached from the city to ſuccour it. Wîr having obeyed his orders, Chang-chi ſallied out with part of the garriſon: hereupon Monku-pûwha placing himſelf between that poſt and the city, informed Mûhûli, who lay towards Quang-ning. This general, marching all night, by break of day came and attacked Chang-chi on one ſide, while Monkû charged him on the other; ſo that he was entirely defeated. Yet eſcaping back to the city, he defended it gallantly for more than a month; when an officer of the garriſon ſeized and delivered him to the Mungls; who cut off his head, and took poſſeſſion of the place. *A rebellion quaſhed by Mûhûli.*

The Mungls, after a great ſtruggle to get footing in Honan, at laſt abandoned that province; and paſſing the Whang-ho, under the conduct of Sa-me-ho, ſurnamed Patûrû, or the *Courageous*, marched towards Ping-yang- *Honan abandoned.*

[w] Gaubil. p. 27, & ſeq.

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A.D. 1216. fû, in Shen-si: but Stu-ting, who commanded the troops in that quarter, having gathered those from the dependent places, met and defeated them.

This is the account of Jenghîz Khân's first expedition into Kitay, transmitted to us from the Chinese historians; which differs in many particulars from that which is given by the western Asiatics.

Kuchluk routed. In the year 1216, Jenghîz Khân, after resting for some time in the palace which he had built near the river Lûku, in Tatary, went and encamped near the Tula; from whence he detached Supâtay against the Markats, who had raised fresh troops, and always supported the king of the Naymâns. This prince, after his defeat, had endeavoured to stir up several tribes of the Kitân, Naymâns, and Markats, A.D. 1217. against the Mungls. Chepe therefore was detached, in the year 1217, towards the river Irtîsh, where he vanquished Kuchluk, son of Boyruk, late king of the Naymâns, who had taken up arms again. After this victory, he directed his march westward; but the Chinese history mentions no particulars of this expedition. At the same time Chuchi (or Juji), the emperor's eldest son, took his journey towards a country very remote from China, to the north-west. The history does not name this country; but mentions some people, or tribes, whom he subdued; as the U-se-han, Ha-na-sa, Kû-lyang-û-ke-she, and Tay-mi-hoynirkhân.

Expedition westward. Jenghîz Khân, having now resolved to carry his arms westward, declared Mûhûli, whose great qualities he publicly extolled, generalissimo of the troops, and his lieutenant-general in China: he conferred on him likewise the title of king, and made it hereditary in his family. On this occasion he caused the Chinese and Tatar troops to be drawn out, with their standards displayed, and ordered them to obey Mûhûli as himself; delivering to him, at the same time, a royal seal of gold, that its impression might be affixed to all his mandates. That general, the same year, marched with his troops towards China, where, in a short time, he subdued many cities in Shen-si, Pe-che-li, and Shan-tong. Li-chew having held out to the last extremity, Mûhûli intended to have put all the inhabitants to the sword; but, at the intreaty of Chau-tsin, one of his best officers, a native of that place, who offered to sacrifice himself, to save his mother, brothers, and the rest of the citizens, they were spared [x].

x Gaubil, ubi supra, p. 32, & seq.

At

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At the end of the year 1217, Jenghîz Khân put himself at the head of a powerful army, in order to march into the West. Before he set out, he declared the prince Tye-muko, called also Wa-che, his fourth brother, regent of the empire. Among the chosen generals who accompanied the khân there were several Chinese; and he formed companies of soldiers, who had the art of throwing huge stones against cities. His first enterprize was against Kuchluk, who had put in motion all the countries to the north-west of Turfân, as far as the rivers Sihûn and Jihûn on one side, and on the other as far as the Obi and Irtîsh. He was leagued with the Markats, and princes of Kicha, a great country to the north and north-east of the Caspian Sea; besides those of the Kangli, who inhabited the country to the north-east of the territories of Samarkand. A.D. 1217. *Kuchluk pursued.*

An army of three hundred thousand men, said to be the remains of the Kitân, of whom there were many tribes about Turfân, having advanced with design to oppose the khân's passage, he entirely defeated them. Ko-pau-yu, one of the Chinese generals in the Mungl army, having been desperately wounded in the battle, Jenghîz Khân honoured him with a visit in his tent. When recovered, he was sent to besiege Bîshbâleg, which was taken, with the other cities in that country. At the same time Gonchor, a lord of the tribe of Yong-ku, in the western parts of Tatary, subdued the city and country of Almâleg. Kosmeli, one of the great officers of the last khân of the western Lyau (or Kitân), understanding that the Mungls were come to make war on Kuchluk, persuaded the chief of the city of Asân, and those of other tribes, to submit to Chepe. Jenghîz Khân, being informed of this circumstance, sent for Kosmeli, and gave him the command of a body of the van-guard. Kuchluk being defeated in the sequel, his head was cut off by the khan's order; and exposed to view in all the towns and villages of the Naymâns, and Kitân, through which they passed. Intimidated by his fate, those tribes, together with the Kangli (or Kankli), acknowleged Jenghîz Khân for their sovereign [y]. *Bîshbâlig taken.* *Kuchluk slain.*

The more western historians of the Mungl affairs nearly agree with the Chinese, in their account of these transactions; and them we shall now chiefly follow in recording the exploits of Jenghîz Khân, in great Bukhâria and Persia, with which the Chinese seem to have been but imperfectly acquainted.

[y] Gaubil, p. 24, & seq.

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SECT. III.

From the Invasion of Karazm to the Death of Soltân Mohammed.

A.D. 1218. JENGHIZ KHAN, having established peace in his dominions, and completed the reduction of all the Turkish tribes under his obedience, resolved to cultivate amity with his neighbours, particularly soltân Mohammed Karazm Shâh: for this purpose, at the end of the year 1217, he sent Makinut Jalâzi, his ambassador, to acquaint the soltân, that, having become master of all the countries of his empire, he was desirous to enter into a treaty of amity with him, for their mutual interest; and that the soltân would consider him as his father: in which case he proposed to look on the soltân as his son. Mohammed, having heard the ambassador's proposal, took him aside, and asked him, if it was true, that Jenghîz Khân had conquered Kitay? and, at the same time, made him a present of a rich scarf adorned with jewels, which he then wore, to induce him to be more open and sincere. Makinut protested before God, that what he had related was fact; adding, that he would soon find he told truth, in case he should have any difference with him. At this answer the soltân was greatly enraged: "I know not, (said he,) what your master means, by sending to tell me that he has conquered so many provinces? Do you know of how great extent my empire is? or upon what ground he pretends to be greater than I; expecting that I should honour him as my father, and be content to be treated only as his son? Has he then so many armies?"

Jenghiz Khân's embassy to Mohammed Karazm Shâh.

Peace concluded.

The ambassador, perceiving how disagreeable truth was to the Karazmian monarch, began to soothe him; saying, "I know very well that you are more powerful than my sovereign; and that there is as much difference between you two as between the true sun and a mock one: but, on the other hand, you know that he is my master, and that I must obey his orders; however, I can assure you, that his intentions are very good." This flattery pacified the soltân, so that he consented at last to every thing which the ambassador proposed, and a treaty of peace was concerted [z]. He returned with presents both for his master

[z] Abu'lgh. p. 97. De la Croix, 119.

and

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and himself, and several merchants of Karazm, loaded with the choicest commodities, accompanied him, with a design to traffick in the dominions of Jenghîz Khân. A.D. 1218.

After this accommodation, such harmony subsisted for some time between the two empires, that a man might have travelled from one to the other, with gold and silver in his hand, without the least danger: but as two great neighbouring princes cannot possibly live long without distrusts and jealousies, soltân Mohammed soon became uneasy at Jenghîz Khân's greatness; and, after his reduction of Gazna, he treated the Mungls with less respect than before: at the same time his subjects committed such acts of hostility as obliged Jenghîz Khân to complain. Yet this complaint did not alter his intention to keep the peace [a]; nor could even the importunity of Nasser, the khalif of Baghdâd, draw him from that resolution. Mohammed, having cut off the heads of one hundred princes, to make himself master of their treasures and dominions, wanted the khalif to grant him the privileges which the Seljûkian and other soltâns had enjoyed before; particularly that of establishing his seat in Baghdâd, to govern and be named in the public prayers, in the same manner as he was; but Nasser refused to comply with his propofals, alleging, that former soltâns had some right to those privileges, for great services done to the khalifat; whereas he had no occasion for Mohammed's assistance, nor had that prince done any thing to intitle him to such powers." *Mohammed quarrels with the khalif Nasser.*

Soltân Mohammed received the khalif's ambassador very honourably; but was so far from abating any thing of his demands, that he called a general council of the muftis, mûlas, kâdîs, imâms, sheykhs, and other lawyers, to depose him; and having nominated another khalif, set out with a great army to take Baghdâd: but, fortunately for Nasser, this army was almost totally destroyed by the frosts and rains of a severe winter, which obliged the soltân to return home. However, the khalif fearing in the end to be reduced to extremities by that powerful prince, resolved to make an alliance with Jenghîz Khân; and excite him to invade Mohammed on one side, while he attacked him on the other. Part of his council were against this measure: alleging, that it was contrary to the Mohammedan law, to bring the enemies of God into the country of the faithful, as such a step might occasion the ruin both of the Musulman religion and empire: but the khalif's *His army ruined.*

[a] Abu'lgh. p. 100. De la Croix, p. 125, & seq.

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A.D. 1218. zeal for the faith could not make him change his sentiments.

Nasser's embassy to Jenghiz Khân for assistance.

An envoy was sent into Tatary, with his credentials impressed on his head (X), to prevent discovery: and having been admitted to a private audience, Jenghîz Khân told him, the treaty which he had just then concluded would not permit him to make war upon the soltân at that juncture: but that he knew the restless spirit of Mohammed would not suffer things to remain long in the posture they were then in; and that, on the first occasion given, he would not fail to declare war against him. The Mohammedan historians greatly blame this conduct of the khalif: and although it does not appear that he ever gave any assistance to Jenghîz Khân, yet his having excited him to make war on a prince of their religion, was sufficient to intail their reproaches upon his memory [b].

Mean time soltân Mohammed, careless of preserving the good harmony on his side, gave much occasion of discontent, by sending, or permitting, his soldiers to enter the borders of the Mungl empire, and commit depredations. At last, he seized a province which belonged to Kashluk, but had become the khân's by right of conquest: and one day, by his order, his soldiers attacked the Mungl troops, which guarded the borders of the country of Ardish. Yet all these injuries could not provoke Jenghîz Khân to declare war against Mohammed: on the contrary, as his aim was to enrich his subjects by commerce, and polish their manners by an intercourse with strangers, he resolved, if possible, to live at peace with him, and even cultivate a firm alliance.

Mungl ambassadors, and merchants,

The good order and perfect security for travellers, which Jenghîz Khân had established in his dominions, drew thither merchants from all parts; and, among the rest, from Great Bukhâria, which was subject to soltân Mohammed. Upon the arrival of some of these latter with very rich commodities, the khân sent for them: but they set so extravagant a price on their goods as excited his indigna-

[b] Ebn Katur. Nissawi. Mirk. ap. la Croix, p. 132, & seq.

(X) This was done with the point of a needle and indigo, in the same manner that the arms of pilgrims are marked at Jerusalem; so that when his head was shaved, the credentials appeared. Histæus, prince of Miletus, when at the court of Darius, king of Persia, made use of the same device, to excite Aristagoras, his son-in-law, to revolt; as we learn from Herodotus, lib. v.

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tion. Having shewn them above a thousand chests, with all sorts of valuable commodities, he told them, they might see by what was before them, that it was not the first time he had bought such merchandizes; and dismissed them without making any purchase. Afterwards, sending for other merchants of the same country, who dealt in the same commodities, he began to cheapen several parcels: and they, warned by what had happened to their countrymen, left the price to his own discretion. This moderation pleasing Jenghîz Khân, he not only ordered them to be paid double the value of their goods; but also gave them leave to sell the remainder of them in his camp, without presenting the chief men with the least trifle. A.D. 1217.

At the departure of these merchants for their own country, the khân took that opportunity to put in execution what he had before projected. He sent with them four hundred and fifty merchants of his own subjects, to trade in the soltân's dominions: accompanied by Mohammed of Karazm, Ali Khoja of Bokhâra, and Yusef of Otrar, three officers of his court, in quality of ambassadors to that monarch, with a very friendly letter.

The ambassadors, having passed through Moguliştân, Karakitay, and Turkestân, at length arrived at Otrâr, called by the Arabs Farab, a city of great trade, seated to the north of the river Sihûn, now called Sîr, at the west end of Turkestân, but subject to soltân Mohammed. They immediately went to salute the governor, cousin-german to the mother of the soltân, who had given him the name of Gaghir Khân. The merchants likewise paid him their compliments, and offered him some presents: but one of them, an old acquaintance of his, happening inadvertently to call him by his former name Inaljik, he was so offended, that, without farther ceremony, he ordered both ambassadors and merchants to be arrested; and then dispatched a courier to inform the soltân, that certain strangers were arrived at Otrâr, who indeed pretended to be merchants and ambassadors; but that, having strong reasons to suspect they came on some ill design, he had caused them to be arrested, till he knew his pleasure concerning them. Mohammed, without enquiring farther in the matter, sent orders that they should be immediately put to death: which sentence Gaghir Khân executed to the utmost rigour, and confiscated all their effects to the soltân's use. *Slain at Otrâr by the governor.*

This affair is somewhat differently related by the authors made use of by La Croix.

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A.D. 1218. Although the perfidious governor took all possible precautions to conceal his crime, that it might not come to the knowlege of Jenghîz Khân; yet one of the merchants had the good fortune to escape the massacre, and carried the news of it to that prince; who, at the recital of a fact so unexpected, as well as execrable, fell into an extreme rage; and having given immediate orders for assembling his troops, sent a message to the soltân, importing, that since by so infamous an action he had violated all the engagements which were between them, he, from that instant, declared himself his mortal enemy, and would take vengeance on him by a rigorous war [c].

Jenghîz Khân's resentment.

Makes regulations in his army.

After Jenghîz Khân had assembled the forces of his empire, he wrote to the foreign princes who were either his friends or tributaries, acquainting them with the reasons of his marching against the Karazm Shâh, and desiring them to join him with their troops; with which being reinforced accordingly, his army amounted to seven hundred thousand men. Before he set out on this expedition, he ordered levies to be made and sent him from time to time. He likewise established some new laws for regulating his soldiery.

He appointed the proper arms which each soldier was to carry; consisting of the sabre, the bow, and quiver full of arrows, and the battle-ax. The officers used helmets and breast-plates either of leather or iron, or else an entire suit of armour or coat of mail; even the private soldiers were allowed to wear armour if they were able to buy it. Persons of substance were obliged to arm their horses, so as that arrows could not wound them. It was likewise ordained that the soldiers should, on all occasions in the field, do nothing but what was conformable to the military laws, under penalty of the most rigorous punishment. Lastly, he commanded, that in case he died in the expedition, the books, in which the laws were written, should be read in the presence of his children at the election of a grand khân; that such election should be made pursuant to those laws; and that the new khân might regulate his conduct by them [d].

Hejra 616. A.D. 1218. Every thing being now ready for the war, the khân detached his son Juji, or Tushi, with a large body of troops towards Turkestân, in order to dislodge the friends of Kuchluk, who still remained in that country; and when

Begins his march.

[c] Abu'lgh. p. 100, & seq. La Croix, 144. [d] Abu'lkair ap. La Croix, p. 151, & seq.

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this service was performed, he marched with his army to attack the dominions of soltân Mohammed [e]. Since it is from the date of this expedition, that the great irruption of the Mungls, or Moguls, and Tatars, into the southern parts of Asia is reckoned to commence, it will be proper to acquaint our readers with the state of this part of the world at that remarkable juncture. A.D. 1218.

State of Asia at his invasion.

The Indians were governed by many kings; the most powerful of whom was the king of the Patans (Y), who reigned in Multân and Dehli. The southern part of China, then called Manji, had its own emperors of the Song race; and the northern part, named Kitay, or Katay, was under the Mungls; as were also both the Eastern and Western Tartary, with most of Turkestân. The rest was possessed by soltân Mohammed, who was also master of Great Bukhâria and Karazm, where the monarchy was first established, and from whence the family took the title of Karazm Shâh. Besides these, his dominion extended over the greater part of the empire of Irân, or Persia at large; containing, among the rest, Khorassân, with the frontiers of India, Pârs, or Proper Persia, Irâk Ajemi, and Azerbijân. Georgia, and the adjacent countries, had their particular princes, who were independent: as for Armenia, its king paid tribute to the shâh of Karazm. The khalif Nasser reigned in Baghdâd over Irâk Arabi, or Chaldea, part of Jazireh, or Mesopotamia, the three Arabias, and some countries of Persia, contiguous to his other dominions. The atâbek princes of Musel, or Mosul, the descendants of the great Nûro'ddîn, prince of Syria, possessed almost all the rest of Jazireh. The successors of Salaho'ddîn (or Saladîn) were also very powerful, Egypt, with part of Syria having submitted to them. Anatolia, or Asia Minor, was for the most part under the power of the Seljûkians, called soltâns of Konia, or Iconium; and of Rûm, or the Romans; and the empire of Constantinople was at this time in the hands of the French [f].

Soltân Mohammed worsted by Juji.

Historians do not mention the places through which the Mungls marched in their way to the Karazmian dominions; nor even the month in which Jenghîz Khân left

[e] Abu'l. p. 103.

[f] La Croix, p. 155, & seq.

(Y) These people are of Persian extraction, and their kings of the family of Gaur; who succeeded that of Gazni in the empire of Persia and the Indies; to which last their possessions were at length confirmed.

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A.D. 1218. Moguliſtân in the year of the Hare. Mean time ſoltân Mohammed made great preparations to oppoſe him; and, having raiſed four hundred thouſand men (a great army, though inferior to that of the enemy), marched towards Samarkand, and from thence to Khojend, in order to meet the khân: but being informed at this laſt place, that Juji was returning from Turkeſtân, he changed his deſign, and directed his courſe to attack the Mungl prince before he could join his father. Having at length, by forced marches, arrived on the borders of that country, he turned off towards the river Kabli, in order to cut off Juji's retreat. Being arrived between that river and the Kamzi, he found a great number of men; who, as he was informed by a wounded ſoldier, had been ſlain the day before by the Mungls; upon this intelligence, he haſtened his march, and overtook them next morning. The generals, who accompanied Juji, adviſed him to make an orderly retreat; inaſmuch as the khân had not commanded him to fight with the ſoltân's whole army; and he was not ſtrong enough for ſuch an undertaking: they added, that, in caſe the ſoltân ſhould purſue them, he could only act by ſmall detachments, againſt which they might eaſily defend themſelves, without running ſo great a hazard as that of a general battle.

The prince rejected this advice as unworthy of his courage and character; after this he ranged his troops in military order, and led them with confidence to the charge. In the height of the confuſion Juji pierced twice or thrice through the enemies ranks; and, having encountered ſoltân Mohammed, gave him two or three ſtrokes with his ſword, which the other parried with his buckler. The Mungls, animated by the example of their prince, performed wonders that day; ſo that, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of the enemy, they were on the point of flying; if the ſoltân, finding that his preſence could not revive the courage of his ſoldiers, had not called out to them to ſtand their ground only for a few minutes, till night came on to part them. They obeyed this command; and thus ſaved him from the ſhame of ſeeing his whole army fly before a ſmall part of the Mungl forces.

More particular account. Juji, content with the honour acquired in that one engagement, cauſed great fires to be lighted in ſeveral places of his camp, and retired ſilently in the night. Next day, the enemy, imagining that he ſtill waited for them on the field of battle, marched out again to renew the fight; but finding he had decamped, they retreated likewiſe. The prince,

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prince, having rejoined his father with the troops under his command, was joyfully received, and loaded with presents for his gallant behaviour [g]. This is the account given by Abû'lghazi Khân; but, according to la Croix, Jenghîz Khân himself was in the battle, and his whole army engaged in this action. A.D. 1218.

Jenghîz Khân advances.

According to Abû'lghazi Khân, Jenghîz Khân was still on his march to Great Bukhâria; where at length arriving, after he had been joined in the way by Arslân, khân of the Karliks, Idikût, khân of the Vigurs, or Oygûrs, and Saknâk, lord of Amâlik, or Almâlîg, he turned first on the side of Otrâr; but understanding that soltân Mohammed had left the country open to him, and distributed his troops into the places of strength, he detached his two sons, Ugadoy, or Oktay, and Jagatay, with a considerable body of forces to besiege Otrâr; and his son Juji, with another party towards Najan. He also ordered two of his generals, Alan Noyan, or Nevian, and Suktu Buka, with fifty thousand men, towards Farnakant, or Fenakant, and Khojend, reserving to himself the grofs of his army; with which he continued his march, accompanied by his son Taulay, or Tuli, towards Great Bukhâria [h].

Zarnuk surrenders.

The first city which Jenghîz Khân found in his passage was Zarnuk (Z), under the walls of which his soldiers encamped with so horrible an outcry, that the inhabitants in terror shut the gates: but Hajîb, one of his officers, being sent to advise them to submit, by demolishing their castle, and sending to the camp all their young men capable of bearing arms to serve in his army, they flocked in crouds, loaded with presents, to put themselves under the protection of Jenghîz Khân; who received them very graciously, and gave to their city the name of Kûtlûk Bâlek, after which he permitted all the elderly men to return.

Nûr submits.

From hence the khân marched to Nûr, situate between Samarkant and Bokhâra, a city which acquired the name of Nûr, or Light, on account of the many holy places within it, resorted to from all parts by crouds of devotees. The inhabitants, after having been several times summoned to surrender, at last agreed to open their gates; but Jenghîz Khân, to punish them for daring to form even a thought of resisting him, allowed them to keep only such

[g] Abu'lgh. p. 103. [h] La Croix, p. 163. Abu'lgh. p. 106, & seq.

(Z) Situate on the south side of the Sihûn, or Sîr, in Great Bukhâria, not many leagues southward of Otrâr.

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cattle and provisions as were necessary for their subsistence; and gave all the rest for pillage to his soldiers.

The soltân flies. The khân made no stay here, being desirous to penetrate as soon as possible to Bokhâra, the center of the soltân's dominions; and he knew that prince had retired thither with the greater part of his riches: but Mohammed, too wise to wait his coming, left twenty thousand men to defend the place, and retired secretly to Samarkant with all his effects. His flight was owing, in a great measure, to certain anonymous letters dropped among his troops; insinuating, that his best officers intended to quit his service. These letters, which occasioned great confusion in the soltân's army, were written by Badro'ddîn, formerly one of his officers, to be revenged on him for putting his father, uncle, and brothers to death. Jenghîz Khân, to whose court Badro'ddîn had retired, permitted him to make use of that artifice, after having been informed that there was a misunderstanding between soltân Mohammed and his mother; and that several commanders had left him, to follow that princess. The khân even offered his assistance to this queen, and a settlement in any part of his dominions; but she did not care to trust to the promises of an infidel prince.

Bokhâra described. Bokhâra lies one day's journey to the north of the river Jihûn, or Amû, very advantageously for trade, and in a delightful country. Besides the city walls, which were very strong, it had an outward inclosure, twelve leagues in compass; which surrounded not only the suburbs, but also many pleasant seats and farms, watered by the river Soghd: from whence the ancient Soghdiana took its name. Arts and sciences flourished no-where more than in this city, to which students flocked from all parts; and we are told that the word Bukhâr, in the Mungl language, signifies *a Learned Man.* Among the many who have rendered it famous was Ebn Sîna, commonly called in Europe Avicenna, of Afhana; who was bred in this university, and was master of all the sciences at eighteen years of age. He was afterwards called to court, and made prime minister, yet still followed his studies; and is said to have written above a hundred volumes. He died in 1036, at the age of fifty-eight [i].

Hejra 616. A.D. 1219. The Mungls arrived in the plain of Bokhâra towards the end of July 1219, and continued encamped before the city during the following winter. In March 1220 the

The city besieged.

[i] Abu'lgh. p. 108, & seq. Fadhlallah apud La Croix, p. 206.

Mungls

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Mungls forced the outer wall, destroyed the suburbs, and began to besiege the city in form. Soltân Mohammed had left in the town a very numerous garrison, under the command of three generals, Kuk Khân, Siunj Khân, and Kuchluk Khân. At the approach of Jenghîz Khân these three generals made a sally in the night with all the garrison, consisting of twenty thousand men; but being repulsed with great loss, their courage failed them; and, instead of remaining to defend the inhabitants, they entered the city by one gate, and passed out by another on the opposite side, with their families, and almost all their soldiers, hoping to escape by the darkness of the night unperceived by the enemy: but their design being discovered, thirty thousand Mungls pursued, and overtaking them at the river Amû, after a bloody dispute, almost all of them were cut to pieces [k]. A.D. 1220

and surrendered.

Mean time Jenghîz Khân, informed of the confusion which the inhabitants of Bokhâra were thrown into by the flight of their garrison, ordered the city to be attacked on all sides: but while the engines were getting ready for that purpose, next morning all the magistrates and clergy, attended by the principal citizens, went out and presented the keys of the city to Jenghîz Khân; who granted them their lives, on condition that they gave no shelter to any of the soltân's soldiers, and expelled all who could be suspected of being in that prince's interest. The castle being strong, all the young people, who were displeased with the surrender, retired thither with the governor; a brave man, who was resolved to hold out to the last extremity.

The khân's behaviour in the jami.

Jenghîz Khân, having taken possession of Bokhâra, entered on horseback into the great mosque, and asked merrily, if that was the soltân's palace. On being answered, that it was the house of God [l], he alighted; and, giving the principal magistrate his horse to hold, mounted the gallery where the ecclesiastics usually sat; then, taking up the Koran, threw it under the feet of his horses. As soon as he was seated, his soldiers began to eat and drink in the temple, without the least regard to the place; and then he retired to his camp. There, in a few days, he assembled all the principal men of Bokhâra, and ascending a pulpit erected for that purpose [m], began his speech by praising God, and recounting all the favours he had received from

[k] Fadhlal. apud de La Croix, p. 210. Abu'lgh. p. 110. [l] La Croix, p. 212. [m] Abu'l. p. 111, & seq.

the

A D. 1220. the Deity. He represented to the inhabitants the perfidious behaviour of their soltân towards him, in commanding his merchants and ambassadors to be assassinated; he added, that God had chosen him to punish Mohammed for all his cruelties, and to rid the earth of such tyrants. As to them, he testified his satisfaction for their having freely furnished his army with necessaries, and promised that his soldiers should not touch any goods, which they made use of in their houses; but commanded them to deliver up all which they had hidden, threatening otherwise to oblige them by torture.

Bokhâra burned. The inhabitants, dreading his vengeance, carried to his officers not only the goods which they had hidden, but those also which they had in use. This compliance satisfied him for that time: but, understanding afterwards, that several of the soltân's soldiers were concealed in the town, he ordered it to be set on fire; so that there remained nothing of that great city, excepting the soltân's palace, called Ark, constructed of stone, and some few private houses built with brick, all the rest having been of wood. He afterwards sent to search the palace and houses, and caused all the soldiers he found in them to be slain. Bokhâra continued in this state for some years; but at length the khân ordered it to be rebuilt, not long before his death. The castle, which had held out for some time after the city was yielded, surrendered also at discretion, and was demolished; but the governor and garrison had their lives spared.

Otrâr besieged; The reduction of this place gave Jenghîz Khân much satisfaction, which was increased by the arrival of the princes Jagatay and Oktay from Otrâr, which city they had reduced [n]. Soltân Mohammed had left Gaghir or Gayer Khân, with fifty thousand men, near that place, to oppose Jenghîz Khân, in case he turned on that side; and when he understood that prince had detached two of his sons to besiege it, he sent a farther reinforcement of ten thousand men, under the command of Karaja Hajîb, one of the lords of his court. With these sixty thousand soldiers the governor shut himself up in the city, and made all the necessary preparations for a vigorous resistance, by strengthening the fortifications, and laying in plenty of provisions. The Mungls began the siege with their battering engines, and attempted to fill up the ditch: which

[n] Mirkh. Fadhl. apud La Croix, p. 211. & seq. Abulgh. p. 110. & seq.

aim,

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aim, after much obſtruction, they accompliſhed; and then placed their machines againſt the walls with more advantage: but the beſieged, by their frequent ſallies, in which they often burned the engines, and otherwiſe damaged them, ſo ſucceſsfully kept off the Mungls, that for ſeveral months they made very little progreſs. This obſtinate defence inclined the princes to turn the ſiege into a blockade; but as it was neceſſary to conſult their father on the occaſion, and he returned no other anſwer than, that they muſt fight, his orders were obeyed with ſuch indefatigable pains and ardour, that, in leſs than a month, the beſieged ſaw all their towers and batteries beaten down, their engines broken, and breaches made in their walls: in ſhort, they were obliged to retire behind their inner works. A.D. 1220.

and taken.

The ſiege had now continued five months, when Karaja Hajîb, ſeeing things reduced to this deſperate condition, told Gayer Khân that it was time to think of capitulating, ſince it was not poſſible to defend the place much longer; and, if the ſurrender was deferred, the enemy would not liſten to any agreement: but the governor, who was conſcious of being the ſole occaſion of the war, and that there would be no mercy ſhewn him, abſolutely rejected the propoſal, and reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity. He had likewiſe, by his addreſs, infuſed into the people ſuch averſion to the Mungls, on account of their being infidels, that he gained over both the inhabitants and garriſon to his ſentiments. Hajîb, finding he had, by this ſtep, made himſelf liable to ſuſpicion, with the conſent of the officers under him, in the night, cauſed the gate called Dervaſi Sufi, of which he had the guard, to be opened, and retired, with his ten thouſand men, into the Mungl camp: but the princes, purſuant to a maxim among them, that a man who was capable of betraying his natural lord, would make no ſcruple of betraying them alſo upon occaſion, ordered him, with all his followers, to be ſlain. After this maſſacre, they entered Otrâr by the ſame gate by which the deſerters had iſſued.

The caſtle reduced.

The governor, ſeeing the city taken, retired with twenty thouſand men into the caſtle; all the reſt of the garriſon, being driven out of the town, were put to the ſword. Gayer Khân, finding the caſtle too ſmall for ſuch a number of men, endeavoured to free himſelf by frequent ſallies, which incommoded the enemy extremely: but the princes redoubling their efforts, as the defence of the beſieged became more obſtinate, the caſtle, after a month's reſiſtance,

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A.D. 1220. resistance, was at last taken sword in hand, and all the garrison slain. The narrow places, which were fortified, held out longer, being difficult of access; and the very ruins of the houses, which were beaten down, afforded means for the remainder of the Karazmian soldiers to fight under cover: but the besiegers, still pouring in fresh troops, cut them all off by degrees [a].

The governor slain.

Gayer Khân, seeing all lost, retired with two men to a terrace of his palace, and there defended himself desperately. As Jenghîz Khân had given orders to take him alive, the execution of them cost the lives of many Mungls. At length his two companions were slain; and although he was in want of arrows to shoot at those who endeavoured to get up to the place where he was, yet he still defended himself a long time with great stones, which his wife brought him for that purpose. At last, being surrounded, he was taken prisoner, and brought before the princes, who ordered him to be loaded with chains; and in their march to Bokhâr, at a place called Kuk Saray, he was put to death, pursuant to orders received from their father. The castle of Otrâr was razed, but the city walls were rebuilt; and the old men, women, and children, who had been turned out by Gayer Khân, permitted to return. It was likewise forbidden, under severe penalties, to the garrison who were left there, to molest the inhabitants.

Slaughter at Saganâk.

As Jenghîz Khân perceived it was necessary to reduce several other cities situated on the Sîr, before he could undertake the conquest of Great Bukhâria; when Otrâr was taken, he sent orders to Juji, or Tushi, to begin with the siege of Saganâk. As soon as he arrived before the town, he sent Haji Hassan, a Mohammedan, to summon the inhabitants to surrender, with a promise of kind treatment: but although he had the governor's parole for his security, in a tumult raised by the chief officers, he was torn in pieces. Juji, upon the news of this assassination, persuaded his soldiers to swear revenge, and never ceased assaulting the place until he had taken it. All the officers and soldiers, with more than one half of the inhabitants, paid with their blood for Hassan's murder; the rest of them, with the city itself, would have been destroyed, if it had not been found necessary to preserve it for carrying on the war to advantage. Juji likewise, to honour the memory

[a] Mirk. Abu'lk. Fadhl. apud La Croix, p. 164. & seq.

of

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of his unfortunate officer, and remind the people of their barbarity, ordered a ſtately monument to be erected for him in the moſt eminent place of the city. A.D. 1220.

In taking this revenge, the Mungls loſt more men than the place was worth; but the ſeverity they uſed produced a good effect, by obliging ſeveral cities to yield without reſiſtance: thus the inhabitants of Uzkant, intimidated by the ſufferings of Sagnâk, came out to meet the prince, then two days journey diſtant, with magnificent preſents, and delivered up their town without oppoſition: the governor, and ſuch as would have defended the place, retired to Tonkat. Juji forbad his ſoldiers to offer thoſe who ſtaid the leaſt inſult, or take any thing which belonged to them. From thence he marched to Aſhâſh, a very beautiful city, ſituated near the river Sihun, now Sîr, four days journey to the north of Khojend. This place refuſed to ſurrender to Juji, who therefore beſieged it; and, having taken it, cauſed a great number of the inhabitants to be ſlain, for daring to defend themſelves [p]. *Uzkant yields.* *Aſhâſh taken.*

After the reduction of Aſhâh, the prince marched to Jund, a city on the borders of Turkeſtân, and at a ſmall diſtance from the Sîr. The governor Kûtlûk Khân poſſeſſed great riches, and had promiſed to make a brave defence, if attacked; but as ſoon as he heard the Mungls were advancing towards him, he croſſed the Sîr with his treaſures, and retired through the deſert into the kingdom of Karazm. However, the inhabitants reſolved to defend the place to the laſt extremity; and although part of them would have ſurrendered, on the promiſe of good treatment, offered by Jitmûr, a commander ſent from Juji or Tuſhi, yet the majority declared againſt ſubmiſſion; and he would have certainly loſt his life like Haſſan, if thoſe who approved his propoſals had not helped him to eſcape. Jitmûr, who was an excellent engineer, and had obſerved the ſtrength of the place, judging that it would coſt much time and men to take it by force, propoſed laying bridges over the ditch, which was full of water; and, ſcaling the walls by ſurprize, in a part where the beſieged thought themſelves moſt ſecure. *Jund beſieged.*

The matter was referred to a council of war; where, although Elak Nevian recommended force, as the beſt way of taking cities, yet the reſt approved of Jitmûr's ſtratagem; and to ſecond it, reſolved to amuſe the beſieged *Taken by ſtratagem.*

[p] Abu'lgh. p. 113, & ſeq. La Croix, p. 171, & ſeq. Abu'lgh. p. 114.

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A.D. 1220. with three false attacks on the weakest part of the town. The attacks began a little before night with great shouts; and as soon as the battering engines began to play, all the garrison ran on that side, and abandoned their other posts. When it was dark Jitmûr caused his bridges to be laid across the ditch, and two wooden ladders to be raised against the wall, one of which he mounted himself, followed by his men, who soon fastened so great a number, that the troops entered the town, and seized a gate without much noise. The army, being thus let in, seized the principal posts, while the besieged, quite confounded and dismayed, abandoned the care of the places assaulted, and fled where they could to hide themselves.

The inhabitants spared. Thus was Jund taken without any loss on either side; for the Mungls, not having lost any men of their own, destroyed none of the inhabitants, excepting two or three, who were put to death for having abused Jitmûr, when he summoned them to surrender. They were stript, however, of all their effects; and, to keep them in obedience, a strong garrison was placed in the city, Ali Koja, a Mungl officer, although a Mohammedan, being appointed governor [q].

Tonkat besieged, After the reduction of this place, Juji, or Tushi Khân, dividing his army into two bodies, detached Elak Nevian, with fifty thousand men, to subdue the countries of Ilâk, Alshâsh, and Khojend; and ordered the rest of his troops to keep the open country, to facilitate the taking of this last city, which was a place of great importance. That general marched with such speed into Ilâk, that several towns surrendered without opposition. Among those which resisted, Tonkât, called by Abû'lkair, Daro'l Ilm, or *the Palace of the Sciences* (Z), was the most considerable. It depended on Alshâsh, and served to secure the frontiers of Ilâk; it was also a common mart for the merchants of both countries. This city was rather a place of pleasure than of strength, full of springs, gardens, and delightful walks; insomuch that it became a saying, that God never made a more delicious dwelling than Tonkât. The garrison was composed of Kanguli, native Turks, a brave people; and the bey, named Ilenko Mâlek, who was lord of the place, answered resolutely, when the Mungls sum-

[q] Mirk. Abulk. ap. La Croix, p. 177, & seq. Abu'lgh. p. 114, & seq.

(Z) On account of an academy of arts and sciences founded there.

moned

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moned him to open the gates; but on the first attack retired into the castle with the principal inhabitants. A.D. 1220.

The besieged resisted vigorously for three days; while Elâk Nevian, who thought it necessary to take this place before he attempted Khojend, gave several assaults to the city: having, on the fourth, made a breach in the walls, the terrified defendants desired to capitulate, but the Mungl general forced them to surrender at discretion. Thinking he had cause to be displeased with the garrison, they were put to the sword, and the inhabitants compelled to quit the town, that their houses might be more conveniently plundered. Ilenko Mâlek had the good fortune to escape before the surrender. The Mungls built there a considerable magazine for warlike stores, and then marched towards Khojend[r]. *and taken.*

Khojend, or Kojend, was situated along the south bank of the river Sîr, in a fruitful and beautiful country, large, and well fortified. It traded chiefly in musk and other odoriferous commodities; was seven days journey north from Samarkant, and the key of Bukhâria on that side: in short, a city in high esteem on many accounts, particularly for the bravery of its inhabitants; and the valour of the chief, who at this time commanded in it, made it still more renowned. This illustrious person was Timûr Mâlek, sovereign prince of the place, and a khân; who paid tribute to the Karazm Shâh, and had often commanded his armies. As soon as Elâk Nevian invested Tonkat, the khân, who expected to be the next attacked, omitted nothing which might be necessary for its defence; laid in stores, broke down the bridges, spoiled the roads, and caused the corn, fruits, and cattle, of the circumjacent country to be carried away. The Mungl general began the siege of Khojend by building a bridge of communication a little below the city; part of his army took post on the other side of the river, and he began to play his battering engines against the city, exposing himself to innumerable dangers. *Khojend described.*

On the other hand Timûr Mâlek contrived a thousand methods to destroy the enemy's machines. He had twelve kerûd, a kind of large boats or barks, six of which he sent armed on each side the river, to discharge stones, darts, and arrows into the Mungl camp, which killed and wounded abundance of men. The garrison was likewise supplied, from time to time, with recruits, by means of a marsh, *Timur Mâlek.*

[r] Mirk. Abulk. ap. La Croix, p. 182, & seq. Abu'lgh. p. 114.

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A.D. 1220. which hindered the besiegers from surrounding the city; so that the khân was in hopes to have wearied them out: but as Elâk Nevian received fresh troops from prince Juji, he, with redoubled assaults, so harassed the besieged, that they despaired of resisting him much longer. On this occasion Timûr Mâlek had recourse to stratagem. A little before the siege he had caused a kind of fortress to be built, at the farther end of the city, in an island of very difficult access, in which he placed a thousand soldiers; and then sent certain persons into the Mungl camp, who, under pretence of being deserters, should advise them to attack that fort, with an assurance, that as soon as it was taken the city must surrender. The general, suffering himself to be deceived, turned his engines on that side; but the castle being extremely high, as well as strong, and at too great a distance from the shore, after several days battering to no purpose, their stones and other materials began to fail. This want of missiles delayed them much, and the difficulty of supplying themselves a great deal more, as they were obliged to go above three leagues for that purpose.

His brave defence. However, this difficulty did not discourage the Mungls, who chearfully underwent that labour; but when a great quantity of stones were brought together, the general employed them another way to reduce the fort; and instead of throwing them against it, ordered them to be cast into the river, so as to form a jetty or bank, by which they might approach nearer with their engines. The work was interrupted greatly by the besieged, who, by their engines, sallies, and barks, often threw down the pier, and destroyed all that was above water. In short, Timûr Mâlek opposed this enterprize by all sorts of contrivances; but when he found he could dispute the passage of the channel with the Mungls no longer, he retired on board his barks with all his men. To destroy the bridge of communication, which was an obstacle to his escape, he one night caused a sally to be made, and while the commanding officer attacked those who defended the head of the bridge, several barks, filled with tar and other combustible matter, set fire to the pontoons of which it was composed; and opened a way for the khân and the rest of his fleet, which drove swiftly down the stream.

Quits the place.

Battles his pursuers, and escapes down the river. As soon as the Mungl general was informed of Timûr Mâlek's escape, he ordered him to be pursued by a great body of horse, who followed the barks along the river, and attacked

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tacked them from time to time, often advancing into the water to fight them hand to hand. In these engagements many men were killed on both sides; but the bloodiest disputes happened when any rocks or sand-banks on the north side the river obliged the fleet to approach the south shore [s]. A.D. 1220.

Some authors relate, that the Mungls contented themselves with observing the motions of Timûr Mâlek, in his passage down the river, imagining that he could not escape, as a chain had been drawn across the channel at Farnakant, or Tonkat; but the khân found means, by instruments which he had brought for the purpose, to cut the chain in the night, and pass through, though not without great loss of men. However, at length coming to a place where the river was extremely narrow and shallow, he was obliged to quit his barks, and endeavour to escape by land. Meanwhile the barks, neglected by the Mungls, escaped with the khan's family to a town on the river belonging to soltân Mohammed. Timûr Mâlek himself fought his way from one eminence to another. His followers being at length all cut off, and finding himself closely pursued by three Mungls, he let fly an arrow at the foremost, which hitting him in the eye, so intimidated his companions, that they all stopped, and let him escape to a neighbouring town called Kent. There, assembling a small body of men, he went and surprised Farnakant, and having cut the throats of the Mungl garrison, returned to soltân Mohammed, who loaded him with praises, and conferred on him the government of that city (A).

[s] Abulk. Fadl. ap. La Croix, p. 186, & seq.

(A) He afterwards fought against the Mungls when they entered Karazm, till seeing all lost on that side, he retired into Persia; from thence, in a religious disguise, he retired into Syria; and when the Mungls were become masters of Persia, returned thither, and submitted to the reigning prince; who allowed him to retire to Khojend, where he found but one son living, who had permission from Batû, khân of Kipchâck, to recover his father's estate. This permission making those who had possessed it his enemies, they found out the man whom Timûr Mâlek had wounded in the eye; which man one day shot him dead with an arrow, under pretence that he spoke disrespectfully to a prince of the blood, who had expressed himself contemptuously of the great actions he had performed.

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A.D. 1220. Khojend having surrendered the day after Timûr Mâlek's departure, Elâk Neviân settled matters in that city, and then went along with prince Juji, or Tûshi, to rejoin the grand khân, whom they found encamped within a days journey of Samarkant.

Samarkant described. Samarkand, supposed to be the Marakandus of the ancients, was at this time the capital of Great Bukhâria, and seventy furlongs, or three leagues in compass; though in the time of Alexander it was more than twelve. It was likewise inclosed with an outer wall, which was more regularly built, and better fortified, than those of Bokhâra. In it were twelve iron gates, a league distant from each other; and at every two leagues there was a fort, able to contain a great body of troops; the walls were likewise strengthened with battlements and towers, and surrounded with a very deep ditch, through which an aqueduct was laid, conveyed thither by leaden pipes, from a little river called Sogd, and thence into the city, which stood on the south side of it; so that every great street had a canal of water running through it, and every house a fountain as well as garden. Besides, there was a rising ground from whence several rivulets descended, forming jettees and cascades. The inner city or inclosure had four gates, but the walls were defenceless; within it stood the great mosque or temple, and palace where the prince used to reside. As within the outer inclosure there were ploughed lands, fields, hills, and an infinite number of gardens; so in viewing the city from the top of the fortress, one could see nothing but trees and the roofs of houses.

Its present state. At present it is the seat of one of the three Uzbek khâns, who reign in Great Bukhâria, the other two residing at Bokâra and Bâlkh. Its public structures and market-places are very handsome, being built and paved with very fine stone. It carries on a great trade with Great Tartary, Persia, and India, furnishing Hindostân, in particular, with the best fruits, especially excellent melons. The finest silk-paper in the world is made here, and an academy of sciences contributes to render it famous[t].

The city besieged. Soltân Mohammed in order to secure this city against the Mungls, had sent thither one hundred and ten thousand men, under thirty generals: sixty thousand were Turks, commanded by officers of great reputation; the

[t] Abu'lgh. p. 116. Fadhl. Moham. Nissavi, Yakut. Al Hamavi, Abu'lf. ap. La Croix, p. 196, 219.

rest

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reſt were Tajis (B) men, brave enough to face lions or elephants; of which laſt there were twenty. Beſides, the inhabitants, joined to thoſe who had retired thither for ſhelter, were ſo numerous, that the city, though ſo extenſive, could ſcarcely contain them. On the arrival of ſo powerful a reinforcement, they ſurrounded the town with a broad ditch, which they dug till they came to water, and cauſed the troops to encamp behind it, as an entrenchment. On Jenghîz Khân's approach, the enemy made a furious ſally; but they being driven back to the city, after a bloody action, he went the next day, and encamped under the walls. When the engines were ready, he cauſed ſeveral places to be attacked at the ſame time, to terrify the beſieged: but they not only ſuſtained the ſhock with great reſolution, but made repeated ſallies, in which they cut off a great many Mungls; who, in a general aſſault, which was given from morning till night, could not gain one inch of ground. In all probability the beſiegers would not have taken the city, if diſcord had not been kindled between the principal inhabitants and the commanders of the troops: the former, headed by the mufti and kadi, joined by ſeveral lords, who were deſirous to ſave their eſtates, ſeized one of the gates, and carried the keys to Jenghîz Khân, imploring mercy for the beſieged: but that prince would grant it to none, excepting thoſe of their party; who on the return of their deputies, the number of fifty thouſand put themſelves under their protection. A.D. 1220. *its brave defence.*

Mean while the governor Alub Khân had ſeized thoſe places in the city which were of moſt difficult acceſs; and, expecting no quarter, reſolved to defend it to the laſt againſt the Mungls; who having entered by the gate which was delivered to them, attacked him vigorouſly in his ſtrong-holds. Alub Khân ſuſtained their aſſaults for four days, with extraordinary courage: but having, by this time, loſt all the poſts but that in which he in perſon defended, he, on the fifth, accompanied by the principal officers, and one thouſand choſen horſe, ſuddenly broke through the Mungl camp, and eſcaped. The remainder of the garriſon, to the number of thirty thouſand, loſing all courage, on the governor's retreat, were ſoon over- *taken and plundered.*

(B) Taije, according to Fadl-allah, ſignifies a Turkmân: but the Perſian and Turkiſh dictionary of Nimetallah ſays, they were natural-born Perſians, who could not ſpeak the Turkiſh language.

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A.D.1220. powered, and all put to the sword; among whom was the prince of the Kangûli himself, with five or six inferior princes. The khân ordered the city to be plundered; and made a present to his generals of thirty thousand inhabitants, with their wives and children. The rest were pardoned, and permitted to live in the city as before, paying him a tribute of three hundred thousand dinârs, or crowns of gold [u].

The soltân pursued. When Jenghîz Khân was about to besiege Samarkant, he sent a detachment of thirty thousand troops to pursue soltân Mohammed; who, he was informed, had fled by way of the river Amû, to the country of Termed. These troops were commanded by Hubbe Neviân, Suida Behadr, and Amîr Tûker, who held the rank of princes; and the orders they received, were to treat all those cities kindly which should open their gates; but to plunder such as resisted, and carry the inhabitants into captivity: to pursue soltân Mohammed, even to Dârbend in Shîrwân, and force their way through the territories of all such princes who should oppose their passage: in short, to subdue all the countries bordering on the Caspian sea, and then to rejoin him in Kipjâk, or Kapchâk.

Affair of Herat. These three generals departed in June 1220; and, led by a false report, marched towards Bâlk: but hearing no news of the soltân, Tûker advanced still towards India; and the other two struck off to Herat, the capital of Khorassân. The governor Amîn Mâlek, a relation of the soltân, being in no condition to resist so sudden an invasion, sent to tell them he was a servant of Jenghîz Khân. Upon this declaration, the generals, without halting, or committing the least disorder, proceeded towards the city of Zâveh, situate between Herat and Nishâbûr. Tûker, some time after, having returned from the borders of India, arrived in the country of Herat, where he committed some hostilities, not knowing, or pretending not to know, that the governor had submitted to his colleagues. The prince Amîn Mâlek sent a messenger to them, to complain of the injury. Mean time some troops, belonging to the city, joining the country people who had taken arms, formed an army so superior to Tûker's, that he was defeated, and killed with an arrow. After which defeat, the remainder of his troops went and joined the other two generals [w].

[u] La Croix, p. 221. Abu'lgh. Hist. Turks, p. 116, & seq.
[w] La Croix, p. 229, & seq. Abu'lg. p. 123.

When

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When Hubbe and Suida arrived at Zâveh, the inhabitants shut the gates against them; nor would the governor, by any persuasion, supply them with provisions, of which they were in want. This refusal so incensed the Mungls, that they immediately began to attack the city, with such fury, that, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the besieged, they took it in three days, though not without great loss; which they revenged by putting to the sword all who fell into their hands, and plundering the houses. The army from hence marched to Nishâbûr, being informed by a spy that the soltân was there. But Mohammed had left that place some time before, and gone into Persian Irâk, by persuasion of his grandson Amedo'ddîn; whose father Rocno'ddîn being prince of that rich and populous province, he might then be enabled to revenge himself on Jenghîz Khân. But Amedo'ddîn deceived both the king and himself; for Irâk was not by much so powerful a country as Khoraſſân, which contained the most populous cities, as well as most beautiful and wealthy provinces. A.D. 1220. *Zâveh taken by force.*

On the approach of the Mungl generals to Nishâbûr, three lords were sent to meet them, and, in the name of the governor, made their submission; promising to pay the money demanded, besides tribute, to furnish all sorts of refreshments, and not to assist or succour their enemies. The generals, satisfied with these marks of obedience, continued their pursuit of soltân Mohammed; who, from Nishâbûr, went to Bastâm, a very pleasant and strong city of Tabarestân; where he delivered to the emîr Omar, one of the stewards of his household, ten coffers, sealed with the royal signet, filled with jewels of an inestimable value. None, excepting two more then present, knew what was in these coffers, which he ordered Omar to carry immediately to the strong fortress of Ardahân. From Bastâm, he proceeded to Irâk, and stopped at Maradawlet Abâd, a town depending on Hamadân, where his son Rocno'ddîn came to meet him with some troops: which, being joined with those the soltân had levied in the way, made above twenty thousand horse. *Nishâbûr submits.*

Mean time the Mungls followed him with so much diligence, that they surprised him at Farzîna, not far from Maradawlet, where they cut to pieces the greater part of his army: yet both Rocno'ddîn and the soltân escaped; the first fled to Kermân, and Mohammed, with a small number of officers, retired through bye-ways into the province of Ghilân; and from thence to Estâdâd, the strongest *The soltân overtaken.*

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A.D. 1220. strongest city in all Mazânderân, and most difficult of access. There he might have lain concealed, if a lord of that country, to revenge his uncle's death, had not, with a small party of Mungls, found out the road he had taken. But being near Estâdâd, he learned from some peasants that the soltân was in a town near the Caspian sea, where he daily assisted at the public prayers, promising an entire reformation, in case God would deliver him from the present danger, and re-establish him in his throne.

Flies to Abiskûn;

But while he flattered himself with the vain hopes of good effects from a late repentance, intelligence was brought him that the Mungls, with the Persian lord at their head, approached the town. The soltân, on this advice, abandoned his prayers to provide for his safety. He had scarce embarked in the vessel which he had provided for the purpose, when the enemy appeared on the shore; and finding they had missed their prey, endeavoured in vain to reach him with their arrows. The miserable monarch, overwhelmed with affliction, fell ill of a pleurisy, which obliged him to stop at an island called Abiskûn, in the Caspian Sea, and at length carried him off in spite of the skill of his physicians. A few days before his death, prince Jalâlo'ddîn, being informed that he was in this island, went secretly thither, with two of his brothers. On his arrival, the soltân said to him, "Prince, you are the person among all my children who are the most able to revenge me on the Mungls; therefore I revoke the act which I formerly made, at the request of the queen my mother, in favour of my son Kothbo'ddîn." Then he appointed him to be his successor, and commanded the other princes his sons to obey him. After this declaration he expired, under the covert of a little tent, which had been set up for him. The first gentleman of his bed-chamber washed his body, and wrapped it in a shirt; having no other linen for its interment. But some years after soltân Jalâlo'ddîn caused his bones to be taken up, and carried with great pomp into the fortress of Ardahân.

dies there.

SECT.

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SECT. IV.

The Conqueſt of Karazm, Great Bukhâria, and Irân (or Perſia at large), till the Defeat of Soltân Jalâlo'ddîn Mankberni.

THE Mungl generals, who had been in purſuit of him, believing that he had put to ſea with deſign to retire into the country of Karazm, or ſome neighbouring territory, gave notice of his flight to Jenghîz Khân, then at Samarkant; who cauſed ſearch to be made for him all over that kingdom, and in every other place where he judged him likely to be found. He afterwards ſent three of his ſons, Juji, Oktay, and Jagatay, with a numerous army, to attack the capital of Karazm. This is the country called by the ancient Greeks Khoraſmia. It has on the weſt the Caſpian ſea; on the north Turkeſtân; on the eaſt Great Bukhâria, from whence it is ſeparated by deſerts; and on the ſouth the province of Khoraſſân, in Perſia. There is in it, to the north, a vaſt lake, then called the lake of Karazm, and at preſent Arâl Nor, or *the Lake of Eagles*. The river Amû, called by the Arabs Jihûn, which divided Great Bukhâria from Perſia, ran into it; and, after a progreſs of fifty or ſixty leagues to the north-weſt, parted into two large branches, both of which, after a long courſe between the weſt and ſouth, diſcharged themſelves into the Caſpian ſea. Moſt of the cities and towns of this kingdom were ſituated on this great river, all built of brick, and ſome very beautiful, eſpecially on the ſouth ſide. Thoſe which were fartheſt up in the country were of leaſt conſideration. The capital city was called Karazm by the natives, Korkanj by the Perſians, and Orkanj, or Urghenj, by the Mungls; which name it ſtill retains. It ſtood on the ſouth ſide of the moſt northern of the two branches of the Amû, which, about a hundred years ago, forſook its ancient channel, and now falls into the Lake of Eagles. The country of Karazm, whoſe name extended to all the other provinces which compoſed the empire of ſoltân Mohammed and his predeceſſors, abounded with learned men, ſkilled in philoſophy and the ſciences. Poetry reigned there; and few Orientals were more polite than the inhabitants. They applied themſelves much to muſic; or rather were naturally muſicians. In ſhort, it became a common ſaying over

Kingdom of Karazm.

Its capital deſcribed.

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over the East, with regard to their children, that they discovered something of harmony even in their crying.

The Mungl princes had orders to march to the capital of Korazm, and besiege it; that, by the reduction of it, the rest of the cities might be struck with terror, and the country reduced at one blow. They had made great preparations for this purpose, expecting to meet with a vigorous resistance, as it was the metropolis of the Karazmian empire, and the constant residence of the queen-mother Turkhân Khâtûn, ever since the death of her husband Takash. This princess was daughter of Hankâshi, a Turkish king, who dying without issue, his subjects submitted to soltân Mohammed; who thus extended his empire far among the Turks inhabiting Tartary. She was a woman of superior wit, and wrote finely. For these reasons she had almost an absolute authority in the soltân's dominions. She took the title of protectress of the faith, and of the world; also that of the queen of women. She protected the weak against the powerful; administered justice impartially; and examined matters with such application, that her judgments were always right. She was very charitable to the poor. But these good qualities were obscured by her cruelty. She loved to shed blood: and when, on the approach of the Mungls, she resolved to quit the kingdom, she put to death twelve children of sovereign princes, whom she kept prisoners; among whom was the son of Togrul, the last of the Seljûks of Irân, whom Takash her husband had before put to death. She afterwards caused Omar Khân to be slain, who conducted her to the castle of Elâk, in Mazânderân. She hated Jalâlo'ddîn, and had even prevailed on her son Mohammed to disinherit him, in favour of his brother Kothbo'ddîn, whom she loved; but when she was informed that he had cancelled his will, she took no care to strengthen Karazm; and the same cause made her resolve to abandon the country, as soon as she heard that the Mungls were advancing.

Hejra 618. A.D. 1221.

Queen Turkhân Khâtûn.

Her great power.

Jalâlo'ddîn's misfortunes.

Her departure bred great confusion in the capital. Some lords assumed the reins of administration in behalf of Jalâlo'ddîn; but by the time that prince arrived, the most considerable persons in the kingdom had formed a conspiracy against him, in favour of Kothbo'ddîn. This obliged the prince to retire from Karazm, with only three hundred horse out of seven thousand, whom he had brought thither; yet with these few he defeated seven hundred Mungls, who attacked him near Nesa, in Khorassân; and then directed his way to Nishâbûr, in the same

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same province. There Jalálo'ddín, who had assumed the name of soltán, gave orders for raising an army; but hearing the enemies were on their march towards him, after a month's stay, he left that city, in order to avoid them; yet had the ill fortune to meet with two of their parties. The first he defeated; the last, which was more numerous, surrounded him: and though he escaped out of their hands, yet they killed two of his brothers, who were with him, and almost all his men. But we shall leave him for a time, to attend the siege of the capital of Karazm [x]. A.D. 1221.

Karazm invaded.

At the unexpected approach of the Mungl princes, the factions of this city re-united for their mutual safety, and gave the management of affairs to a lord of that country, and relation of the queen, named Hímar Takín. As this lord had no intelligence of their march, and believed them still at a great distance, he had given the inhabitants liberty to let their cattle graze in the meadows near the town; a circumstance which gave the van-guard of the Mungls an opportunity, on their arrival, to surprise the greater part of them. The Karazmians, upon this occasion, made a sally with ten thousand men, and coming up with the enemy, who retired leisurely towards a garden belonging to the city, attacked them with great vivacity; but when they were so far engaged as not to be able to retreat, the Mungl troops, placed in ambush on both sides of that garden, coming out of their concealment, fell upon them in the rear; while the rest charged them in front so vigorously, that scarce one hundred of them escaped the slaughter. After this action, the Mungls marched as far as the suburbs of the city, where they put to the sword all they found in arms; and, after plundering, set it on fire. Next day the whole army encamped before the place, and laid siege to it in form.

Its capital attacked.

As there was no danger of any army coming to relieve the city, they made no intrenchments or lines. When all things were ready for an attack, the princes summoned the governor to surrender; and told him, that, if he refused, he was to expect no quarter. This menace having no effect on Hímar Takín, the Mungls gave a general assault, which was sustained by the besieged with equal bravery. The very women did the duty of soldiers: and not only assisted those who defended the walls, but, mounting on horseback, put themselves among the troops which

[x] La Croix, p. 237, & seq. Abu'lgh. p. 118.

sallied

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A.D. 1221. sallied out; for the women in those countries can ride and draw the bow, as well as the men. The Mungls, though still repulsed, never failed repeating their assaults, till at length they had no stones left to supply the engines; and were forced to batter the town with the trunks of mulberry trees, cut in pieces.

Bravely defended to the last extremity. As the ditches were filled with water from the river, the besiegers were obliged to divert the stream into a new channel; and this was a work of time. However, the canal was at length finished; and the river being turned into it, the ditch was soon filled up with earth, straw, and faggots, in spite of all opposition. This obstruction being removed, the batteries were redoubled, and several breaches made. A general assault ensued, in which the Mungl standards were planted on the walls; but such was the courage of the besieged, that they quickly tore them down again; drove back the assailants; and even repaired their breaches.

This ill success bred a misunderstanding between Juji and Jagatay; each reproaching the other with being too careful of his own safety. This dissension retarded the operations of the siege; and Jenghîz Khân hearing of it, ordered them to resign the whole command to Oktay. Then the face of things began to change; although the besieged were not less intrepid, yet they had not such success in their sallies as before. On the other hand, the Mungls, having made new breaches, gained the outworks in a furious assault, and erected their standards on the towers, while the besieged, unable to pull them down, retired into the city, to the places they had fortified. Many of these were at length taken, together with the citadel itself; yet still the governor rejected the proposals made by Oktay to surrender, because no mention was made of giving liberty to the inhabitants.

Terrible slaughter. The Mungls, enraged at this refusal, set fire to the houses on every side, which consumed great numbers of people, and immense riches. As this was a loss to the besiegers themselves, they soon forbore, and applied themselves to attack the several quarters of the city: while the Karazmians had so intrenched themselves, that one quarter succoured another; and when one was forced, the defendants found shelter in the next. The attacks continued night and day, with extreme fatigue on both sides. At last, the brave Hîmar Takîn was killed by an arrow; yet still the remainder of the citizens held out to the utmost extremity; and when they saw they could no longer resist, they

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they set fire to the houses which remained, to disappoint their enemies of the plunder. The Mungls, in revenge, put to the sword all the Karazmians they met with, amounting to a hundred thousand; and Oktay found it very difficult to put a stop to the slaughter. The rest of the inhabitants were ordered to evacuate the town; and, with their wives and children, were condemned to slavery. A.D. 1221.

Among those who fell a sacrifice on this occasion, was Sheykh Hasreti Kubru, surnamed Nâjmo'ddîn, whose rare example deserves our particular notice. Oktay, who had a great respect for this person, from the report of his piety, sent first to offer a passport for himself and ten, then for a thousand of his friends; but he refused to accept of that bounty, unless all the Mohammedans in the city were permitted to share it with him: sending the prince for answer, that he was obliged to take his lot with the rest, by ties too strong to be so easily broken. Accordingly he was slain among the thickest of the enemy, after he had defended himself with the utmost bravery. *Instance of virtue.*

The capital of Karazm was taken and ruined towards the end of the winter; after which catastrophe, fear seizing the rest of the people, all the other cities, as Kât, Ferâbr, Dargân, or Durûn, and Zamâkshâr, surrendered without making any resistance. Then leaving troops in the country, to keep it in subjection, Oktay departed, with the remainder of his army, to join his father [r]. *Other cities submit.*

In the mean time Jenghîz Khân, after having tarried all the spring at Samarkand, delighted with the country, began to think of pursuing his conquests. He left Samarkand about the same time that his three sons marched for Karazm. On his approach, several towns opened their gates to him; among which was Nakshâb; where, pleased with the air and soil, he passed most part of the summer. Then advancing towards Termed, by way of Kolûga, or the *Iron Gate*, a passage cut in the rocks, he was some weeks on his march to that city, which is the last belonging to Great Bukhâria, towards Tokhâreston. It was situated on the river Amû; and, being very commodious for trade, had a port much frequented by barks. Soltân Mohammed had conquered it, not long before, from Bahrâm Shâh, who was among those princes put to death by the queen-mother, at her leaving Karazm. It was dependent on Kash, or Kesh, although it had a great many places under its jurisdiction. The walls of Termed were *Termed described.*

[r] Abu'lg. p. 119. La Croix, p. 847, & seq.

cased

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A.D. 1221. cased with bricks; and it had a castle, defended on one side by the river; so that the inhabitants believed themselves strong enough to amuse the Mungls till the arrival of soltân Jalâlo'ddîn, who had given them hopes of coming to their relief.

Cruel massacre. Jenghîz Khân, being informed of their resolution, blocked them up close, by very deep and wide lines, which he ordered to be thrown round the place. For eleven days the besieged defended it, with the utmost bravery; but their walls being by that time battered down, and Jalâlo'ddîn not appearing to succour them, the Mungls stormed and took the city; with a most wanton butchery of all the garrison and inhabitants, excepting some young people reserved for slavery. The grand khân caused the town to be razed, and then went into winter-quarters. Among the towns which had submitted on this side were those of Langherta, Samanda, and Badakshân. The two first were plundered, and very ill treated, by the ravaging Tatars: but the last city was only stripped of its wealth; consisting chiefly in hyacinths and rubies, with which the hills in its territory abound. They likewise produce fine azure, good bezoar, and excellent crystal of the East [z].

Affairs of Khorassân. Before the army went into winter-quarters, Jenghîz Khân sent a detachment of twenty thousand of his best troops to Hubbe Nevian and Suida Behadr, for the ensuing year. The two generals were on the northern borders of Khorassân when they received their master's orders: but, not to be idle while the expected supplies were on the road, they divided their troops; Hubbe marching towards Mazânderân, and Suida directing his course to Helvâs. After they had ravaged those countries, they returned to Khorassân, where Aynanje Khân, one of soltân Mohammed's officers, with some troops, gave the Mungls much uneasiness. Suida forced him to fight; but was defeated. The Mohammedan lord, in the pursuit, meeting, near Nak Shivân, with a brigade of Tatars, who were retiring into that place, fell on, and drove them into the ditch, where they were all drowned. After this exploit, being joined by other disbanded troops, he levied contributions, and with the tax-money of Nisa provided for his little army; but retired to the mountains, on the arrival of the expected reinforcements, which were commanded by two Nevians, Jaffer and Ika, each at the head of a toman;

[z] Fadlal. ap. La Croix, p. 257, & seq. Abu'lgh. p. 121, & seq.

who

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who had orders, in the first place, to reduce Nesa, as it was a hindrance to the conquest of Khoraſſân. A.D. 1221.

Nesa taken, and its inhabitants slain.

Nesa, or Nisa, was situate on the borders of the desert towards Karazm: it had, in times past, served as a frontier between the Turks and Persians. When the Mungls had invested the city, they sent to offer very reasonable terms to the governor: but during the treaty some Karazmians imprudently shot at the besiegers; and, having slain Balkûsh, their lieutenant-general, they resolved to revenge his death. They battered the walls with twenty great engines; and, in fifteen days, made a breach; which the inhabitants not being able to repair, the Mungls in the night stormed the walls, and became masters of the place. Next day they ordered them to turn out into the plain; where, surrounding them, they shot at them with darts and arrows, like beasts in a chace. Thus all were slain, natives, strangers, and peasants, who had retired thither for safety, to the number of seventy thousand. Shahâbo'ddîn, one of the soltân's ministers of state, and his son, who had taken shelter there, with their treasure, were brought in chains before the Neviâns; who, having emptied their coffers, ordered their hands to be struck off.

Kaendar fortress besieged.

Three days after, they went and besieged the citadel of Kaendar accounted the strongest place in all Khoraſſân, in the road from Nesa to Nishâbûr. It was governed by Mehemed Nisâvi (C), to whom it properly belonged: and hither had retired Nezâmo'ddîn, one of the greatest lords of the country, with all his treasure. This nobleman, three days before the arrival of the enemy, talking to the governor about the place, which he deemed impregnable on account of its situation, said to him, "We will wait the Tatars coming here:" but when he saw they attacked it on the weakest side, was so affrighted, that he desired Nisâvi to let him down with ropes into the plain, and had the good fortune to escape. The Mungls battered this city a long time; but the besieged made so brave a defence, that the general, despairing to take it with the troops he had with him, offered to raise the siege, on condition of receiving cloaths, and other things, which his soldiers stood in need of. This demand the governor thought proper to comply with; but the difficulty was to find officers, who would venture to accompany the bearers of the presents;

(C) Author of the Life of soltân Jalâlo'ddîn, often cited in this history.

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A.D. 1221. believing, that the enemy were cruel enough to revenge on them the shameful retreat they saw themselves obliged to make. After many had refused the employment, two venerable old men undertook it; but had no sooner discharged their commission than the Mungls were so inhuman, says our author, as to imbrue their hands in their blood. At last the two Nevians raised the siege, and ravaged the country [a].

Damegân deserted; After this miscarriage, Suida came to meet them, and all three went to join Hubbe Nevian, who was engaged in another expedition. They marched by the desert, and other roads, to attack Damegân, the capital of Kumâs: a considerable city, situated in a great plain, washed by many streams of rock-water, for their excellency called the waters of Khosraw, or Kosroes; because that king had them conveyed by fine aqueducts into the town, and would never drink of any other. Finding Damegân entirely deserted by the inhabitants, who had fled to the woods and mountains with their best effects, and nothing left to gratify their avarice, they invested Amol (D), which they took, as also several other towns in the eastern Tabarestân.

Hubbe Nevian, in this expedition, acquired no less reputation than the other generals. He not only reduced all the Western Tabarestan, which is called Mazânderân, but even seized on the queen mother, Turkhân Khâtûn, who had retired thither, with her immense riches. As Jenghîz Khân had spies or correspondents in every part of the Karazmian empire, he learned by one of them, that she was lodged in the fortress of Ilâl, and immediately sent a courier to acquaint Hubbe with the news; ordering him to run all hazards to take that place. The general had for three months battered it in vain: when Jenghîz Khân, who was informed how things stood, judging that it might be more easily reduced by famine, ordered him to build a strong wall without his lines, whose gates should be kept shut in the night; and to guard all places strictly, that the besieged might receive no supplies. This work was performed accordingly: and, although the governor had no thoughts of yielding, and pretended that he stood in need of nothing; yet in three weeks more, provisions having en-

Ilâl besieged;

surrenders.

[a] Nissavi in Jalal. ap. La Croix, 268. Abu'lgh. p. 121, & seq.

(D) A city of Mazânderân, near the borders of Ghilân, and about one day's journey from the Caspian Sea.

tirely

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tirely failed, many of the garrison, as well as inhabitants, being already dead, for want of water, the queen was forced to capitulate. A.D. 1221.

Queen-mother seized.

Hubbe Neviân, knowing the extremities to which Ilâl was reduced, would not grant any thing to the queen more than her life. As soon as the Mungls took possession of the place, they seized her treasure, and treated her as a captive. She was sent to Jenghîz Khân, under a strong guard, with her women, grandchildren, and all the lords who had retired with her into the fortress. She sacrificed herself to the hatred she bore soltân Jalâlo'ddîn. Instead of desiring success to his arms, she did nothing but wish all sorts of misfortunes might attend him; and, although she might have safely retired under his protection, some days before the place was besieged; yet, deaf to all arguments, she protested that the lowest condition, and most rigorous treatment from the Mungls, would be more agreeable to her than all the marks of friendship she could receive from the son of Ayjeak, her mortal enemy. Such were the sentiments of this implacable grandmother; and the treatment she met with was such as her malice and cruel disposition deserved: for Jenghîz Khân caused her sometimes to be brought into his presence when at table, and threw her scraps of meat he had eaten of, as if she had been a dog. They put to death her great grandchildren, before she arrived at court, and left only the youngest alive to console her. Nor did that comfort remain with her long; for one day, as she was combing his head, a person came and snatched him from her arms. This, she said, was the most sensible loss she had till then felt, and her grief was indeed most poignant. The young princesses, her great grand-daughters, were not so unfortunate; for not only their lives were spared, but they were married to Mungl lords of the first rank.

Her cruelty punished.

Ray taken.

After Hubbe Neviân had left the fortress of Ilâl, he went directly to Ray, or Rey, the ancient Ragau, or Rages; a city which seemed able to make a vigorous defence; but the Mungls took it with a great deal of ease, by means of the dissension, on account of religion, which subsisted among the inhabitants: for being divided into two factions, one of which followed the doctrines of Abû Hanifah, and the other those of Shâfay, the kazi of the city, who was of the last party, went with the chief persons of his sect, and offered Hubbe the place, in the name of the Shâfays; who delivered him two gates, by which the Mungls entered. The other party, who had fortified themselves

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A.D. 1221. selves, made some resistance, more out of hatred to the Shâfays, than to the Mungls themselves: but the general forced them to yield, and, induced by the ill opinion which the kâzi had created in him of the Abû Hanîfa sect, put them almost all to death: so that not above one half of the inhabitants of Rey were left alive.

Kom taken. Hubbe and Suida remained for some time at Rey, invited by the beauty of that city, which was one of the four most considerable in all Irâk; the three others being Hamadân, Kom, and Ispâhân. When the season permitted them to take the field, they again parted: Hubbe marched towards Hamadân, and Suida took the route of Kazvîn. Kom was taken and cruelly treated; but Hubbe struck up a peace with Majedo'ddîn who commanded in Hamadân.

Other cities reduced. From hence Hubbe led his troops to reduce other parts of Irâk; and, in a short time, reduced Dinewar, or Daynûr, Sûvan, Holwân, Nahawend, and several other cities in that province; by which conquests he acquired great riches. As for Suida Bahadr, who was gone to besiege Kazvîn, which is situate between Rey and Abher, on the confines of Ghilân and Mazanderan, he carried it by storm, and put to the sword fifty thousand persons in this city, Deylem, and other neigbouring countries [b].

General hunting at Termed. Mean while Jenghîz Khân, after the reduction of Termed, to keep his soldiers in action during the winter, ordered a great hunting to be performed in the plains of that city. The huntsmen having marked the outward circle, which is called Nerke, the several officers with their troops took their posts round it. Then, at the sound of martial instruments, they all pushed forward at once, moving towards the centre, driving the beasts before them, which happened to be within the inclosed space; but it was forbidden to kill or wound any animal, whatever violence it offered. At night they encamped, with all the order observed in war. Thus they marched for some weeks; when the beasts, finding themselves pressed by the circle contracting, ran for shelter among the mountains and forests; from whence they soon after fled on scent of the hunters, who opened the very burrows with spades, or sent in ferrets, to dislodge the animals: but, the compass of the ground still growing less and less, the beasts, for want of room, began to mix with one another; and, becoming furious, leaped on the weakest, and tore them to pieces. Nor was it without great toil and difficulty that the soldiers

[b] Fadhl. ap. La Croix, p. 272, & seq. Abu'lgh. p. 130, & seq.

could

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could drive them forward with their shouts. At length, when the troops were arrived at the inner circle, called Jerk, which inclosed a small spot of ground where all the animals might be seen together, the drums, timbrels, and other instruments, were ordered to strike up at once; the sound of which, joined to the shouts and cries of the hunters, so affrighted them, that they lost all their fierceness; the lions and tigers grew tame as lambs; the bears and wild boars, like the most timorous creatures, seemed dejected and amazed. A D. 1221.

The grand khân, attended by his sons and principal officers, first entered the Jerk with his sword and bow, and began the slaughter by striking the fiercest beasts; some of which became furious, and endeavoured to defend their lives. Then retiring to an eminence, where a throne was erected for him, he beheld the attack. When the princes and lords had given sufficient proof of their courage and agility, the young soldiers entered the circle, and made great havock among the poor beasts. At last the khân's grandsons, attended by several young lords, approaching the throne, intreated him, in a speech, to give those which remained their lives and liberty; which request he granted, and then sent back his troops to quarters, after the chace had continued four months.

Bâlk besieged, and taken.

In the end of March, Jenghîz Khân broke up his camp; and passing the Amû, marched rapidly towards Bâlk [c]; against which he had taken great disgust, for giving shelter to soltân Jalâlo'ddîn; who from thence infested the Mungls with his troops, while they were employed in reducing Great Bukhâria. The inhabitants, unwilling to hazard a siege, determined to surrender; and the great lords of the country, who had retired thither, went with the city officers to meet Jenghîz Khân, carrying with them an immense quantity of rich presents: but he rejected their offers; and said, those people, who had so kindly received his enemy, could not have a sincere friendship for him.

Mean time the Mungl army marched to the city; and the inhabitants, knowing it had been agreed to open the gates, suffered the van-guard to enter without resistance. They were all ordered to go into the plain; where the young people being set a-part in order to be sold for slaves, the greater part of the old men were beheaded. After which execution the city was plundered, and the walls were demolished. The Mungls were greatly en-

[c] La Croix, p. 260, & seq.

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A.D. 1221. riched by the ſpoil of Bâlk; for it had always been a place of much trade. Beſides, it was full of monuments of exquiſite workmanſhip, and every thing which could ſerve to adorn ſo great a city; having been the abode of many perſons famous in all arts. The public buildings were ſpacious and regular; the karawânſerays or inns, the moſques, and colleges, very magnificent. There were reckoned to be twelve hundred temples, beſides ſmall chapels, and two hundred public baths, for foreign merchants and other ſtrangers.

The city deſcribed. Balk is ſituate eight leagues diſtant from the river Jihûn or Amû, and four from the mountains, in a moſt fertile plain, planted with ſugar-canes and lemon-trees. Its ſuburbs were watered by the river Dahak, which falls into the Amû, about twelve leagues from the city; at preſent one of the three capitals of the Uſbek Tatars inhabiting Great Bukhâria: although Bâlk properly belongs to Khoraſſân, the adjoining province of Irân or Perſia at large.

Talkhân, its ſtrength. After Jenghîz Khân had reduced Bâlk, he ſent his ſon Tuli or Tawlay, with an army of eighty thouſand men, into Perſia, to purſue ſoltân Jalâlo'ddîn, and another large detachment towards India; then marched himſelf to beſiege Talkhân, a place extremely ſtrong by its ſituation, and dependent on Tokhâreſtân. It was ſituated towards Marû, in Khoraſſân, which Tuli was ordered to beſiege. The city formerly had been very flouriſhing; but there remained nothing then except the citadel, which being very large, they gave it the title of a city or fortreſs. It ſtood on the top of the mountain Nokrekûb, or the *Silver Mountain*, from the mines of that metal which it contained, and was built by a prince of Tokhâreſtân.

Beſieged, and at length taken. Beſides the natural ſtrength of the place, the garriſon were provided with all ſorts of ſtores and proviſions for a long ſiege; whereas the Mungls had neither ground nor trenches to ſhelter them, making uſe of blinds to ward off the darts and other miſſiles. The beſieged killed ſo great a number of them, that the khân repented his having meddled with this place; yet, not able to bear a diſappointment, and fearing, through his loſſes, that he had not troops enough to reduce it, he ſent couriers for Tuli to return, under pretence of the exceſſive heats. Mean time he let his army reſt for ſome weeks, and then ordered the rocks to be ſcaled on all ſides, by means of grappling-irons, long nails, hooks, ladders and ropes, in order to oblige the beſieged to divide their forces. The Mungls made ſeveral attempts to get up, in which they were fruſtrated by the watchful

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watchful garriſon, who killed great numbers of them; yet were they ſupported in mounting the ladders with ſo many engines, that at length a good body of them made a lodgement on the top of the mountain. This circumſtance ſo aſtoniſhed the beſieged, that, running haſtily to repulſe them, they imprudently left ſome poſts unguarded, which the Mungls immediately ſeized, and entered the town. The garriſon, returning in confuſion to drive them out again, were overpowered and put to the ſword by their ſtronger enemies; who, to revenge the death of their companions, and the hardſhips they had ſuffered during a ſeven months ſiege, exerciſed all the cruelties imaginable. Thus the fortreſs was taken without Tuli's aſſiſtance, who did not arrive till after its reduction. Let us now ſee what conqueſts that prince made during his expedition in Khoraſſân [d]. A.D. 1221.

Marû ſurrendered.

Tuli Khân, after a long march into Khoraſſân, having learned that Jalâlo'ddîn had quitted Niſhâbûr, according to his father's orders, returned to beſiege Marû Shâh Jan, or Marû Shahi Sehân, which was very powerful, and then governed by Bukha Al Mulk, appointed by ſoltân Mohammed, in place of Mâſer Al Mulk, who was expelled on account of his father's diſgrace. While Tuli was beſieging the city of Khoraſſân, which is near to Marû, ſoltân Mohammed informed Bukha that he ought not to oppoſe the Mungls, but endeavour to procure favourable terms for the city. On the receipt of theſe orders the governor abandoned the place, and retired to Wazîr, in Karazm; part of the garriſon likewiſe diſperſed themſelves in the neighbouring fortreſſes. Tuli, being informed of all that had paſſed, ſent two general officers with troops to take poſſeſſion of Marû: at their approach Sheykh Al Iſlâm, father of Bukha Al Molk, met them with a numerous train and magnificent preſents, and delivered them the keys of the city. The Mungl generals, ſatisfied with this ſubmiſſion, turned their arms another way. Mean time Bukha Turkmân, who had been captain of ſoltân Mohammed's guides, and, at the time of the commander of Marû's retreat, had retired into a neighbouring foreſt, with the Turkmân's belonging to the garriſon, returned to that city, ſoon after the departure of the Mungls, followed by Tajîks, Turkmâns, and others, who had fled at the enemies approach. Theſe men conferred on him the government

Seized by Mâſer.

[d] Mirkhond. Fadhl. ap. La Croix, p. 283, & ſeq. Abu'lgh. p. 121.

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A.D. 1221. of Marû, and obliged the inhabitants to acknowlege him in that quality. About the ſame time Mâſar or Mâjer Al Molk, who, ſince his diſmiſſion from that poſt, had reſided in the province of Irâk, being informed that ſoltân Mohammed was dead, mounted a ſwift mule, and made all the haſte he could to Marû, where Bukha Turkmân refuſed him admittance: but Mâſer having found means, ſome days after, to get in by ſtealth, Bukha immediately aſſembled the inhabitants, and declared that, for love of peace and the public good, he was willing to reſign the command to their old governor, and live among them as a private man: which propoſal was joyfully accepted.

Tuli having ſubdued the reſt of Khoraſſân, paid a viſit to Marû, where he arrived on the firſt of Moharrâm, in the year 618. The inhabitants endeavoured at firſt to Hejra 618. keep him at a diſtance by a vigorous ſally, but having loſt above a thouſand of their men, they returned much diſappointed. The ſiege having laſted three weeks, the prince began to be impatient; and drawing out his whole army, divided it into two hundred troops, placing thoſe who were armed with bucklers in the front: but juſt as he was going to give the aſſault, Mâſar al Molk deſired to capitulate.

He was obliged, however, to ſurrender at diſcretion. Tuli having ſeized the treaſure, and all that could be found of any value in the city, ordered all the inhabitants into the fields. Then the tradeſmen being ſeparated from the reſt, the latter, amounting to one hundred thouſand perſons, were put to the ſword. This was the fourth time that Marû had been plundered, and each time above fifty or ſixty thouſand inhabitants were ſlain. It ſtood in a ſandy plain, which produced ſalt, and watered by three delightful rivers. The government was conferred on Amîr Ziyao'ddîn, a lord of that country, with orders to ſearch for the inhabitants who might have concealed themſelves, and put them in poſſeſſion of their lands again; but after Tuli's departure, he was ſlain by Barmâz, his lieutenant; and the country fell again into confuſion.

Niſhâbûr beſieged, After the death of ſoltân Mohammed, the army under Hubbe Neviân and Suida Behadr had ſubdued all the weſtern parts of Khoraſſân, by taking a great number of cities; only Niſhâbur was left unmoleſted, having ſworn fidelity to them at the beginning of their expedition: but the inhabitants, when they ſaw ſoltân Jalâlo'ddîn's great diſtreſs, not only ſupplied his troops with proviſions, but alſo gave him money to raiſe forces. Although this ſtep was taken ſo ſecretly that it came not to the knowlege of thoſe

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those generals; yet Jenghîz Khân got information of it by his spies: at which he was so enraged, that he immediately wrote to prince Tuli, to lay aside all his other designs, and punish that rebellious city. On receipt of these orders Tuli quitted the country of Marû, and marched to Nishâbûr; whose inhabitants, expecting no mercy, resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity[e]. A.D. 1221.

and taken.

Prince Tafar, who commanded the van-guard, having been killed in a sally at the beginning of the siege, Tuli ordered the army to encamp at Tushanian, a town to the east of Nishâbûr, for conveniency of constructing engines, which being finished, he battered the city with above twelve hundred at once. The defendants behaved with surprising intrepidity; but after three days siege, a secret passage being discovered, by the falling of a wall, the Mungls entered by that breach, and surprised the place, making a terrible slaughter of the inhabitants. The greater part of those who escaped the sword died in caves and vaults, which they had made to save themselves. An infinite number of young people were made slaves, and the city itself, after being plundered, was utterly destroyed to the foundations. It is related that they spent twelve days in counting the dead; and that, including such as were slain in some other places dependent on Nishâbûr, one million seven hundred and forty-seven thousand persons were computed to have lost their lives.

Prodigious massacre.

When prince Tuli had destroyed Nishâbûr and Tus, or Mashâd, which stood in its neighbourhood, he led his army towards Herât, on a false information, that soltân Jalâlo'ddîn had retired thither. Having arrived in twelve days at Herat, he sent and summoned the governor Shamso'ddîn to surrender: but this officer, who had armed one hundred thousand men, for the defence of the place, instead of yielding, caused the envoy to be killed. He afterwards made furious sallies for seven days successively; and so many men were killed on both sides, that the blood streamed like rivers. Tuli lost in that time above one thousand seven hundred officers besides private soldiers: but on the eighth day, after a long and obstinate contest, Mâlek Shamso'ddîn was mortally wounded with an arrow; which accident having sunk the courage of the besieged, they retired in confusion, followed by the Mungls, who entered the city with them. Tuli, who headed them, took off his casque, and summoned the inhabitants to

Herât besieged.

[e] Mirk. ap. La Crox, p. 292, & seqq. Abu'lgh. p. 133, & seqq.

surrender,

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A.D. 1221. surrender, telling them he was the son of Jenghîz Khân; that they should be well treated, and pay but half the taxes which they paid to soltân Jalâlo'ddîn. These proposals, having been liked by the inhabitants, were accepted: but the soldiers, rejecting them, were immediately disarmed by prince Tuli's order, and all put to the sword, to the number of twelve thousand. He then nominated Mâlek Abû Becr governor of the city; and, with sixty thousand men, set out for Talkhân, whither his father had recalled him.

The city described. Herat (called also Heri and Eri) has always passed for a very strong city, and, at present, serves for a bulwark against the Usbecks. The country in which it stands, is the Aria of the ancients; and, according to Mîrkhond, the famous Persian historian, it was founded by Alexander the Great.

Jalâlo'ddîn's distress. During these transactions, the soltân Jalâlo'ddîn having escaped out of the hands of the second party of Mungls, in his retreat from Nishâbur, he, with much difficulty reached the fortress of Kâhera; where, in despair, he would have taken refuge with his troops, and waited the coming of the Mungls, had not the governor convinced him that such a conduct was unbecoming a prince of his character. This bold remonstrance rousing his courage, he repaired to Bost, a city in the province of Sejestân, or Sistân, where he made shift to raise about twenty thousand men [f]: but, when he had learned the strength of the Mungl army, he knew not what course to take. At length, urged by the extreme danger he saw himself in, he resolved to oppose his enemies at all hazards, and left Bost, with a design, if possible, to get into Gâzna, the capital of Zâblestân, twenty-four days journey distant, before the Mungls could arrive in its neighbourhood; which design he effected. In this city, which had been the metropolis of the Gâzni empire, a lord, named Kerber Mâlek, commanded during the absence of soltân Jalâlo'ddîn: and although, just before, the people, as in other places, divided by the great lords, had thrown off their obedience, yet was that prince received with all the marks of the greatest affection; while he, dissembling his resentment, deferred to a more proper time the punishment of their disloyalty.

Bamiyân besieged. Jenghîz Khân, having received information that Jalâlo'ddîn was at Gâzna, hastened his march, in order to

[f] La Croix, p. 291.

surprise

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surprise him; but he was stopped in the way by the garrison of Bâmîyân, which he had hoped to take without opposition. These people, in expectation of being attacked, ruined all the country for four or five leagues round the city; while the peasants had carried away the stones, and every thing else that might be of use to the besiegers: so that they had extraordinary difficulties to surmount. They had scarce begun to attack the place in form, when couriers arrived with news both of the defeat of his troops by soltân Jalâlo'ddîn, and the revolt of Herât. This intelligence made him redouble his attempts. After he had detached forces upon those two expeditions, he caused a mount of earth to be raised before the city, in a place where he designed to make the fiercest assault. Wooden towers were likewise built, equal in height to the walls, to plant his engines on, and covered with raw hides, to prevent their being damaged by the wild-fire of the besieged. A.D. 1221.

Vigorously defended.

In spite of all his efforts, the besieged made such furious sallies, overthrowing whole squadrons of the enemy, as well as towers, with their engines, that had not Jenghîz Khân been provided with such a great army, he must have been forced to raise the siege. To increase his mortification, an express came with an account of the defeat of his general Kûtûkû, by the soltân. The khân, enraged, swore to be revenged on Bâmîyân: but his fury cost the life of a son of Oktay; who, exposing himself, to please his grandfather, was slain with an arrow. The emperor, who loved him tenderly, could not forbear mixing his own tears with those of the mother, who appeared almost distracted [s].

taken, and destroyed.

Jenghîz Khân, by this accident rendered more impatient than ever, lavished his treasure to encourage his soldiers; who, night and day continuing the assault, at length destroyed the walls in many places, and became masters of Bâmîyân, after the bravest of the officers and soldiers of the garrison had been slain in its defence. The mother of the young prince, who had been killed, entering the city with the troops, behaved more like a fiend than a woman; and caused the throats of all the inhabitants to be cut. She even gave orders to rip up the bellies of women with child, for fear an infant should be left alive. In short, the cattle and all other creatures were killed, to gratify the rage of this blood-thirsty

[s] Nissavi in Jalal. Mirkond, Fadhl. ap. La Croix, p. 301, & seqq.

monster.

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A.D. 1221. monſter. So that, ever ſince, Bâmîyân, whoſe buildings were alſo demoliſhed, has borne the name of Maubâlig, which, in the Mungl language, ſignifies the *Unfortunate Town*. Bâmîyân was ſituated on a mountain, in the province of Zâbleſtân, ten days journey from Bâlk, and eight from Gazna [h].

The Mungls defeated by the ſoltân,

Two or three days after Jalâlo'ddîn had reached Gâzna, as before related, he learned, that there were Mungl troops in that neighbourhood who beſieged the city of Kandahâr, and had orders to watch his motions. At the ſame time Amîn Mâlek, lord of Herât, who was come out to obſerve them, with ten thouſand Turkiſh horſe, being not far off, the ſoltân ſent to invite him to aſſiſt in relieving that fortreſs. Amîn Mâlek hereupon joined Jalâlo'ddîn with his forces; and, it being reſolved to attack the enemy in the dead of night, the troops marched, and ſurpriſed the Mungls, who had already taken the town. They, finding themſelves attacked on one ſide by the ſuccours, and on the other by the governor of the citadel, ſuffered themſelves to be killed, almoſt without reſiſtance; ſo that very few eſcaped the ſword of the Karazmians.

The ſoltân, having repaired Kandahâr, returned to Gazna; where he was reinforced by thirty thouſand men, brought by three Turkiſh lords of his father's court, who dwelt in this country. As ſoon as Jenghîz Khân heard of the ſlaughter of his troops before Kandahâr, he immediately diſpatched the general Kûtûkû, with eighty thouſand men, againſt Jalâlo'ddîn; who, on notice of their march, put himſelf at the head of his army to meet them; and found them juſt beyond a town called Birwân, within a day's journey of Gazna, where they were intrenching themſelves. Kûtûkû, perceiving troops, fluſhed with the late ſucceſs, advancing towards him with ſo much vigour, thought it beſt to defer fighting; but when he ſaw they intended to attack him in his intrenchments, he marched out to meet them. The Mungl van-guard was at firſt defeated by Jalâlo'ddîn's, commanded by Amîn Mâlek; but being ſupported by freſh troops, they, in their turn, routed the Karazmians. The ſoltân then advanced at the head of his main body, and attacked the Mungls in the centre, where Kûtûkû himſelf was poſted. The ſhock was terrible, and for ſome hours the victory was doubtful: but at laſt the Mungls fled in diſorder to the mountains. A

[h] Abu'lk. ibid. p. 310, & ſeq.

great

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great number were slain, as well as taken prisoners: and, A.D. 1221.
it is said, Jalâlo'ddîn, after reproaching these latter with their cruelties, caused nails to be thrust into their ears, to revenge the miseries which his subjects had so long suffered from the Mungls and Tatars[1].

This is the account given by Nassâvi, who wrote the life of Jalalo'ddîn, and Fadhlallah; but Abûlghâzî Khân, from other authors, represents matters in a different manner.

Different opinions among Jalâlo'ddîn's generals.

Jenghîz Khân, impatient to revenge these disgraces, as soon as Bâmîyân was reduced, marched with so much precipitation, that he hardly gave his soldiers time to refresh themselves. Gazna (then called Daro'l Mûlk, or *the Royal City*), being a very strong place, and provided for a long siege, the khân directed his course thither, expecting to find Jalâlo'ddîn: but that prince had left the city fifteen days before, and might have stood his ground against his pursuer, if an unfortunate accident had not happened in his army, after the battle of Birwân. When the booty came to be divided, the three Turkish lords pretended that the most valuable spoils belonged to them, on account of the succours which they had brought. The troops of Amîn Mâlek, who were united with the soltân's, insisted that the custom of war should be followed, and the booty equally divided. The quarrel began about a very fine Arabian horse, which one of the three Turkish commanders demanded, and the others refused to give up. Certain it is, the auxiliary troops retired; and their desertion proved extremely prejudicial to Jalâlo'ddîn's affairs. The chief reason for his quitting Gazna was, to give his disunited troops time to rejoin him. He did all that was possible to bring the three Turkish commanders to listen to reason: he wrote and sent to them several times; representing the ruin which must attend their separation, and the advantages which might arise from their union.

The soltân overcomes.

They at length suffered themselves to be persuaded by the sense of danger, but it was too late: for Jenghîz Khân, informed of what was in agitation, sent sixty thousand horse to seize the passes, and prevent their joining the soltân; who, finding himself deprived of this powerful aid, retired towards the river Sind, or Indus. There he halted, in a part where the stream was most rapid, and the place confined, with a view both to take from his soldiers a desire of flying, and prevent the Mungls from bringing up all their army to engage at once. Ever since

[1] Nissavi, Fadhl, apud La Croix, p. 361 & seq.

his

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A.D. 1221. his departure from Gazna he had been tormented with a ſevere colic; yet, at a time when he ſuffered moſt, hearing that the enemy's van-guard was arrived at a place called Herder, he quitted his litter, and mounted on horſeback: then, marching in the night with his choſen troops, ſurpriſed the Mungls; and having cut them almoſt all to pieces, returned to his camp with a conſiderable booty.

Battle at the Indus. Jenghîz Khân, finding by this event, that he had to do with a vigilant enemy, proceeded with great circumſpection. When he approached the Indus, he drew out his army in battalia: to Jagatay he gave the command of the right wing; the left to Oktay; and put himſelf in the center, ſurrounded by ſix thouſand of his guards. On the other ſide, Jalâlo'ddîn prepared for battle: he firſt ſent the boats on the Indus farther off, reſerving only one to carry over the ſoltâna his mother, the queen his wife, and his children: but unluckily the boat bulged, when they were going to embark; ſo that they were forced to remain in the camp. The ſoltân in perſon aſſumed the command of the main body. His left wing, drawn up under the ſhelter of a mountain, which prevented the whole left wing of the Mungls from engaging them at one time, was conducted by his chief wazîr; and his right wing by Amîn Mâlek. This lord began the battle, and forced the enemy's left wing to give ground, in ſpite of all the troops which ſuſtained them. The right wing of the Mungls likewiſe wanting room to extend itſelf, the ſoltân made uſe of his left as a body of reſerve; detaching from thence ſquadrons to ſuſtain the other troops. He himſelf, at the head of the main body, charged that of Jenghîz Khân, with ſo much reſolution and vigour, that he put it into diſorder, and penetrated to the place where the khân had at firſt taken his ſtation; but that prince had retired from thence, to give orders for all the troops to engage.

The ſoltân defeated. This diſadvantage had like to have loſt the Mungls the battle; for the report being ſpread all over the army, that the ſoltân had broken through the main body, the troops were ſo diſcouraged, that if the khân had not immediately rode from place to place to ſhew himſelf, they would certainly have fled. In ſhort, what gained him the battle, was the orders which he gave to Bela Neviân to croſs the mountain, if practicable, and attack the ſoltân's left wing; which the khân obſerved had been much weakened by the ſeveral detachments. Bela, accordingly, conducted by a guide, marched betwixt rocks and dreadful precipices; and,

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and, attacking that disabled wing behind, obliged it to give way. A.D. 1221.

The soltân's troops, which were in all but thirty thousand, much fatigued with having fought ten whole hours against more than three hundred thousand men, were seized with a panic, and fled. In this confusion, his eldest son was taken prisoner. One part of the troops retired to the rocks, on the banks of the Indus, where the enemy's horse could not follow them. Many others, closely pursued by the Mungls, threw themselves into the river, some of whom happily crossed over; while the rest, placing themselves round their prince, continued the fight, through despair.

Mean time Jenghîz Khân, desirous to take Jalâlo'ddîn alive, ranged his forces in form of a bow, of which the river represented the string. The soltân, on this occasion, considering that, as he had scarce seven thousand men left, if he continued the fight any longer he should certainly fall into the enemy's hands, began to think of providing for his safety. He knew he had but one course to follow, and that a very dangerous one, which was, to cross the Indus; and yet he resolved to venture it, rather than suffer himself to be taken: but before he put this resolution in practice, he went to embrace and bid adieu to his mother, wives, children, and friends. Having, with tears in his eyes, broken from those dear objects of his affection, he put off his armour and arms, excepting his sword, bow, and quiver: then mounting a fresh horse, he spurred him into the river; and notwithstanding the rapidity and breadth of the stream, the beast carried him safely over. In gratitude for which service, the soltân caused him to be kept with care ever after; nor would, for the four or five years following, ride him in any dangerous action. *Crosses the river.*

When he was in the middle of the river, he stopped to insult Jenghîz Khân, who was come to the bank to admire his courage, and emptied his quiver of arrows against him. Several brave Mungl captains would have thrown themselves into the river to swim after Jalâlo'ddîn; but the grand khân would not permit them, telling them, this prince would defeat all their attempts. Then, putting his finger on his mouth, and turning towards his children, he said, "Any son should wish to spring from such a father. He who dares defy such dangers as this prince has now escaped, may expose himself to a thousand others; and a wise man, who has him for his enemy, must be always on his guard." *Admired by the khân.*

Mehemed

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A.D. 1221. Mehemed Niſſâvi, author of Jalâlo'ddîn's life, reports, that the ſoltân, pierced with the ſhrieks of his family, who begged him to deliver them from being ſlaves to the Mungls, commanded them to be all drowned; and that his orders were immediately executed: but other hiſtorians, who have given a very full relation of all that paſſed in the battle, aſſure us, that Jenghîz Khân, preſently after it, having cauſed all the ſoltân's wives and children to be brought before him, ordered the males to be killed; among whom was his eldeſt ſon, then but eight years of age. He afterwards employed divers to recover the treaſure which Jalâlo'ddîn had thrown into the river.

Drowns his family.

Exploits in India.

This prince, as ſoon as he was landed ſafe in India, aſcended a tree, to paſs the night ſecure from wild beaſts. Next day, as he walked melancholy along the banks, to ſee if any of his people appeared, he perceived a troop of ſoldiers, with ſome officers, three of whom proved to be his particular friends. Theſe, at the beginning of the defeat, had found a boat, in which they ſailed all night, with much danger, from the rocks, ſhelves, and violence of the current. Soon after, he was joined by three hundred horſe, who informed him of four thouſand more, ſaved by ſwimming over two leagues from thence: the ſoltân went to meet them, and promiſed to provide for their neceſſities. Mean time Jamâlarrazad, an officer of his houſhold, who was not at the battle, knowing that his maſter and many of his people had eſcaped, ventured to load a very large boat with arms, proviſions, money, and ſtuff to clothe the ſoldiers, and croſs over to him; for which eminent piece of ſervice Jalâlo'ddîn appointed him great ſteward of his houſhold, and ſurnamed him Ektiâro'ddîn, that is, *the Choſen*, or, *the Glory of the Faith*. And from this time things ſucceeded happily with the ſoltân. He fought ſeveral battles in Hindoſtân, and was at firſt victorious; he alſo made conqueſts and alliances. But at length the Indian princes becoming jealous of his proſperity, they conſpired againſt and obliged him to repaſs the Indus. Others ſay, his return to Perſia was voluntary, in order to recover what he could of his dominions, in the abſence of Jenghîz Khân. But we muſt leave him at preſent, to return to the conqueror [k].

[k] Fadhl. Niſſavi Marakeſh. apud La Croix, p. 317. & ſeq.

SECT.

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SECT. V.

Conquests in Irân, from the Battle of the Indus to Jenghîz Khân's Return into Tartary.

THE victory at the Indus cost Jenghîz Khân twenty thousand men; and since he invested Talkhân, he had lost no fewer than two hundred thousand men; yet he neglected not to send advice of his success to the governors of provinces, and particularly to Hubbe and Suidæ: who having now finished the conquest of Persian Irâk, he ordered them to enter Azerbejân, the ancient Media Atropatia, in the spring of the year 619. They, being then in winter-quarters at Senoravend, a city of that province, which they had taken by storm, sent immediately for a supply of troops from Khoràssân. *Persian Irâk subdued.* Hejra 619. A.D. 1222.

The two generals, having received this reinforcement, marched to Ardebîl or Ardevîl, a strong city, and of great trade, within two leagues of the mountain Savelân; which, after some little resistance, surrendered at discretion. The Mungls killed the greater part of the people; and, after plundering, burnt the city. From hence they marched to Tabrîz or Tauris, the capital of Azerbejân, whose governor, being a man of courage, rejected all their offers. He fatigued them with numerous sallies, and drew them frequently into ambuscade. But at last, being forced to a pitched battle, was defeated: yet he escaped to the city, and might have held out a long time, if the inhabitants had not compelled him forthwith to make proposals to the Mungl generals, who readily consented to them; for fear the Georgians, who were esteemed the most valiant people of all Asia, should declare for the inhabitants. After this exploit, being informed, that there were some commotions at Ispâhân, they returned to Irâk: but the author of them having been slain by his party, they did not punish the inhabitants. *Ardebîl and Tauris yield.*

The Georgians, expecting to be attacked in their turn by the Mungls, were resolved to prevent them; and, though it was the midst of winter, entered Azerbejân, in quest of the troops which the two generals had left in that country; but finding them more numerous than they expected, and having been worsted in two rencounters, they returned to Tessîs, from whence they sent to ask assistance from all their neighbours; but none would afford them any. *Georgians make war.*

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A.D.1222. In revenge, they sent strong parties to molest all those who favoured the Mungls. Mean time Hubbe and Suida sent troops to oppose them; and, as soon as the season permitted, marching from Irâk, with all their forces entered Georgia: but, finding all the passes secured, they proceeded no farther. However, on their return to Azerbejân, they took and plundered Marâgha, which, they were informed, had assisted the Georgians.

Marâgha taken.

From hence they went into quarters of refreshment at Ardebîl; where advice arriving of a revolt at Hamadân, Hubbe marched thither to appease it. The governor Jamâlo'ddîn, seeing himself forsaken by the rest of the mutineers, sent the Mungl rich presents, with offers of submission; but the general insisted that he should surrender at discretion. He was about to comply, when a captain, named Fakîhi, heading the troops which were in the city, had the boldness to make a sally; but being repulsed and pursued, a great number of the enemy, entering promiscuously with his soldiers, seized the gates, and became masters of the place. The victors afterwards reduced Salmas and Kûy, in the western part of Azerbejân; Nâkshivân, in the province of Al Rân; and Ganjeh, which is now the capital.

Georgians defeated.

Here the Mungls being informed that an army of Georgians were advancing to attack them, it was resolved that Hubbe should lie in ambuscade with five thousand men, while Suida marched with the bulk of the army as if he meant to give them battle. This stratagem had the desired effect; the Georgians being charged both in front and rear at the same time, thirty thousand of them were cut in pieces. They who escaped spread a report through the country, that the Mungls were coming to besiege Teflis, which threw the inhabitants into the utmost terror. However, the soldiers knowing the difficulty of the passes, ran to guard them; and the Mungls, disheartened at the many narrow defiles, immediately retreated[1].

Mungl detachments.

It is now time to know what Jenghîz Khân was doing in Khoraſſân. This prince, after the battle with Jalâlo'ddîn, through the severity of the winter, was obliged to take up his quarters on the borders of Hinduſtân, and repose his harassed army. On the approach of spring he sent out troops to make new conquests. Eighty thousand were detached toward Herât; which had revolted, under the command of Ilenku Neviân; and twenty thousand,

[1] Fadhl. apud La Croix, p. 323. & seq.

under

under Bela, or Bala, marched towards Multân in India, to oppose the soltân, if he appeared on that side. Oktay was sent, with the troops under his command, to conquer Gazna; and Jagatay was supplied with sixty thousand men, in order to secure the provinces of Send and Kermân against Jalâlo'ddîn; but the soltân returned into the latter as soon as he heard that Jenghîz Khân had marched into Mogolistân, upon advice that Shidaskû, khân of Tangût, had taken the city of Kampion from his governor, and that the Kitayans were inclined to revolt. A.D. 1222.

Kandahâr taken.

On this intelligence Jenghîz Khân sent orders to his brother Utakîn, and marched with the troops that remained with him as far as Kandahar, which he took.

Multân reduced.

Some time after the reduction of this fortress, Multân, a city of India, was subdued by Bela Neviân, who had orders to conquer Lahûr also; but as he was informed there was in that place a stronger army than his own, he did not go thither. A Patân prince, named Kobâdia, had sent those forces; thinking he had more reason to provide against the Mungls than against Jalâlo'ddîn: for although the soltân was then in arms on his frontiers, yet he had only a few troops with him, and could only make a slight irruption into the territories of a prince named Râna, whom he slew for having insulted him in his distress.

Slaughter at Herât.

Ilenku executed the orders he had received concerning Herât with much cruelty. The people of this country, after they had made peace with Tuli Khân, revolted, on the appearance of Jalâlo'ddîn, killed the governor Abûbekr, with those of his party, and elected Mubarezzo'ddîn in his room. Kûtûktû received immediate orders to chastise them, but was prevented by his defeat at Birwân; so that the khân had been obliged to defer his vengeance till this time. Ilenku had orders to ruin all the country; and it employed him six months to execute his commission. The Mungls boasted, that they had destroyed in this expedition above one million six hundred thousand persons.

Gazna besieged, and taken.

Oktay, whose orders were to punish Gazna, no sooner arrived in that country than he exercised all sorts of cruelties. Not that this prince was naturally bloody, but he knew his father to be so, and that he hated those people to whom he owed the loss of his armies. After he had subdued all the places of least strength, he invested the capital Gazna, then called Dâro'l Mulk, or *the Royal City*, because it had been the metropolis of the Gazni soltâns. This city was provided with all things necessary to sustain a siege, had a strong garrison, with a brave and

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A.D. 1221. experienced governor. The inhabitants, expecting no mercy from the khân, were resolved to make a desperate defence. They made frequent sallies on the besiegers, several times destroyed their works, and broke above a hundred of their battering-rams; but one night, after an obstinate engagement, in which Oktay fought in person, to encourage his soldiers, who began to be intimidated, one side of the city walls fell down, and filling up the ditch, a great number of Mungls easily entered sword in hand. The governor, seeing all lost, at the head of his bravest soldiers, charged among the thickest of his enemies, where he and his followers were slain. However, Gazna was not entirely ruined, nor did all the inhabitants perish; for after thepillage had lasted four or five hours, Oktay ordered it to cease, and taxed the people who were left alive at a certain rate, to redeem themselves and the city. This prince continued here till the whole province was reduced, and then went to rejoin his father in Tartary.

Jagatay enters Kermân.

Mean time Jagatay having entered Kermân, the ancient Karamania of Persia, took, by degrees, all the cities in that province. After he had reduced Tîz, one of the first cities, with some other places, which he destroyed, he proceeded to Kelânjer, a country bordering on Hindustân, where, intending to pass the winter, the soldiers, by the help of their slaves, built houses, cultivated gardens, and kept flocks of sheep, as if they intended to make a settlement; but when the scorching winds began to blow, to which they were not accustomed, almost all of them fell sick, while the greater part of those who lived became so weak and languid that they were not fit for service. By this distemper the country of Fârs, or Pârs, which is the proper Persia, and that part of Khûzestân which belonged to Kayaso'ddîn, soltân Jalâlo'ddîn's younger brother, escaped for this time the invasion of the Mungls. Jagatay, by removing his troops from one place to another, gradually restored them to health; and finding the slaves which the soldiers had taken were a burthen, ordered the throats of the greater part of them to be cut. Then having committed the care of the conquered countries to one of his lieutenants, he, pursuant to his father's orders, directed his course to Bâlkh, where the general rendezvous was appointed [m].

Sickly climate.

[m] Fadhl. Nissavi, ap. La Croix, p. 331, & seq. Abu'lg. p. 139.

Jenghiz

Jenghîz Khân, after the reduction of Kandahâr, decamped, and continued his march towards the Jihûn or Amû. He passed the rest of the summer in a delightful place, to the south of that river, where he informed himself concerning the antiquities of Bâlkh, and particularly about Zeridesht Behrâm, or Zoroaster, the famous philosopher, who instituted fire-worship. Here he received letters from the khân of Tangût, promising submission, and to become tributary, provided the khân would pardon what was past. To prevent his forming any more enterprises, an answer was sent, that his offers were accepted. He afterwards crossed the Amû in order to keep in awe all those who had any inclination to rebel. Then having sent notice to the generals, dispersed through the provinces, to follow him, he proceeded to Bokhâra. There again he had a conversation with the learned about the Mohammedan religion; to every article of which he assented, except the necessity of making a pilgrimage to Mecca. A D. 1223. *The khân returns to Bokhâra.*

Having passed the winter at Bokhâra, he proceeded to Samarkand, where he spent most part of the year; and intending to hold a general diet the next year at Tonkât, sent mandates to the princes, governors, and generals, to repair to that place. As Hubbe and Suida had instructions to return by Dârbend, round the Caspian Sea, they no sooner received his orders than they entered Shîrwân, and took Shamâkîya, the capital, which they treated with rigour for its resistance, and then changing their measures, they spared both the country and people. This lenity they practised in order to obtain of the king a passage by Dârbend; but that prince, fearing their design was to seize that fortress, and drive him out of his kingdom, denied their request under various pretences; till at length the generals, finding they made use of intreaties to no purpose, proceeded to threats, which procured a grant of their demands, and officers to conduct them on their march. *Hubbe and Suida pass through Dârbend.*

The Mungl generals, in viewing Dârbend, admired its natural as well as artificial strength, and confessed it was not to be forced. There is between the sea and the mountains, a space, about a quarter of a league wide, which is enclosed by two walls, built of gravel and shells pounded together, a composition harder than any stone, and six foot thick. They are founded on the rock, and reach from the sea to the mountain; so that all passengers were

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A.D. 1223. obliged to pass through by the iron gates (E) which were in these walls [n].

Defeat the Daghestânis.

The Alâni, at present called the Tartars of Dâghestân, were extremely surprised at the unexpected appearance of the Mungls, and fearing they had some design on their liberty, broke up the roads and destroyed the provisions. The generals, provoked at this conduct, took and ruined their chief city Tarku. They afterwards surprised Terki, the capital of the Cherkassians, who were joined with them, as well as the Kalmûk Tartars, bordering on the Wolga and Caspian Sea. However, foreseeing that if these three nations raised all their forces, they should not be able to withstand them, the Mungl generals sent messengers to assure the Kalmûk tribes, that they were of the same nation with themselves; that they asked nothing but to return to their own country; and desired them to be arbitrators of the war. The Kalmûks, moved by these reasons, and more perhaps by presents, recalled their troops, so that the Alâni and Cherkassians, seeing themselves deprived of their assistance, soon lost courage, and gave way to their enemies.

Enter Kipjâk.

The generals, having crossed the Wolga, by favour of the Kalmûks, entered into Kipchâk, or Kapshâk; but being obliged to pass the winter there, as they arrived late in the year, their long stay gave rise to feuds between them and the inhabitants. The Mungls fortified their camp, and sent to Tushi Khân, who was not far off, for assistance. That prince detached the greater part of his troops, who having joined the others in spite of the enemy, formed a considerable army, which, without much trouble, constrained those people to submit. Mean time Tushi, being obliged to repair to court, left Hubbe and Suida to command in Kipchâk during his absence, with orders to attack the Nogays, who had offended him, and were the only people unsubdued in Kipchâk. By means of the frozen rivers the Mungls had an early passage to Astrakhân, situate in an island of the Wolga, near the Caspian Sea, which they subdued. The war lasted six months; at the end of which the Nogays acknowleged

Astrakhân taken.

[n] La Croix, p. 339, & seq. Abu'lg. p. 142.

(E) Thence called Demîr Kâpi by the Turks, and Bâbal-abwâb, that is, *the gate of gates*, by the Arabs. Dârbend, or Derbend, signifies in Persian, *the fastenings of the gates*, or *the shut gates*.

Tushi

Tuſhi Khân for their ſovereign, and Jenghîz Khân for their grand khân. The generals continued in this country till Tuſhi returned from the diet in autumn 1224, and then left it with the troops they had brought thither.

If Jenghîz Khân was ſevere to thoſe who offended him, he was kind and bountiful to ſuch as did him any ſervice. When he left Samarkand he freed the people of that province for ſeveral years, from paying the uſual tribute, becauſe their behaviour had pleaſed him; and, to give the lords ſome particular marks of his affection, he remitted, for their lives, the taxes due from the nobility to their prince. The joy produced by this generous treatment was damped with ſeeing the queen Turkhân Kâtûn, followed by her ladies, and they by all the great officers of ſoltân Mohammed, who had been taken, led in triumph before the grand khân's army, who was going to paſs through thoſe countries where ſhe was ſtill beloved. After them the ſoltân's throne and crown were borne in ſtate [a]. *The khân's bounty.*

The grand khân having croſſed the river Sihûn, or Sîr, arrived at Tonkat in the beginning of the year 601; which city he had choſen to hold the diet in, becauſe it was agreeably ſituated, and was able to furniſh all things neceſſary for ſo numerous an aſſembly. The princes and generals being returned from their reſpective expeditions, Jenghîz Khân, with careſſes, received his ſons, who kneeled down, kiſſed his hand, and made him preſents, which were very conſiderable; but thoſe of Tuſhi, or Juji, were by far the moſt valuable; for, beſides other rare particulars, there were a hundred thouſand horſes, white, dappled-greys, bays, black, and ſpotted, of each ſort an equal number. In return the grand khân opened his treaſures, and loaded them with gifts. He gave public feaſts for a whole month; but the moſt ſumptuous banquet was on their return from a general hunting, in which ſeveral thouſand beaſts of all kinds had been ſlain: the falconers furniſhed variety of birds. Their liquors, beſides balperinj, or *metheglin*, griut, or *beer*, and kammez, or kimis, conſiſted of excellent wines from the ſouthern countries, and ſherbets, which they had learned to make from the Perſians. Hejra 601. A.D. 1224. *Comes to Tonkat.*

When this great feaſt was ended, preparations were made for holding the diet in the plain of Tonkat; which, though ſeven leagues in length, could ſcarcely contain all the tents and attendants of the great perſonages; who, *Holds a diet.*

[a] La Croix, p. 348, & ſeq.

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A.D. 1224. besides the governors, came from the most distant provinces of Kitay, Moguliſtân, Karakitay, Turân, and Irân. The greater part of them also had brought thither their moveable houſes. When the khân's quarters were marked out, which took up near two leagues in compaſs, and the ſtreets, ſquares, and markets were appointed, they pitched the tents for his houſhold. That erected for the diet, was capable of containing at leaſt two thouſand perſons; and, to diſtinguiſh it from the reſt, it was covered with white. It had but two gates, one named the Imperial, for the khân alone to enter at; the other called the Public Gate; which laſt had guards for ſtate. A magnificent throne was erected for the emperor; nor did they forget to place on an eminence the black felt carpet, on which that prince was proclaimed grand khân: which emblem of the poor ſtate of the Mungls at that time, was held in great veneration by them, as long as their empire laſted.

with great pomp. There appeared a great deal of magnificence in their dreſs and equipages, eſpecially their ſaddles, and other horſe-furniture, which were ſet with precious ſtones and gold. On the top of moſt tents were placed ſtreamers of the richeſt ſilks, of divers colours; which afforded a very gay proſpect. Although the affairs which were to ſettle in ſo vaſt an empire were very numerous and complex, yet Jagatay, the keeper of Jenghiz Khân's laws, had put them in ſo good a method, that all things were regulated without any trouble. The khân, who loved to ſpeak in public, took an occaſion to make a ſpeech in praiſe of thoſe laws, to which he imputed all his victories and conqueſts. As a farther proof of his greatneſs, he ordered all the ambaſſadors who had followed the court, as well as all the envoys and deputies from the countries he had ſubdued, to be called in; and having given them audience at the foot of the throne, diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

Tuſhi returns. After the ſeſſion, Tuſhi Khân, among the reſt, took leave of his father, in order to return to Kipchâk; the grant of which kingdom the khân confirmed to him. On his arrival there, the two generals, Hubbe and Suida, put their troops into his hands, and returned to court, where they were received with great honour [p].

Mungl ſlaughters. The Chineſe account of this weſtern expedition differs in many particulars from that which we have given. Their authors, however, juſtly obſerve, that ſince the time the

[p] La Croix, p. 353, & ſeq. Abu'lgh. p. 144.

Mungls

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Mungls first issued out of their sandy deserts, they did A.D. 1224.
did nothing but plunder, kill, burn, and destroy kingdoms. They accuse them of all sorts of crimes, the greatest of which was that of extirpating royal families root and branch; so that both men and spirits (says the history), burst with vexation, and called for vengeance. Other Chinese authors relate, that, in the first fourteen years of the Mungl empire, there were slain one thousand eight hundred and forty-seven myriads, (or eighteen millions four hundred and seventy thousand people), by the founder Jenghîz Khân[r].

SECT. VI.

Conquest of the Kingdom of Hya, and the Progress made in that of Kitay, till the Death of Jenghîz Khân.

Affairs of Lyau and of Kitay.

SOON after the diet of Tonkat was dissolved, Jenghîz Khân departed with all his court; obliging the captive queen to attend him continually, mounted on a chariot, and loaded with irons, as the proud monument of his victories in the West. But while the conqueror is on his journey to the East, let us return thither, and see what was doing during the time he was absent from his own dominions. The emperor had left the government of them all to his brother Wa-che, who managed affairs with great prudence and dignity. In 1220, the princess Tyau-li repaired to the regent's court, to give notice of the death of her husband Lyew-ko, king of Lyau-tong. Wa-che received her with magnificence, and sent her back, with troops, to govern in that country till the return of the khân; which trust she discharged with great ability.

On the other hand, Mûhûli, his lieutenant-general in China, acquired much reputation in the war which he maintained against both the emperor of the Kin, and the king of Hya. In 1218, Chang-yau, a general of the army, assembled a large body of troops to revenge the death of another general, his friend, murdered by an officer who was his enemy. Coming to Tse-kin-quan, a famous fortress in the mountains of Pe-che-li, he was attacked by Mingan, and fought bravely; but, his horse falling, he was taken: and, being brought before the victor,

[r] Couplet. Tab Sinic. Chron. p. 74.

A.D. 1224. tor, refuſed to kneel; ſaying, as he was a general himſelf, he would rather die firſt. Mingan, admiring his greatneſs of ſoul, diſmiſſed him with honour, and treated the other officers well; yet, at the ſame time, ordered Chang-yau's father and mother to be put to death. The ſon, hearing this doom, after debating the matter with himſelf, to ſave their lives, offered to enter into the Mungl troops; and few officers were equal to him, or did the khân more ſervice.

Cities recovered. Mûhûli, accompanied by his ſon Pûlû, or Polû, recovered the places in Shan-ſi, which the Kin had retaken, and fortified. Tay-ywen-fu, the capital, ſuſtained three aſſaults; but the officers, perceiving that they could neither defend the city, nor cut their way through the Mungls, killed themſelves. The officers of other places followed their example, rather than fall into the hands of Mûhûli's troops. The emperor of the Song, (or the Southern China) who had already declared war againſt the Tartars of Nyu-che, or the Kin, refuſed to make peace with them, and, by edict, exhorted his ſubjects to drive them out of China. Hereupon the Kin emperor ſent his ſon and heir againſt the Song; which war was carried on with various ſucceſs.

Changyau's exploits. In the beginning of the year 1219, Chu-yu Kau-ki, miniſter of the Kin, built a little city within the incloſure of Kay-fong-fû, in Honan, and fortified it very ſtrongly. In April, Chang-yau, having been nominated to the command of a body of troops by Mûhûli, took ſeveral cities in the diſtrict of Pau-ting Fu; and then went to attack Kyagu, the murderer of his friend, who was intrenched on a mountain; but not being able to force his works, he cut off his ſupplies of water, and obliged him to ſurrender. Chang-yau tore out his heart, and ſacrificed it to the manes of his friend. Afterwards, retiring with his people to Man-ching, a little unfortified city to the north-weſt of Pau-ting Fu, the Kin general, named U-tſyen, came and beſieged him; but Chang-yau, ordering all the uſeleſs men to mount the walls, ſallied with the braveſt of his ſoldiers, and cut his way with great ſlaughter through his enemies. Having eſcaped this danger, he found himſelf ſurrounded by a body of reſerve. At the firſt onſet two of his teeth happened to be ſtruck out with an arrow; but becoming rather more furious, although he had loſt almoſt all his men, he broke through them; and, with the few ſoldiers who were left, plundered four little cities which were in his road. Afterwards, receiving ſome reinforcements,

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ments, he acquired great fame by the conqueſts which he made in the diſtricts of Ching-ting Fû, and Pau-ting Fû, in Pe-che-li. A.D. 1224.

In the courſe of this ſame year, the Mungls, by their arms, made Korea tributary; and, at the end of it, the Kin emperor put to death his prime miniſter Kau-ki, who was accuſed of being, by his bad advice, the cauſe of all the evils which the empire ſuffered. In Auguſt 1220, Mûhûli, arriving at Man-ching, near Pauting Fû, ſent a party to the paſs of Tau-ma-quan, a fortreſs in the mountains. Theſe having defeated a detachment of the Kin, the governor of Ching-ting-fû ſubmitted, and delivered that important place to Mûhûli, who ordered his army to ſet at liberty all the priſoners they had made, forbidding ſlaughter and plunder under the ſevereſt penalties[t]. *Korea made tributary.*

The Kin, after the death of Kau-ki, took proper meaſures for defending their dominions. He was ſucceeded by Su-ting, who had both experience and ſkill in military affairs. This miniſter had found means to raiſe an army of two hundred thouſand men in Shan-tong, with which he fruſtrated the deſigns both of the Chineſe emperor and king of Hya, in Shen-ſi, who were forced to raiſe the ſiege of Kong-chang Fû. The army which the Kin had in Shan-tong, being encamped at Wang-ling-kan, the general ſent twenty thouſand foot to attack Mûhûli, who lay near Tſi-nan Fû, the capital of that province, which he had taken. The Mungl general having had notice hereof, advanced againſt this detachment, which he defeated. Afterwards he attacked the enemy's army drawn up on the river ſide, and after a furious battle, routed him entirely. *Conqueſts in Shan-tong.*

Mûhûli, after this victory, made ſeveral conqueſts, and inveſted Tong-chang Fû; but perceiving it was very ſtrong, converted the ſiege into a blockade. In May, 1221, the garriſon, wanting proviſions, attempted to retreat; but the officer who commanded the blockade, entirely defeated them, killing ſeven thouſand, and then took poſſeſſion of the city. Mûhûli, from Tong-chang Fû, marched to Tay-tong Fû in Shan-ſi; then paſſing the Wang-ho, forty leagues weſt of that city, entered the country of Ortûs, and ſpread terror through the kingdom of Hya; ſo that its king was obliged to ſubmit to the Mungl general. He committed no hoſtilities this year againſt Hya, but attacked the Kin. He blocked up Yan- *Shan-ſi, and Shen-ſi.*

[t] Gaubil, p. 42, & ſeq.

gan,

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A.D. 1224. gan, a city of Shen-si; but found it too well fortified and provided to be quickly taken. He slew more than seven thousand of the enemy; subdued Kya-chew, which he fortified, and some other places.

Mûhûli's death and character. In 1222 Mûhûli made many conquests in the district of Ping-yang Fû, and the year following attacked Fong-tsyang Fû in Shen-si. He afterwards repassed the Whang-ho, and having driven the Kin out of several posts in Shan-si, as well as recovered Pû-chew, he set out upon another expedition; but fell sick at When-hi-hyen. Perceiving himself near his end, he sent for his brother Tay-sun, and earnestly recommended to him the reduction of Pyen-king as a matter of great importance. After having laid this injunction upon him he expired, aged fifty-four years, forty of which he had served in the army with success.

Mûhûli was considered by all the Mungls as the first captain of their empire, and Jenghîz Khân had an entire confidence in him. The great dignity to which he was advanced did not lessen his military ardour; and in all the grand enterprises he underwent as much fatigue as the meaneft soldier. The khân, before he was proclaimed emperor, retreating to his camp by night, after a defeat, and not able to find it for the snow which had fallen, being much fatigued, lay down upon some straw to sleep, when Porchi and Mûhûli took a covering, and held it over him all night in the open air. This action gained them much reputation, and rendered their families in great esteem among the Mungl princes.

In September 1224, Sun, the emperor of the Kin, died, and was succeeded by his son Shew-su, who immediately made peace with the Hya.

A.D. 1225. *The khân returns.* In the beginning of the year 1225 the emperor Jenghîz Khân, having passed through Tartary, arrived at the river Tûla, after near seven years absence in the West; and it is easy to judge what impression his return made in the minds of the neighbouring powers, whether friends or enemies. Tyauli, queen of Lyau-tong, came to meet that monarch, with the princes her nephews. That lady, who had a well cultivated understanding, fell on her knees to acknowlege Jenghîz Khân, and make him compliments on his great conquests. The emperor, in his turn, condoled her on the death of the king her spouse; praising the manner in which she governed her kingdom, and promised his protection to her whole family. Tyau-li, after returning thanks, besought him to nominate Pi-tu king of Lyau-

tong,

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tong. The khân could not help admiring the justice and prudence of this lady; for Pi-tu was son of Lyew-ko, by another venter, but his mother was dead; and Tyau-li had several children by the same king. As Shen-ko, the eldest, had all the qualifications proper for governing, the emperor was of opinion that they should reign in conjunction; but the queen persisting in her request for Pi-tu, the monarch nominated him, and had the goodness to relate to her the great exploits he had performed in the West. The emperor kept Shen-ko at his court; and ordered a great lord to conduct the queen and the new king into Lyau-tong [u].

Li-te, king of Hya, had afforded shelter to two great enemies of the Mungls, of which the khân loudly complained; but that prince, far from making satisfaction, took those obnoxious persons into his service. At this new provocation Jenghîz Khân marched in person, and in February 1226 took Yetsina. After this conquest, the Mungls forced all the fortresses, which were very numerous, between that city, Ninghya, Kya-yu-quan, and Kan-chew, Sû-chew, Kan-chew, and Si-lyang Fû, were also taken. The king of Hya died in July, of grief, to see his dominions become a prey to the Mungls. In November the khân took Ling-chew, to the south of Ning-hya; and then encamped thirty or forty leagues to the north of the former. A.D. 1226. *Invades Hya.*

Oktay, his third son, accompanied by Chahan, marched into Honan, and laid siege to Kay-fong Fû, capital of that province, the residence of the Kin emperor; but they were obliged to relinquish the enterprize. However, in 1227, marching into Shen-si, they took most of the fortresses that were in the districts of the metropolis Si-ngan Fû; then advanced towards the places and forts which the Kin had in the territories of Fong-tsyang Fû and Han-chong Fû. Oktay having gone into Tartary, and left the command to Chahan, the Kin, who concluded his designs were to re-enter Honan, offered new proposals of peace to Jenghîz Khân; which being rejected, they made a last effort. They resolved to think of nothing now but how to defend themselves in Honan; they fortified the passes of the Whang-ho, and the principal cities; they furnished Tong-quan with a great number of troops; and collected an army of two hundred thousand chosen men, commanded by the best officers they had. A.D. 1227. *Progress in Honan;*

[u] Gaubil, p. 45, & seq.

Jenghîz

A.D.1227. *and in Hya.*

Jenghîz Khan, having in the spring left an army to besiege Ning-hya (then called Hya-chew), capital of the kingdom of Hya, sent a great body of troops, who seized the countries of Koko Nor, Qua-chew, and Sha-chew. The khân, at the head of another body, made himself master of Ho-chew and Si-ning; then cutting in pieces an army of thirty thousand men, he besieged Lin-tau Fû, which belonged to the Kin. This city he took, with several others; and proud of so much success, went to pass the summer heats on the mountain Lu-pan in Shen-si.

The kingdom destroyed.

Li-hyen, king of Hya, who succeeded Li-te, being reduced to the last extremity in Ning-hya, surrendered at discretion, in June, and set out for Lu-pan, to do homage to the Mungl emperor; but he had no sooner left the city than he was slain. The place was entirely plundered, and a cruel slaughter made of the inhabitants, the plains being covered with dead bodies: they who escaped the sword fled to the mountains, woods, and caves [z].

This is the account given in the Chinese history of the destruction of Hya, called Tangût by the more western writers; who, doubtless for want of proper information, relate this great event with different circumstances. However, they add some other matters, which claim our attention. After the defeat given to the army of Shidasku, king of Tangût, Jenghîz Khân marched against the Turks of Jurjeh, who had assisted him; but as they submitted to pay a yearly tribute, and receive garrisons into their towns; also to furnish the victor with some troops, the emperor proceeded no farther. There he received news from Bâghdâd of the khalif's death: on which advice he ordered new levies to be raised, and in the interim secured, not only the countries dependent on Tangût, as Erghimul, Sinqui, and Egrikaya, but also the neighbouring territories, and particularly the city Sikion, distant from Pe-king only eighty days journey: which otherwise might have given him great trouble when he entered the Southern China.

Jurjeh Turks submit.

Death of Tushi.

After this wonderful success, he passed the winter in the fruitful country of Tangût; removing his camp from time to time, chiefly towards the borders of Turkestân. But while his court was filled with joy, news came from Kipjak of the death of his eldest son Tushi or Juji, which threw the khân into a deep melancholy, and hindered him from taking any diversions; things even became so indif-

[z] Gaubil, p. 49, & seq.

ferent

ſerent to him, that he appeared ſcarcely at all affected with the intelligence of a great victory, gained by his lieutenant in the Weſt, over Jalâlo'ddîn. This ſoltân, as ſoon as he was informed that the emperor was at a diſtance from Perſia, returned from India into Makrân, with ſome troops. From thence he repaired to Shîrâs, and afterwards to Iſpâhân; into which his friends introduced him ſecretly, and there augmented his little army. From thence he proceeded to Baghdâd; but not being well received, he defeated the troops which the khalif had ſent againſt him, and retook Tauris.

After theſe exploits he marched againſt the Georgians with thirty thouſand men; and at his return to Azerbejân, advanced againſt the Mungls; who having paſſed the river Amû, in the beginning of the year 623, met him with more numerous forces. A battle enſued, in which Jalâlo'ddîn was defeated; and this was the victory of which Jenghîz Khân had received advice. Hejra 623. A.D. 1226.

Soltân Jalâlo'ddîn.

The Mungls, having gained this advantage againſt the ſoltân, made themſelves maſters of Tauris; while that prince, rallying his forces, harraſſed his enemies, without ceaſing. He afterwards laid ſiege to Aklât, the capital of Armenia; whither the khalif ſent an ambaſſador to him with preſents. From thence he paſſed into Anatolia, to oblige the Seljûk Turks, who poſſeſſed that country, to render him the ſame reſpect they had paid his father: but he was defeated by Alao'ddîn Kaykobâd, ſoltân of Konîyah or Iconium, in conjunction with other princes of Rûm, who yet did not purſue him after the battle, becauſe they were willing that he ſhould keep the Mungls in play. He accordingly gave them no ſmall diverſion; but at laſt they came upon him by ſurprize, and having entirely routed his forces, plundered his camp. After this misfortune he fled to Mahân, in the confines of Azerbejân, where he lived a whole winter unknown; but being at laſt diſcovered, he retired into Kûrdeſtân, where he was killed four years after Jenghîz Khân's death, by a native of that country, in the houſe of one of his friends, where he had taken refuge.

and Shidaſku.

As ſoon as the ſpring of the year 1226 appeared, and the emperor's troops had arrived at the place of rendezvous, in order to enter Manji or the Southern China, an officer repaired thither, ſent by Shidaſku, to acquaint the khân, that if he would forgive what was paſt, his maſter would in perſon wait on him. Shidaſku took this ſtep for fear the Mungls ſhould attack his fort of Arbaka, to which he

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A.D. 1227. he had retired after his defeat. The envoy, however, was well received at the court of Jenghîz Khân, who, in an audience, said to him: "You may assure your master, that I will no more think of what is past between him and me; and that I will grant him my protection." Yet the last order he gave before he died was, that Shidaſku, as soon as he came to court, should be put to death; which command was accordingly executed on him, his children, and his attendants[y].

The khân's sickness, Jenghîz Khân, having thus put an end to the kingdom of Hya, after it had continued near two hundred years under its own princes, intended also to complete the conquest of the empire of the Kin. But in the beginning of the year 1227, he fell sick, on the mountain before mentioned; and, finding death approach, on the 18th of August, sent for the generals of the army, and declared prince Toley, his fourth son, regent of the empire, till the arrival of his brother Oktay, whom he nominated for his heir and successor. Then, recommending union among them, he said, with regard to the war against the Kin, that, as the best of their troops guarded Tong-quan, and they were also masters of the mountains to the south, it would therefore be difficult to attack and vanquish them, without the assistance of the Song (or Chinese); who being their inveterate enemies, he advised his officers to demand a passage through their territories, in order to attack the Kin: that, entering by the cities Tong and Teng, they should march directly to besiege Ta-lyang Fû: that this enterprize would oblige the Kin to call their troops from Tong-quan; and that, as they would be fatigued by the length of the journey, they might be attacked with advantage. Having given these directions, *and death.* he died aged sixty-six, after a reign of twenty-two years; and was buried by Toley, in the cave of Ki-nyen, a mountain to the north of the great Kobi, or sandy desert, in Tartary[z].

According to the western historians of Asia, the emperor gave to Jagatay, Mawara'lnahr (or Great Bukhâria), and several other countries, by a written instrument, to prevent any difference that might arise between him and the rest of his heirs; and the dominions so granted took the name of Ulûs Chagatay, that is, *the country of Chagatay.* He also commanded Karasher Nevian to ac-

[y] La Croix, p. 375, & seq. [z] Gaubil, p. 51, & seq.

company

company this prince into his new dominions, and purſue Jalâlo'ddîn, in caſe he ventured to invade them [a]. A.D. 1227.

Jenghîz Khân's death threw all the court into extreme ſorrow. His body was interred with great magnificence, in a place which he had choſen for the purpoſe: it was under a very beautiful tree, where, in his return from the chace, a few days before he fell ſick, he had reſted himſelf with much ſatisfaction. A very noble monument was afterwards erected over his grave: and the people, who came to viſit the tomb, planted other trees round it, in ſuch regular order, as rendered it in time one of the fineſt ſepulchres in the world (F). Hiſtorians make no mention of men being ſlain at the grave of this monarch; nor is this barbarous cuſtom countenanced by any law: yet it is certain that this inhumanity was exerciſed at the funerals of the emperors who ſucceeded him. The attendants, who acompanied the funeral pomp, put to death thoſe whom they met in the way, in a perſuaſion that they were predeſtined to die at that time; and even cut the throats of the fineſt horſes. *His burial.*

Jenghîz Khân, over and above all the virtues requiſite in great conquerors, had a genius fit for forming grand enterprizes, conſummate prudence and fortitude to carry them on; natural eloquence to perſuade; patience, proof againſt all difficulties; and reſolution able to ſurmount all obſtacles. His temperance was admirable, and his underſtanding extenſive, with a penetrating judgment, which in an inſtant pointed out the beſt means for accompliſhing his aim: yet it muſt be confeſſed, that he was cruel and bloody, and treated his enemies with inſolence and rigour [b]. *Character and genius.*

Jenghîz Khân, with regard to his religion, was a deiſt; for the firſt of the laws which he enacted in the great diet at Karakorom, implied the belief of "one God the creator of heaven and earth, who alone gives life and death, riches and poverty, who grants and denies, whatſoever he pleaſes; and has over all things an abſolute and almighty power." Nevertheleſs, he granted liberty of conſcience to all his ſubjects. *his religion.*

[a] La Croix, p. 378, & ſeqq. [b] Ibid. p. 382. & ſeq. Abu'lgh. p. 145.

(F) According to Abû'lghâzi Khan, this place was called Burkhân, Kaldin; and that all his deſcendents, who died in thoſe provinces, have been interred there.

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A.D. 1227.

His wives,

Jenghîz Khân had a great number of wives; many of whom bore the title of empress. The first and most considerable of the empresses was Hyu-chen, daughter of Te-in, lord of the Honkirat (or Kongorat) tribe; whose sons, Oktay and Toley, were therefore preferred to the rest. The khân excluded the princes of the family born of Chinese women, from inheriting the crown [d].

This is all that has been transmitted to us from the Chinese history concerning the wives of Jenghîz Khân. The more western historians mention five, who were esteemed above all the rest. The first, Guzi Suren, daughter of the khân of the Naymans, who was his first wife. The second, Purta Kujin, daughter of the khân of Kongorat, the same with Hyu-chen, before mentioned. The third, Obûljin, or Oviſulujin, daughter of Vang Khân, king of the Kara-its. The fourth, Kubku Katun, daughter of the emperor of Kitay. And the fifth, Kulan Khatun, daughter of Dairason, a Mungl khân, of the Merkit tribe, and a lady of extraordinary beauty [e].

and children.

His favourite sons:

their employments.

Jenghîz Khân had a great number of children; but the Chinese history mentions only six sons and three daughters. Chuchi (Juji, or Tushi), the eldest son, was a great captain; active, impetuous, and delighting in war. Chagatay (or Jagatay, and Zagatay), was universally beloved for his wisdom and affability. Ogotay (Ugoday, or Oktay), possessed an uncommon share of prudence and greatness of soul, was courageous, and loved justice. Toley (or Tuli) was beloved by his father, and generally esteemed by the Mungls. Of Uluche and Kolye-kyen, the two last, nothing remarkable occurs [f].

The western Asiatic historians affirm, that Tushi, or Jujî Khân was grand huntsman of the empire, the most considerable post in it; as hunting was the noblest exercise among the Mungls. He chose Zagatay, or Jagatay, to be chief judge, and gave him the title of director of the Yassa, or laws; which were committed to writing. Oktay, from his wisdom and prudence, was deemed worthy of the post of chief counsellor; nor did his father undertake any thing of consequence without his privity and advice. All military affairs were committed to Tuli's (or Taulay's) care; the generals depended on him, and received the grand khân's orders through his channel [g].

There seems to have been nothing extraordinary in the laws promulgated by this great conqueror.

[d] Gaubil, p. 53. [e] Mirk. Marakesh. ap. La Croix, p. 139.
[f] Gaubil, p. 52. [g] Mirk. ap. La Croix, p. 140. Abu'lgh. p. 96.

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The following are the most remarkable r A.D. 1227.

To banish idleness out of his dominions, he obliged all his subjects to serve the public in some employment or other. They who went not to the wars, were to work so many days, at certain seasons, on the public structures; or do some other work for the state: and one day in the week was to be employed particularly in the service of the khân. *Industry and honesty.*

He who stole an ox, or any thing of equal price, was punished with death, and his body cut asunder, in the middle, with a hanger: those who were guilty of lesser thefts received seven, seventeen, twenty-seven, thirty-seven, and so on to seven hundred blows, with a cudgel, in proportion to the value of the thing stolen. But this punishment might be bought off, by paying nine times the value.

By the law concerning marriages, it was ordained, That the man should buy his wife; and not marry with any maid to whom he was a-kin, in the first or second degree: but in all other degrees it was permitted; so that a man might marry two own sisters. Polygamy was permitted, and the free use of their women slaves. This at last occasioned that great liberty which every man took, to have as many wives and slaves as he could maintain. *Marriage.*

Adulterers were condemned to death; and a man was permitted, to kill them when surprised in the act. According to Marco Polo, the inhabitants of Kaindu disliked this law; because it was a custom with them to offer their wives and daughters to their friends when they came to see them, in token of respect and affection. They presented several petitions to Temûjîn, intreating that they might not be deprived of this privilege: the prince, yielding to their importunities, left them to their depravity, and granted what they desired; but, at the same time, declared, that he considered those people as infamous. *Adultery.*

To cultivate amity among his subjects, he extended the ties of relationship very far. He permitted two families to unite, although they had no children living; by writing a contract between the son of one and daughter of the other, though both dead, and performing the ceremony in their names (G). After this the families became truly allied, as if they had been really married. *Posthumous contracts.*

Spies,

(G) This custom is still in use among the Tatars; but mixed with superstitious circumstances. After drawing the figures of

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A.D. 1224. Spies, false witnesses, sodomites, and sorcerers, were put to death.

These are some of the principal laws contained in the Yassa of Jenghiz Khan, which remained in full vigour during the reign of Temûjîn, and his successors. Timûr Beg, or Tamerlane, himself, who was born one hundred and eleven years after this prince, caused them to be observed through all his empire; and the Krîm Tatars, as well as others, to this day, religiously keep them. Marakeshi affirms, that they were all formed by the grand khân himself; but others say, they were only copied from those which the Orientals heretofore ascribed to Turk, the son of Japhet, the great ancestor of all the inhabitants of Tartary [h].

CHAP. XI.

The History of Jenghîz Khân's Successors in Moguleslân, or the Country of the Moguls.

SECT. I.

The Reign of Oktay Khân, second Emperor of the Mungls.

Second khân Oktay.

AS soon as Jenghîz Khân had expired, Toley, or Tuli, who was regent in Oktay's absence, sent officers to notify this event to the princes of his house, and generals of the army. Mean while the war against the Kin was carried on with more vigour than ever; and Ho-chew was taken.

The regent, after he had buried his father, went to meet Oktay. However, the grandees and generals not knowing but Toley intended to make himself emperor, dared not give that title to his brother. After waiting at the river

[h] La Croix, p. 84, &c. seqq.

of the pretended married couple, and some animals, on the contract, they throw it into the fire; being persuaded, that all this is carried by the smoke to their children, who thereupon marry in the other world. La Croix.

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Karlon till the arrival of Jagatay, the princes of the imperial houſe unanimouſly agreed to adhere to Jenghiz Khân's will; and, by the advice of Yelu Chu-tſay, a general aſſembly of the great lords and princes was appointed to meet at Karakorom, on the 22d of Auguſt, 1229. That day being arrived, Jagatay and Toley, attended by the princes of their houſe, the chiefs of tribes, and generals of the army, went, and kneeling before Oktay's tent, with a loud voice wiſhed a long and happy reign to prince Oktay; a ceremony never uſed before on the ſame occaſion by the Mungls. The new emperor made Yelu Chû-tſay his prime miniſter, and imparted every thing to his brother Toley; thoſe two princes having an entire affection for each other [1]. A.D. 1229.

When Shew-ſu, the emperor of Kin (who reigned in Kitay), underſtood that Oktay was ſeated on the throne of the Mungls, he ſent envoys into Tartary, who, under pretence of complimenting him on his advancement, propoſed conditions of peace, which Oktay rejected. *War goes on.*

The Chineſe hiſtory aſſures us, that, when Oktay aſcended the throne, the Mungls had neither fixed laws nor cuſtoms for government. The officers appointed to rule the ſeveral countries, murdered people at pleaſure, and often maſſacred whole families. In conſequence of which outrages Yelu Chu-tſay drew up laws, which the emperor cauſed to be rigorouſly obſerved.

This prince reſolved to inform himſelf concerning the countries which were ſubject to him in Tartary, China, and the Weſt: and this year they began to ſettle the quantity of ſilk, money, and grain, which the Chineſe families, or the inhabitants of Kitay under his obedience, were to pay annually. They likewiſe aſcertained the number of horſes, oxen, and ſheep, which the Mungls were to be taxed at: and the males above fifteen years of age were numbered in the weſtern parts of the empire, in order to determine what they ought to pay: for which purpoſe Oktay ſent a Chineſe, well verſed in buſineſs, to examine into the ſtate of thoſe conquered countries. This prince, from his firſt acceſſion to the throne, gained the love of his Chineſe ſubjects, by giving to She-tyen-che, and Lyew-he-ma, the command of the Chineſe troops in Pe-che-li and Shan-tong. Theſe two lords, with Yen-ſhe, were declared generals of the army. They had diſtinguiſhed *Taxes ſettled.*

[1] Gaubil. Hiſt. Gentch. Kan. p. 55, & ſeqq.

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A.D. 1229. themſelves under Mûhûli; and their troops were equal in diſcipline to thoſe of the Mungls.

Prime miniſters. Among the officers of the tribe of Que-lye (or Kara-it), whoſe lord was brother of Toley (or Vang Khân), prince of thoſe people, was Chin-hay, a lord eſteemed for his valour, integrity, and wiſdom. He drank with Jenghîz Khân the water of the river Pan-chuni; was in all his battles with confederate Tartar princes; and followed him in his expeditions, both into Kitay and the weſt of Aſia, where he acquired great reputation. Oktay choſe this illuſtrious perſon not only to be one of his generals, but alſo as miniſter of ſtate, in conjunction with Yelu Chû-tſay.

Diviſion of the empire. At this time the country of Kin-cha (or Kipjâk), with others to the north, north-eaſt, and north-weſt, of the Caſpian Sea, were governed by Patû or Batû), eldeſt ſon of Chuchi (or Juji); and Jagatay retained a great part of the weſtern conqueſts: while other princes of the imperial family ruled over the great regions of Tartary, and other countries: but all theſe princes depended on Oktay; and the ſeveral generals, governors, commiſſioners, and others, who ſerved under them in their reſpective departments, were recalled, caſhiered, or changed, at the pleaſure of the emperor [k].

In the ſame year, the kings of Malay and Induſtân came in perſon to Karakorom, to make their court to Oktay. The lord alſo of the country and city of Iſepalano came to make his ſubmiſſion.

State of the cuſtoms. Jenghîz Khân, after his return from the Weſt, finding himſelf without a proviſion either of rice or ſilks, ſeveral of the great lords would have perſuaded him, that the conquered lands in Kitay would be of no uſe, unleſs the inhabitants were all deſtroyed; but that, in caſe thoſe uſeleſs people were once out of the way, their country might be turned into paſtures, which would prove of great advantage. This advice furniſhed Yelu Chû-tſay with a proper occaſion to ſhew the Mungls what knowlege he was maſter of. He explained to Jenghîz Khân the method which ought to be taken to render the conqueſt of China uſeful. Although, ſaid this miniſter, we have only a ſmall part of that empire, yet if things be well ordered, the cultivated lands, the ſalt, the iron, the profit of the rivers, and other commodities, might produce to the emperor fifty (H)

[k] Gaubil. ubi ſupra, p. 56, & ſeq.

(H) Van is ten thouſand, and a lyang about ſix ſhillings and eight pence Engliſh.

van

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van of lyang, or taëls, forty van of tan in rice, and eight hundred thouſand pieces of ſilk; all which might be obtained, without oppreſſing the people. A.D.1229.

Jenghîz Khân was ſurpriſed at this diſcourſe of Yelu Chû-tſay; and now acknowleged that a conqueror ought to think of ſomething elſe than to render himſelf famous by the maſſacre of enemies: that indeed he ſhould have ſoldiers to fight; but that there was need of magiſtrates to govern, peaſants to till the ground, merchants to carry on trade, officers to take care of the revenue of the empire, and likewiſe men of learning. Prince Oktay, who had reliſhed the diſcourſe of that ſage miniſter ſtill better than his father, as ſoon as he became emperor, committed to his care the management of the taxes. Yelu divided Peche-li, Shan-tong, Shan-ſi, and Lyau-tong, into ten departments, each of which had a cuſtom-houſe in the principal city: the other cities were made ſubordinate to that, and magiſtrates appointed to govern the people. *Regulations purpoſed;*

Oktay took pleaſure in learning the rules of good government: he was deſirous alſo to know the ancient hiſtory of China; and even that of Kong-fu-tſe, or Confucius, and Chew-kong. The miniſter gratified his prince in all theſe particulars; and his regulations, with regard to the cuſtoms, were publiſhed. They began to put them in execution the beginning of the next year. Four hundred pounds of ſilk yielded forty lyang: they deducted a tenth out of wine, ſilk, rice, and corn, for the emperor; and one thirtieth part for leſſer wares. After theſe orders were iſſued, Oktay went with his brother Toley to make a great hunting match on the river Orkhon; and in ſummer they removed to the river Tamir [1]. *and eſtabliſhed.* A.D.1230.

The khân had already commanded Kin-tau (now Si-gan Fû), the capital of Shen-ſi, to be attacked; and that great city was at length taken. In July, he, with his brother Toley, marched ſouthward, with a formidable army, reſolving to deſtroy the dynaſty of the Kin. The Mungls entered Shen-ſi, and reduced ſixty important poſts; but were baffled before Tong-quan. Hereupon the army divided into two bodies: Oktay, with one of them, repaſſed the Whang-ho, to penetrate into Shan-ſi; while Toley, accompanied by prince Mongko, his eldeſt ſon, prince Kew-when-pû-wha, third ſon of Pye-li Kitay, Jenghîz Khân's fourth brother, and other princes, went to inveſt Fong-tſyang Fû, in Shen-ſi. Lyew-he-ma, already men- *Capital of Shen-ſi beſieged and taken.*

[1] Gaubil. ubi ſupra, p. 58, & ſeq.

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A.D. 1230. tioned, and Ko-te-hay, ſon of the general Ko-pau-yu, were in this detachment: but Ganchar was the principal commander under Toley, and the general who diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt. As Toley attacked the place vigorouſly, the army which was at Tong-quan undertook to ſuccour it; but that prince rendered all their attempts fruitleſs; and having defeated the Kin in a battle which continued the
A.D. 1231. whole day, the city was taken in April 1231.

New meaſures taken.

One of the Kin officers, who had ſurrendered to the Mungls, waited on Toley, and convinced him that he loſt time as well as men, in attacking the enemy by Tong-quan and the Whang-ho. He aſſured him, that the proper way was to paſs through the country of Han-chong Fû, in Shen-ſi; and then he might, in leſs than a month, enter Honan, by the cities of Tang and Teng. Toley, adopting this advice, ſent to conſult Oktay Khân, who approved of it; the rather, for its having been conformable to the ſentiments of Jenghîz Khân. Hereupon he aſſembled his generals, and ordered them to be in readineſs in January next, declaring, that he intended to reduce Pyen-king, the capital of the Kin empire. At the ſame time he gave Toley orders to ſeize Pau-ki, a city ſome leagues to the ſouth-weſt of Fong-tſyang Fû; then to march towards Han-chong, and demand paſſage from the generals of the Song.

The miniſter accuſed through envy.

At this time the enemies of Yelu Chû-tſay endeavoured to ruin his credit with Oktay. The principal among them were Wa-chin, chief of the Hongkirat tribe, the emperor's maternal uncle; and She-mo-hyen, a great officer of ſtate. Theſe two repreſented to Oktay, that it was dangerous to truſt all the authority with a ſtranger, ſuch as Yelû; and charged him with a thouſand crimes. This miniſter had perſuaded the emperor to name mandarins for the police, the revenues, and the army; who ſhould be independent of each other, and accountable to the emperor, or ſuch miniſters as he ſhould appoint for that purpoſe. He likewiſe adviſed that money, ſilks, and other rewards, ſhould be given to the great lords, inſtead of cities and provinces; which the khân was inclined to beſtow on them, having promiſed to diſtribute the conquered countries among them. Yelu repreſented how dangerous ſuch a meaſure would be to the royal authority, and ruinous to the people.

The khân, perſuaded that his miniſter's ſcheme was right, rejected the accuſations of Wa-chin and She-mo-hyen, which he gave them to underſtand proceeded from jealouſy and envy. Wa-chin was confounded at the emperor's anſwer: yet his great birth, joined to much power and

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and reputation, would have intimidated a miniſter leſs re- A.D. 1234.
ſolute than Yelu; who ſtill ſtood firm, and continued to preſs Oktay to appoint mandarins for the above mentioned purpoſes. He propoſed Ching-hay and Nyen-ho to be placed at the head of affairs: but theſe lords, who had a great deal of merit, and were good military officers, fearing Wa-chin, intreated Yelu not to perſiſt in propoſing meaſures to the emperor which ſo greatly diſpleaſed the grandees; but that miniſter deſired them to allow him to proceed in his own way; promiſing that they ſhould not ſuffer for any faults of his.

Some time after, a very virulent accuſation having been lodged againſt She-mo-hyen, Oktay referred him to be judged by Yelu Chû-tſay, who told his majeſty, that She-mo-hyen had no other fault but that of being too proud; and that, when the war was finiſhed, they might examine what puniſhment he deſerved. The emperor admired this conduct of his miniſter; and told his courtiers, that Yelu was the example which they ought to imitate. He afterwards cauſed the regiſters to be brought, whereby it appeared, that the gold, the ſilver, the ſilks, and other articles received for his duties, were conformable to what Yelu had propoſed the year before. The Mungl lords were ſurpriſed at this explanation; and they who had ſo violently perſecuted him became his friends and admirers. Hereupon the khân committed to his management all affairs in general, and likewiſe delivered to him the great ſeal [m]. *His generoſity.*

Mean time Toley, purſuant to the emperor's orders, aſſembled all his troops at Pau-ki, and ſent Sû-pû-han to the governor of Myen-chew, in Shen-ſi, to demand a paſſage; but this governor put that officer to death; and, by ſo doing, cauſed the ruin of an infinite number of people, who were ſubjects of the Song emperor his maſter. Toley, enraged at this outrage, declared, that he would make the author repent of his barbarity. He decamped in Auguſt; and, having forced the paſſages, put to the ſword the inhabitants of Wha-yang, and Fong-chew, two cities in the diſtrict of Han-chong Fû. Then, after he had cut ſteep rocks to fill deep abyſſes, and made roads through places almoſt inacceſſible, he came and beſieged that city. The people, on his approach, fled to the mountains; and more than one hundred thouſand periſhed, in a place called Shau. *Cities taken, with great ſlaughter.*

[m] Gaubil. p. 59, & ſeqq.

Toley,

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A.D. 1231. Toley, after the reduction of Han-chong Fû, divided his troops, consisting of thirty-thousand horse; of which one part went westward, to Myen-chew. From thence, after opening the passages of the mountains, that detachment arrived at the river Kyaling; which they crossed on rafts, made of the wood of demolished houses; and then marching along its banks, seized many important posts. They proceeded as far as the city of Si-shû-i; and having destroyed more than one hundred and forty cities, towns, or fortresses, returned to the army. The second detachment encamped between Han-chong Fû and Yong-chew, where they seized an important post in the mountains which are called Tau-tong, six or seven leagues to the north-east of Han-chong Fû. On the other side, the emperor Oktay advanced in October towards Pû-chew, a city of Shan-si, in the district of Ping-yang Fû; which, after a vigorous defence, being taken, he prepared to pass the Whang-ho.

Ho-nan entered. Toley, after having surmounted infinite difficulties, arrived in December on the borders of Honan; and made a feint to attack the capital of the Kin. His entrance, by a passage so little suspected, filled every body with such astonishment, that all fled before him, without the least resistance. On this advice, the emperor of the Kin assembled a great council, wherein several lords proposed to furnish the court, and other principal cities, with good soldiers; to supply the capital with grain and forage; to quit the field, and oblige the people to shut themselves up in the cities. These grandees pretended, that Toley had ruined his army by his extraordinary march; so that they must either die with hunger, or be forced to retreat. At this discourse the emperor heaved a deep sigh, and protested that he would rather perish than see his people abandoned, after what they had suffered during twenty years for his service. He ordered his generals Hota, Ilapûa, and others, to march at the head of the army against the enemy; and they accordingly advanced in the same month to Teng-chew, in the district of Nan-yang Fu [a].

Toley repulsed. Toley, having crossed the Han on the 31st of January, 1232, resolved to attack the Kin army, at the time when they were debating whether they should pass that river

A.D. 1232. to fight the Mungls. The Kin generals ascended the mountain Yu, near Teng-chew, to make their observations; and placed the cavalry to the north of that moun-

[a] Gaubil. p. 63, & seq.

tain,

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tain, and the infantry to the ſouth. The Mungls, without loſing time, marched forward in a line, and then halted. Hota, judging it difficult to attack them, was for deferring the battle; but the Mungls, advancing, ſent a body of horſe to fall on the Kin, who firmly maintained their ground. After this attack, the Kin, in their turn, charged their enemies three times; and ſeeing them open a little, attacked both their right and left wing at once. This charge obliged them to give way; but they retired in good order. Hota was for purſuing them, ſaying, Toley had with him no more than thirty thouſand men; and that his ſoldiers had not eaten any thing for three days: but Ilapûa was of opinion that there was no occaſion for being ſo haſty; ſince, as he ſaid, the paſſage of the Han was cut off, and the Whang-ho not yet frozen. A.D. 1232.

Surpriſes the Kin.

The Mungls having retired out of ſight, the ſcouts brought the Kin generals word, that they had hid themſelves behind a wood; where they made not the leaſt noiſe, but refreſhed themſelves in the day, and were on horſeback all night. Hota and Ilapûa had departed for Teng-chew, when they received this intelligence: but, preſently after, they ſaw the Mungls iſſue from the foreſt, and range themſelves in order of battle. The Kin generals, much ſurpriſed at this appearance, were going alſo to draw out their forces. It was only a feint of Toley; who, while they were thus employed, ſent a detachment of horſe to ſeize the heavy baggage of the enemy; which accident obliged Hota and Ilapûa to retire to Teng-chew, where they did not arrive till night. They concealed their loſs, and ſent the emperor word they had gained the battle. Theſe good tidings filled the court at Kay-fong Fû, with joy; and the people, who had retired into that city for its defence, left it again, to return to the country: but in a few days, the van-guard of the Mungls appeared in the field, and carried off a great number of thoſe who had quitted the capital.

The capital beſieged.

In January 1232, the khân paſſed the Whang-ho at Pe-pû, near Ho-tſin-hyen, in Shan-ſi; and the borders of Shen-ſi being not well guarded, he entered Honan, and advanced to Ching-chew, eleven or twelve leagues weſt-ſouth-weſt of Kayfong Fû, where he encamped. From thence he ſent his general Suputay or Suida, to inveſt that capital, which was then a hundred and twenty li (I) in

(I) Theſe are li, whereof two hundred, go to a degree.

compaſs.

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A.D. 1232. compass. As the garrison did not exceed forty thousand men, it was reinforced by an equal number of veteran soldiers, with a hundred old officers, from the neighbouring cities, besides twenty thousand peasants. Oktay heard of Toley's entrance into Honan, with extreme joy, and ordered him to send succours to Suputay [o].

As soon as Hota and Ilapûa heard that the court was besieged, they departed immediately, with a hundred and fifty thousand horse and foot, to relieve that great city. As Toley detached no more than thirty thousand cavalry to impede their march, Hota ordered them to be attacked; while the Mungls fought retreating, and disappeared: but in the evening, when the Kin were preparing to encamp, they saw the enemy coming upon them; and at the same time Toley caused the roads to be blocked up with a great number of trees. The Kin arrived within eight miles of Kun-chew (at present called Yu-chew); and not being able to enter, on account of the heavy snow which had fallen, were forced to stop, in order to repose themselves, after the great fatigues which they had suffered for three days before. At the same instant a courier arriving, commanding Hota to march forthwith to the assistance of the court, that general caused the march to be sounded. One part of his army opened its way through the trees; the other, composed of the bulk of the troops, struck off to the mountain San-fong, near Yu-chew.

Toley defeats the Kin generals.

Toley, who had assembled all his detachments, on the seventh of February caused this latter body to be attacked on all sides. The Kin, enfeebled with hunger, which they had suffered for some days past, at first defended themselves; but the Mungls repeating their attacks, they were put to a general rout. Several Kin officers alighted, and, charging their enemies sword in hand, were slain. Hota dismounted likewise, with design to fight: but not seeing his companion Ilapûa, he mounted again on horseback; and, followed by a small retinue, took the road to Kun-chew, which Toley had ordered to be left open. That prince, having received a reinforcement from Oktay, during the action, pursued the runaways; and, being joined soon after by the khân himself, they both went to besiege Kun-chew, which was quickly taken. Hota having been slain in the first attack [p].

His colleague Ilapûa was taken in the battle of San-fong; and being a good officer, as well as universally be-

[o] Gaubil. p. 63. & seq. [p] Ibid. p. 65. & seq.

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loved, Toley made him great offers to enter into his ſervice: but he modeſtly declined them; ſaying, "I am one of the principal Kin generals, and deſire to die upon my maſter's territories. Which requeſt was, with reluctance, granted him, and he was ſlain. Ho-ſhang, a prince of the imperial family of the Kin, and a great commander, whoſe courage, magnanimity, and many noble actions had rendered him famous, to avoid periſhing with the multitude, concealed himſelf, after the rout of San-fong: but having been diſcovered by ſome Mungl horſe, he deſired them to carry him to Toley, to whom he pretended he had ſomething to communicate. They treated him very civilly; and brought him to the prince, who was aſked his name and quality. "I am (anſwered he) of the imperial family, and named Ho-ſhang. I am general of the troops called the faithful, and have beaten your's three times. I was not willing to die with an obſcure croud. I would have my fidelity appear in the light; and poſterity will do me juſtice." A.D. 1232

Some taken, and put to death.

Toley, finding it in vain, by courteſy and great promiſes, to gain over this commander, gave him up to the ſoldiers; who cut off his legs, becauſe he would not kneel, and opened his mouth from ear to ear, to hinder him from haranguing. He died ſatisfied, that he had laid down his life for his ſovereign. Several Mungls, charmed with his loyalty, performed in his favour the ceremony of pouring mare's milk on the ground (K); and wiſhed they might have ſuch a man among the Mungls; ſuppoſing that he would riſe again.

The Kin army miſerably periſhes.

In February, the Kin troops, which guarded Tong-quan, and the neighbouring poſts, received orders to come to the relief of Kay-fong Fû, and bring proviſions. The proviſions were embarked on the Whang-ho; but preſently after fell into the hands of the enemy. The troops which marched out of Tong-quan, and the neighbouring poſts, amounted to a hundred and ten thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe: beſides an infinite number of people who followed this army. Nothing could prove more unlucky than this effort which was made by the Kin. Several inferior officers yielded to the Mungls, with the troops which they commanded. To-ſhan and Na-ho-jun, who led the army, not being able to keep the plain, took to the mountains, where they ſuffered all ſorts of miſeries. In the day the ſun melting the ſnows, ren-

(K) A libation, or ſacrifice, in uſe among the Mungls.

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A.D. 1232. dered the roads impaſſable: at night the froſt prevailed; and they became ſo ſlippery that it was impoſſible to march [9].

The more vigorous among them continued their route, leaving behind the weaker people; ſuch as children, women, old men, and others reduced to the laſt extremity, with whom the leſſer roads were filled. The Mungls, being informed of this diſorder, ſent troops, who put to the ſword all ſuch as could not keep up with the reſt, and then purſued the army; which faced about at the mountain Tye-ling, in the diſtrict of Honan Fû, in order to receive the enemy: but theſe troops, who were in a manner half-dead, not being able to hold their arms, were eaſily diſperſed. Their generals To-ſhan and Na-ho-jun, followed by ſome horſe, endeavoured to eſcape; but were intercepted and ſlain. The Mungls took advantage of theſe diſtractions, to reduce Ton-quan, and other poſts: but the valour of the governor of Quey-te Fû obliged them to raiſe the ſiege of that city.

Lo-yang beſieged. In March the Mungls planted their pau (L) againſt the city of Lo-yang or Ho-nan Fû, where there were only three or four thouſand ſoldiers, who had eſcaped from the defeat at San-ſong. The general, who commanded them, not being able to make any ſallies, for a diſtemper which afflicted him, threw himſelf headlong from the wall into the ditch, and died. The governor of the place was gone to the relief of the capital, and had left in his room an officer named Kyang-ſhin, who rendered his name immortal by the defence which he made. He procured from the merchants a great quantity of ſilks to make banners, which he erected on the walls: he likewiſe placed on them his worſt ſoldiers, and put himſelf at the head of four hundred brave men, whom he ordered to go naked. Theſe he led to all attacks; and the word which he uſed on ſuch occaſions was, "Cowards retire!" He invented engines to caſt large ſtones, which required but a few hands to work them; and aimed ſo true, as to hit the mark at a hundred paces diſtance. When their arrows failed, he cut thoſe, ſhot by the enemy, into four pieces, and pointing them with braſs coin, put them into a wooden tube; from whence he diſcharged them againſt the Mungls, with as much force as bullets are ſhot by a

Kyang-ſhin's bravery.

[9] Gaubil. p. 66. & ſeq.

(L) An engine to caſt ſtones.

muſket.

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muſket. In this manner Kyang-ſhin haraſſed the Mungls ſo grievouſly for three months, that they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, though thirty thouſand ſtrong. A.D. 1232.

Oktay Khân having reſolved to return into Tartary, ſummoned the Kin emperor to become tributary, and deliver up to him twenty-ſeven families, which he named; among the reſt, the wife, children, and ſlaves of the late general Ilapûa. The emperor Shew-fu, glad of the occaſion, named mandarins to negotiate the peace: but Suputay, pretending not to know any thing of the treaty, puſhed on the ſiege with double vigour, and preſently filled part of the ditch; while the governor, for fear of obſtructing the conference, forbad his ſoldiers to ſhoot at the Mungls. Confuſion prevailed in the city. The king appeared in the ſtreets expoſed to the rain, and all beſpattered with mire. He harangued the people, who wept at his diſtreſs: he declared that for the ſafety of his ſubjects, he would become tributary to the Mungls; and ſent the prince his ſon for a hoſtage. *Peace propoſed to the Kin.*

Mean while Suputay redoubled his attacks, and the Kin began to defend themſelves vigorouſly. As the Mungls then made uſe of fire-pau (M), they ſet the houſes in a flame, which ſpread ſo rapidly, that it was difficult to extinguiſh it. *Suputay diſpleaſed.*

The Kin had in the city fire-pau, which diſcharged pieces of iron in the form of bombs (N). This bomb was filled with powder, which being fired, made a noiſe like thunder. The ground where it fell appeared burnt, or ſcorched, for about two thouſand feet round. When the Mungls lodged themſelves at the foot of the walls, in order to ſap them, the beſieged let down theſe ſort of bombs by iron chains, which, as ſoon as they came into the ditches or ſubterranean chambers, took fire by a match, and deſtroyed the enemies. Theſe iron bombs and hal-

(M) There are two ſorts of pau, or engines: ſhe-pau or ſtone pau, and ho-pau or fire-pau. Gaubil dares not tranſlate either by the name of cannon, becauſe he cannot ſay they were like our's; nor is he ſure that the bullets were ſhot off in the ſame manner; although he is ſatisfied the Chineſe have had the uſe of powder upwards of ſixteen hundred years.—They ſometimes made uſe of wooden tubes, or guns, to ſhoot ſtones, as was done at firſt in Europe.

(N) Although we venture to call theſe pieces of iron, bombs, Gaubil would not. He obſerves, that although the Chineſe had the uſe of powder ſo long, yet it does not appear they made very frequent uſe of it in ſieges.

berds,

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A.D. 1232. berds, charged with powder, which they darted, were what the Mungls dreaded most.

Is forced to retire.

In sixteen days and nights, during which the attacks continued without intermission, above a million of people were slain on both sides. Suputay, finding that he could not force the place, in order to come off with honour, sent the governor word, that he should forbear any farther hostilities, since he was now satisfied a negociation was on foot. The besiegers, glad of this notice, sent that general abundance of refreshments and presents, and he withdrew, to encamp between the river Lo and the Whang-ho; but Kay-fong Fû was no sooner rid of this calamity, but as great an evil as war, the plague, succeeded, which, in fifty days, destroyed an incredible number of people. When the contagion ceased, the emperor Shew-su bestowed large rewards on those who had defended the city, and performed several acts of humiliation. He made several good regulations in his court; and the peace, so happily restored, might have continued, if two unlucky accidents had not renewed the war.

Receives orders to renew the siege.

Que Gan-yong, a Mungl lord, having in July reduced Su-chew, together with some other cities in Kyang-nan, and assumed the government of them, Achûlû, one of the Mungl generals, displeased at his proceedings, sent troops to take possession of those places. Gan-yong not only opposed this design, but even slew the officers sent by Achûlû; after which outrage he declared for the Kin, and joined several of their officers in Shang-tong against the Mungls. The Kin emperor, deceived by false hopes, took Gan-yong into his service, and gave him the title of prince. Oktay Khân having sent an officer, with a train of thirty persons, to treat of peace, the Kin commanders slew them all; nor did Shew-su punish them for their barbarity. Suputay gave the khân an account of what had passed; and not doubting but he should receive orders to renew the war, made preparations for that purpose. Oktay accordingly sent his commands to him and the other generals to continue hostilities; and being informed about the same time that the Koreans had slain his officers, he sent an army thither to chastise them[r].

The Kin emperor had ordered the generals, who commanded his troops in different bodies, to join, and come to the assistance of his capital; but the several parties, being met by the Mungls before their junction, were all de-

[r] Gaubil, ubi supra, p. 71, & seq.

feated,

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feated, ſo that Shew-ſû was obliged to employ the peaſants and common people as ſoldiers.

In September died prince Toley. He was the fourth ſon of Jenghîz Khân, and admired, when a youth, in the wars againſt the Kin. In the weſtern expedition he commanded great bodies of troops, and performed a thouſand actions worthy of the greateſt heroes: at his return he ſignalized himſelf in the war which ruined the kingdom of Hya. His great merit was enhanced by his uncommon modeſty, his filial reſpect for his father, and the empreſs his mother; and by an inviolable attachment to the intereſt and glory of his brother Oktay. *Toley's death and character.*

Theſe two princes left Honan in April, to viſit Ching-ting-fû and Yen-king; then paſſing into Tartary, through the great wall by the gate of Kû-pe-kew, in May, the khân fell dangerouſly ill. Toley, on this occaſion, fell on his knees, and writing his name in a ſealed billet, prayed heaven to ſave his brother's life at the expence of his own. Oktay being recovered, Toley followed him to the ſources of the river Tula and the Onon (or Saghalian); where that great prince died, at the age of forty, generally lamented by his family, the chiefs of tribes, and officers of the army. *Brotherly affection.*

In December the Mungls made a treaty with the Song emperor (then reigning in ſouthern China), who engaged to join them with his troops, on condition of having the province of Honan delivered up to him, as ſoon as the Kin dynaſty was deſtroyed. This alliance was a deadly blow to the emperor Shew, who, in January 1233, found himſelf involved in very great difficulties. Several bodies of troops, in their way to the court from different parts, were defeated by the Mungls, and the proviſions carried away which were going to ſupply Pyen-king; ſo that this capital was in great diſtreſs. On the other hand, Suputay appearing reſolved to beſiege it, the Kin emperor held a council, wherein a mandarin propoſed marching to fight the Mungl general; and ſhewed, that, as things were circumſtanced, one battle would determine the fate of the empire; but this advice was rejected. *Peace with the Song.* A.D. 1233. *Diſtreſs of the Kin.*

When the council broke up, the emperor Shew appointed officers to command at the four ſides of the city walls, and made a diſcourſe to encourage them in the defence of their country; declaring, that he would put himſelf at the head of the army. He accordingly marched out of the place, paſſed the Whang-ho, and encamped *Emperor goes out.*

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A.D. 1233. near the city of Chang-ywen, or rather Chang-wan; but as soon as he had crossed that river, a violent wind arose, and hindered part of his troops from passing. He sent the best part of those which were with him to besiege Wey-chew. The general, She-tyen-che, being informed of this design, assembled the troops in Pe-che-li, Shang-tong, and other parts, and sent the governor notice that he would soon relieve him. Accordingly, with his usual bravery, he marched to attack Pesa, general of the Kin. The engagement was bloody; but at length Pesa was compelled to fly, and his army cut in pieces.

His army destroyed.

The capital besieged.

Intelligence of this misfortune was carried to the emperor at the time he knew Suputay was on the road to besiege his capital. Hereupon he, in haste, repassed the Whang-ho, followed by a few of his officers, and retired to Quey-te-fû. From thence he sent for the empresses and queens to come to him. They accordingly set out; but the arrival of Suputay obliged them to re-enter the city. As for his troops, they dispersed as soon as he had left them. The return of the Mungls, and the retreat of their emperor, joined to the defeat of the whole army, filled all the people with terror. The western wall was guarded by a general named Tsû-li, an officer of a wicked disposition.

Tsûli's villany.

This traitor having formed a cabal among the officers, cut off the heads of the ministers and ten great lords; pretending that he did it purely to save the lives of the people. He then went to the palace, and obliged the empress-mother to declare a prince, whom he named, to be regent. He assumed the post of prime minister and general of the army, giving the other employments to his two brothers, and the officers who assisted him. In 1233, having assumed the equipage belonging to a king, and dressed his people in magnificent habits, he, at the head of a great number of officers, went to meet Suputay, who was preparing to form the siege, and paying him the reverence of a son to his father, promised him fealty. The Mungl general, at the head of his troops, with much honour, received this traitor, who, on his return to the city, demolished the battlements of the walls, and blew up the towers, with all its other defences. He set a guard upon the princes of the blood, and secured the wives and daughters of the grandees who had followed the emperor to Quey-te-fû. Then seizing the treasures of the city and palace, his vanity prompted him to raise a stone monument,

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ment, on which he cauſed his own eulogium to be inſcribed [a]. A.D 1233.

Another traitor inſults the emperor.

While Tſû-li thus uſurped the ſovereign power at Pyen-king, Fu-cha-quen acted with equal inſolence at Quey-te-fû. This general was greatly mortified to ſee that the emperor conſulted Ma-yong, his enemy, rather than him. Shew endeavoured to reconcile them, but to no purpoſe; and at the ſame time, ſhocked at the inſolence of Pu-cha-quen, who had riſen from a mean origin, ordered him to be cloſely watched. The officers who were intruſted with this affair, having betrayed the ſecret to Pu-cha-quen, this latter, in deſpair, ordered Ma-yong, with three hundred officers, and three thouſand ſoldiers of the palace, to be ſlain. He even preſumed to ſend perſons to ſeize a mandarin belonging to the emperor, with an intent to put him to death. The prince, provoked at this new outrage, ſaid he would defend that officer. Preſently after, Pu-cha-quen entered with his ſword in hand, and told the emperor, that thoſe whom he had put to death were rebels. Shew, complying with neceſſity, pretended to believe what he ſaid, was forced to publiſh the ſuppoſed crimes of thoſe who had been ſlain; and ſuffer the authority to remain in his hands.

Tſû-li yields up the empreſs queens.

Mean time Tſû-li exerciſed a thouſand cruelties at Pyen-king, where the famine was ſo extreme, that in eight days above a million of people died. In April he ſeized all the princes and princeſſes of the blood, a great number and of officers, phyſicians, and workers in ſilk and other manufactures. He likewiſe brought out the royal ornaments, jewels, precious ſtones, and other treaſures; then, putting the empreſs-mother, the empreſs, queens, and concubines of the palace, in thirty-ſeven chariots, went and delivered them all to Suputay; who murdered thoſe who were of the imperial race; and ſent to Karakorom the empreſſes, queens, and their attendants. The emperor ordered Suputay to put to death the princes of the blood, and ſpare the reſt; by which means the lives of fourteen hundred thouſand families were ſaved.

Is ſtripped of all.

Tſû-li, being informed that Suputay was preparing to take poſſeſſion of the capital, got every thing ready for his introduction, and receiving him at the entrance of the city, conducted him to the palace. Returning to his own houſe, he was much ſurpriſed to find it full of Mungl ſoldiers, who plundered it, and carried away all his treaſures.

[a] Gaubil, ubi ſupra, p. 76, & ſeqq.

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A.D. 1233. He complained of this injury, and even shed tears, but nobody regarded him; nor was Suputay himself displeased to see a traitor to his country so justly punished. Let us now return to see what is doing at Quey-te-fû.

Brave action of Pû-cha-quen;

In May the Kin emperor proposed to Pû-cha-quen, to surprise the camp of the Mungls, commanded by Te-mutay, under pretence that the Mungls had taken prisoner the empress-mother. Pû-cha-quen, who wanted neither address nor valour, one night, while a negotiation was on foot, went with four hundred choice soldiers, and slaying the out-guards, penetrated to the middle of the camp, and made a considerable slaughter; then setting the camp on fire, returned without losing one man.

Puffed up with this success, he had the insolence to confine the emperor, with some of his domestics, in a great hall. Shew, on this occasion, shed tears, and said to those about him, that the dynasties did not continue for ever; and that kings were not exempt from the tribute due to death. He added, that it grieved him to find he did not know the persons whom he ought to make use of, as well as to see himself imprisoned by a slave, whom he had loaded with favours. Affected by this remonstrance, three trusty officers resolved to put the traitor to death, and communicated their design to the emperor, who sent for Pû-cha-quen on pretence to consult with him about removing the court. When he entered the apartment, one of the officers wounded him in the side; and the emperor seconded the blow: he started back, but was slain before he could escape. The troops ran to arms; but the emperor went out in person to appease them, and gave an account of the whole affair.

who is slain.

The emperor retires to Ju-ning-fû.

After the death of Pû-cha-quen, the emperor Shew left troops and a governor at Quey-te-fû, and departed for Jû-ning-fû, with four thousand attendants. There he was received with expressions of the utmost sorrow and respect. The inhabitants beholding him in such a wretched equipage, so pale and emaciated with grief, burst into tears and lamentation, while they fell on their knees before him; and the unhappy monarch weeping exclaimed, "All my good people are destroyed!" Meanwhile he appointed prince Whan-yen Hû-sye-hû for his captain-general and prime minister, a person of great merit and approved fidelity. He was day and night on horseback: he sold all he had to buy arms, provisions and horses, and selected ten thousand soldiers, whom he exercised continually. He likewise

His insensibility.

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likewiſe employed a great number of hands in repairing and improving the fortifications of the city. A.D. 1233.

Twenty thouſand Chineſe, under Men-kong, detached from the Song army, commanded by She-ſong-chi, having already joined Tachar, theſe two generals, in Auguſt, took ſeveral cities in Honan; and then inveſted Ju-ning-fû. Perceiving, by the two firſt attacks, that they were likely to meet with a vigorous reſiſtance, they ordered trenches to bedug, and a wall to be raiſed all round the place. The garriſon, terrified at theſe works, would have ſurrendered, but Hû-ſye-hû, and the emperor himſelf, by their ſpeeches, ſo animated their courage, that they reſolved to periſh in defence of their prince[t]. *The court beſieged.*

Actuated by this principle, they braved the greateſt dangers; they underwent incredible fatigues; they made furious ſallies; they ſuſtained deſperate aſſaults; and the very women worked upon the fortifications. The emperor encouraged them by his preſence and example; while the illuſtrious Hû-ſye-hû exerted himſelf with the moſt amazing ſpirit and perſeverance in repulſing the aſſailants, and contriving new expedients to annoy and retard them in the progreſs of their operations. The emperor often declared he was determined to die with his arms in his hand, rather than be taken and inſulted as other ſovereigns had been. He headed his beſt troops in a ſally, and fought in the firſt ranks with intrepid valour; but in ſpite of all his efforts he was driven back into the city, where by this time a famine prevailed to ſuch a degree, that the wretched inhabitants, after having conſumed the leather of their ſaddles and boots, had begun to kill and eat the old and infirm, the priſoners and the wounded. At length there remained for defence of the city no more than a few officers, at the head of the mandarins of letters, and ſome ſoldiers, half-dead with hunger, ſuſtained by the example of Hû-ſye-hû. *Its great diſtreſs.*

In this emergency the emperor Shew-ſu aſſembled the lords of his court, and told them that he would transfer his fallen throne to Cheng-lin, a prince of the blood; who, at the emperor's preſſing inſtances, at length accepted of the ſucceſſion. Next morning, while the mandarins performed the ceremony of acknowleging Cheng-lin, the Song and Mungl troops mounted the ſouth walls, and forced two hundred men, who defended them, to ſurrender. The officers who were about the new emperor, *The city taken.*

[t] Gaubil, ubi ſupra, p. 80, & ſeq.

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A.D.1234. at this news, flew to succour them; but found the standards of the enemy planted on the ramparts. Mean time the south-gate being abandoned, Meng-kong and Tachar entered with their troops. Prince Hû-sye-hû, with one thousand soldiers, stopped them in one of the streets, and fought with such intrepidity, as excited their astonishment. The emperor Shew-su, seeing all irreparably lost, entered hastily into a house, where he lodged the seal of the empire; then causing bundles of straw to be set round the palace, went in, and ordered his people to set fire to it as soon as he should be dead. Having taken these precautions, he hanged himself; and his orders were executed.

The emperor's death.

Hû-sye-hû, who still fought desperately in the streets, when he heard of his master's death, went and drowned himself in the river Jû; the officers and five hundred soldiers followed his example. Mean time, while the new emperor Cheng-lin, attended by some mandarins, performed the Chinese ceremonies for the death of his predecessor, and gave orders for burying his ashes on the bank of the river, the confederate generals, seizing the palace, divided the spoil; and the same day Cheng-lin was killed in a tumult: an event which put an end to the dynasty of the Kin, whose beginnings were so glorious and successful [u].

The Song proceedings offend the Mungls.

After the reduction of Ju-ning-fû, the Song and Mungls agreed to settle the limits of the two empires. Honan was to be delivered up to the former as soon as the war should be finished; but without either waiting for the expiration of the term, or giving Oktay Khân notice, they introduced their troops into Kay-fong-fâ, Lo-yang, or Honan-fû, and other considerable cities, without the precaution however of furnishing them with provisions. The Mungls complained of these hasty proceedings; and Suputay, who had encamped to the north of the Whang-ho, repassed that river, and resolved to be revenged on the aggressors. A great part of the garrison of Lo-yang, sent out in search of provisions, were cut in pieces by a detachment of the Mungls, and the governor obliged to surrender. As Suputay seemed resolved to march towards Kay-fong-fû, the Song general, being destitute of supplies, abandoned the place. The Song emperor, either to satisfy the Mungls, or because his officers had not done their duty, ordered them to be punished, by lowering their degrees in the rank of mandarins.

[u] Gaubil, ubi supra, p. 85, & seq.

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In December Oktay Khân recalled Suputay into Tatary, to conſult him about ſome military expeditions. At the ſame time he ſent an officer to Hang-chew, in Che-kyang, the court of the Song, to complain of ſome grievances: on the other hand, the Chineſe ſent a lord to negotiate a peace. The khân's anſwer is not mentioned; but the event ſhewed that he was not ſatisfied.

In ſpring 1235 Oktay ordered the encamping place of Holin or Karakorom to be incloſed with walls, built the palace (O) called Wan-gan, five li (or furlongs) in circumference. In the firſt months of the year he ſent an army into Korea, and having levied more than fifteen hundred thouſand good troops, reſolved to render his name immortal by great conqueſts. He ſent Suputay, with three hundred thouſand men, to ravage the countries to the weſt, north, and north-eaſt of the Caſpian Sea. A.D. 1235. *Several expeditions.*

Kotovan, the emperor's ſecond ſon, with the general Chahay, was ordered to attack the Song in Se-chwen. Prince Kuchû, his third ſon, with the generals Temutay and Chang-jau; prince Pitû, ſon of Lyew-ko, late king of Lyau-tong, beſides other Mungl and Kitan princes, with the general Chahan, were commanded to march towards the borders of Kyang-nan. The Song emperor ſent his beſt officers to the frontiers; and notwithſtanding his great power, began to fear the conſequences of ſo many formidable armies coming to attack his dominions; for they conſiſted of veteran Chineſe and Tatar troops, commanded by old generals trained to war, and inured to conqueſt. Wang-ſhi-hyen, an officer of reputation among the Kin, who commanded in Kong-chang-fû, in Shen-ſi, a ſtrong city, well provided both with troops and ſtores, knowing that Kotovan was to paſs that way, offered him his troops. The prince hereupon took him under his pro- *The Song attacked.*

(O) Abû'lghâzi Khân ſays, in this year he ordered a magnificent palace to be built in the country of Karakum or Karakorom, and ſent for the moſt able painters in Kitay to adorn it: that he enjoined all the princes and great officers of the empire to build handſome houſes about it: that he conſtructed a fine fountain, ornamented with a tiger ſpouting water, in full proportion, all caſt in ſilver: that at ſome diſtance from the palace he made a park, two days journey in compaſs, which he ſtocked with deer and other game for hunting, and incloſed it with pales twelve feet high. Our author adds, that Oktay cauſed Herât, the capital of Khoraſſân, in Perſia, which had been deſtroyed by his father's orders, to be rebuilt.

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A.D. 1236. tection, left him governor of the city, and gave him a considerable military employment [w].

Losses in Hû-quang.

In 1236 the army of prince Kuchû made great ravages in the province of Hû-quang; in January they took the city of Kyang-lin (at present King-chew); and in March reduced Syang-yang, where they obtained a great booty in money and warlike provisions: for the officers of the Song disagreeing, one of them, through malice, set fire to the magazines of the suburbs; a circumstance which gave the Mungls an opportunity of becoming masters of the city. The inhabitants of Te-gan, another city of Hû-quang, were almost all put to the sword in August; and in October the Mungls lost their general, prince Kuchû, who was greatly beloved by the emperor his father. Yelu-chû-tsay had already persuaded Oktay to repair the hall of Confucius, or, to speak more properly, the palace, where this ancient sage is honoured. That prince had likewise caused a great sphere to be made, and a palace built, to teach the Chinese sciences. At his minister's request he also released many Chinese literati and doctors, who had been made slaves in Hû-quang. In February the Mungls introduced silk or paper money, which had been used before by Chang-tsong, sixth emperor of the Kin.

Paper money.

Shen-si invaded.

Prince Kotovan, having passed Kong-chang-fû prepared to attack the city of Myen, in the district of Han-chong-fû, in Shen-si; into which, after forcing the passes, he entered with an army of five hundred thousand men, consisting of Chinese, Mungls, Tatars, and strangers from the West. Tsau-yew-ven, governor of Myen, one of the best officers belonging to the Song, after being driven from the fort and pass of Syen-jin, near the city of Fong, with ten thousand choice men, passed the river in the night, and placed his troops in ambuscade, in a place called Lew-ki. Tsau-wan, his brother, had the boldness to attack general Ta-hay, who begun to appear with ten thousand horse and foot, while the troops in ambush lighted fires, beat their drums, and set up the most horrible outcries. Yew-ven divided his forces into three bodies, and, followed by three thousand soldiers, advanced towards a gorge of the mountains called Kitovan; where he posted in the most difficult places, a body of eight hundred horsemen, resolved to conquer or to die.

Terrible battle.

Arriving at Long-wey-few, where his brother Tsau-wan joined him, a great battle was fought between the Song

[w] Gaubil, ubi supra, p. 88, & seqq.

and

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and the Mungls, with ſuch ſlaughter, that the blood ran more than two leagues. At break of day, the Mungl forces being joined by general Ta-hay, the little army of the Song was ſurrounded, and great havock made on both ſides. Tſau-yew-ven, ſeeing all loſt, reſolved to ſell his life very dear: "It is the decree of heaven, (ſaid he,) I muſt die." So ſaying, he ſlew his horſe, uttering inſulting language all the time to the Mungls. Then, ſword in hand, he charged a great body of the enemy; in which attack he was ſlain, with his brother, and almoſt all his ſoldiers. The Mungls loſt a great number of men in this action. The battle was fought in July, near Yang-ping, a fort to the weſt of the city Pau-ching, which laſt is two or three leagues to the north-weſt of Han-chong-fû.

Se-chwen reduced.

After the defeat of general Tſau, prince Kotovan entered Se-chwen, and encamped near Ching-tû-fû, the capital of that province. In October, a detachment of his troops beſieged Ven-chew, a city belonging to the Song, in the diſtrict of Kong-chang-fû. Lyew-jû-i, who commanded in the place, finding no hopes of being relieved, after he had fought night and day for ſome time, aſſembled his domeſtics, and adviſed them to poiſon themſelves. Among the reſt, a child of ſix years old fell on his knees; and, having deſired he might have permiſſion to do the like, took the cup with the greateſt courage. Afterwards Lyew-jû-i, and his two children, ſlew themſelves; and more than forty thouſand people, ſoldiers and inhabitants, followed his example [x].

Succeſs in Hû-quang.

Mean time Kew-when pû-wha ravaged great part of the countries on the borders of Kyang-nan, Hu-quang, and Honan; then he marched towards Whang-chew, a conſiderable city in Hu-quang. In November, Meng-kong put himſelf at the head of an army of the Song; and, advancing towards King-chew, deſtroyed more than twenty poſts where the Mungls had left troops. General Chahan had laid ſiege to Ching-chew, a city in Kyang-nan, on the Kyang, at preſent called I-ching-hyen: but was obliged to raiſe it, through the activity of the governor Kyew-yo, who made great deſtruction of the Mungls by his ambuſcades, by his engines for caſting ſtones, and by ſetting fire to their quarters.

A.D. 1237.

Check at Gan-tong.

In May 1237, Meng-kong appearing in view of the city of Whang-chew, then beſieged by Kew-when-pû-wha; this prince, whoſe army was greatly harraſſed, thought it better to withdraw his forces, than venture a

[x] Gaubil, p. 91, & ſeqq.

battle,

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battle. He afterwards gave orders for inveſting Gan-tong, now Shew-chew, in the diſtrict of Fong-yang-fû in Kyang-nan: but this ſiege ſucceeded no better than the former. Tû-kew, the governor, in his frequent ſallies, burnt twenty-ſeven intrenchments, which the Mungls had made. Lu-ven-te, an excellent officer, during the confuſion, in which the attack of their trenches had thrown the enemy, broke through their troops with ſome brave ſoldiers, and got into the city; where in conjunction with Tû-kew, he, by his vigilance and activity, obliged them to raiſe the ſiege.

A.D. 1238. Chahan was alſo compelled to retire from Lu-chew, with conſiderable loſs.

and Lu-chew.

In Hû-quang, general Meng-kong every-where worſted the Mungls; and, in March 1239, retook Syang-yang, which he fortified. The forces of Kotovan, after having gained great ſpoil in Se-chwen, retired to the borders of Shen-ſi. The Song, taking advantage of this retreat, retook Ching-tû-fû, capital of that province, and aſſembled a great body of troops. Ta-hay Mongu, the Mungl general, re-entered Se-chwen, defeated the Song army in a pitched battle near Ching-tû-fû; ſeized that metropolis, and attempted to penetrate into Hû-quang, by way of Quey-chew. Meng-kong, on this advice, furniſhed all the poſts on the borders of Se-chwen and Hû-quang, with men and proviſions: then cauſed all the paſſes of the Kyang to be guarded; and, having ordered a great number of barks to be prepared, in December began his march. This general rendered ineffectual the Mungl enterprizes, and gained great honour by the reduction of Quey-chew: which was a place of great importance to the Mungls, ſituate on the north ſide of the Kyang, and on the borders of the above mentioned provinces [y].

A.D. 1239.

Mungls baffled by Meng-kong.

A.D. 1240. In 1240, Oktay Khân ordered his eldeſt ſon Quey-yew to return into Tatary, with the detachment which he commanded in the Weſt; where, it is ſaid, he made great conqueſts. The ſame year Meng-kong became famous by the great advantages which he obtained over the Mungls. He burned the magazines of proviſions which they had at Ju-ning-fû in Honan; and the wood which they had laid up at Teng-chew in the ſame province, for building barks: he likewiſe recovered the booty and ſlaves which they had made in Hû-quang, and ſecured in the city Swi-chew. After theſe great advantages he viſited the frontier

Meng-kong's exploits.

[y] Ganbil, p. 93, & ſeqq.

poſts,

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poſts, and trained to war a great number peaſants, whom he furniſhed with arms and officers: in ſhort, he had the glory of ſeeing all the countries between Se-chwen and the rivers Kyang and Han filled with huſbandmen; who were in a condition to defend their lands, fill their magazines, and form, in a ſhort time, bodies of diſciplined troops.

Oktay falls ſick.

In February 1241, Oktay Khân, after a great hunting near the lake Kye-kye Chay-ha, was taken dangerouſly ill: hereupon the empreſs Tolyekona, apprehending that he would not live long, ſent for the miniſter Yelu-chû-tſay, to conſult him on the occaſion. Chû-tſay told her boldly, that the emperor had bad counſellors; that avarice reigned at court; and that employments were ſold, and the priſons filled with honeſt men, whoſe only crime was their diſapproving of the unlawful means which were practiſed to get money. The empreſs took meaſures to free the priſoners, when her huſband began to mend; a general amneſty was publiſhed; and in October the Chineſe were allowed to become inferior mandarins in the tribunals.

His death.

The emperor loved wine paſſionately, and Chû-tſay had often warned him againſt its ill effects; but although that prince took in good part his advice as the effect of his zeal, yet he did not forbear the practice. In November the grandees invited him to a hunting; and contrary to the miniſter's remonſtrances, he went. The fifth day, being come to the mountain U-lye-kû Hûlan, he ſat up all night drinking, by the perſuaſion of Gautû-lauman; which debauch coſt him his life; for he died next morning, aged fifty-ſix, after a reign of thirteen years. He nominated for his heir and ſucceſſor his grandſon Shelyemen, the ſon of his third ſon Ku-chew, who died in Hu-quang, in 1236.

his character;

Oktay (or, as the Mungls call him, Ogatay) was a prince of courage, prudence and magnanimity. Yelu-chû-tſay had inſpired him with a love for the ſciences, and application to the affairs of government. This khân had a great authority over the princes, as well thoſe of his family, as his vaſſals: he loved good order, and his integrity was unimpeached.

his wives;

Oktay had ſeveral wives who bore the title of empreſs; and theſe bore him ſeven ſons and one princeſs.

great liberality.

The weſtern hiſtorians of Aſia ſeem to have been but little acquainted with the actions of Oktay Khân, or his ſucceſſors; eſpecially if we may judge by what has been communicated from them by European authors. But ſome

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ſome inſtances of his juſtice and generoſity they have related.

An inſtance. A poor ſmith, having made ſix iron ſkewers, went to the market in order to ſell them; and, obſerving Ugaday Khân coming that way, held them up that he might ſee them. The khân ſent to aſk what he meant by that motion? The ſmith anſwered, that they were ſix ſkewers, which he wiſhed to make him a preſent of. The khân accepted of them; and, in return, gave him ſo many dinârs, or crowns of gold.

Another. An indigent perſon, who had neither wives nor children, having waited on Ugaday, one day gave him to underſtand that he had an inclination to get into ſome little way of trade, but wanted money to carry it on. The khân immediately ordered two hundred dinârs of gold to be given him out of the treaſury. Some court lords who were preſent, ſuggeſted that the man, having no family, the money, after his death, would paſs to ſtrangers. But Ugaday did not countermand the order; ſaying, "Since this man has implored my aſſiſtance, it would be unjuſt in me to ſend him away empty-handed, when it is in my power to help him."

A third. Another poor man, named Muſlies, having complained to Ugaday Khân, that he had not wherewithal to ſupport life, he gave him five hundred gold dinârs. When he had ſpent that money, he came again to ſee the khân, and received five hundred more. Thoſe being conſumed like the reſt, he came once more to implore the monarch's aſſiſtance. The lords, who were then in waiting, chid him for daring ſtill to importune the khân for money, after he had received ſo much already: ſaying, it was unjuſt to give ſuch a quantity to one man; and that, conſidering how the caſh already beſtowed on him had been ſquandered away, the treaſury would not ſuffice to ſupply his expences long. But Ugaday finding, on enquiry, that he employed the ſums he had received only in providing well for his back and belly, he declared that he could ſee no cauſe to reprimand the man ſo much; and at the ſame time ordered five hundred dinârs more to be given him: recommending to him, however, to be more frugal of them than he had been of the former thouſand.

Inſtances of his juſtice. A man, belonging to the tribe of Virats, who hated the Mohammedans exceedingly, came and told Ugaday, or Oktay, that Jenghîz Khân had appeared to him in a dream; and commanded him to acquaint his majeſty that he would have all the Mohammedans in his dominions

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nions put to the ſword. The khân aſked him, if Jenghîz Khân had ſpoken to him in perſon, or by an interpreter? The man having anſwered, in perſon; the khân aſked again, if he could ſpeak the Mungl language? The Virat replied, that he could not. Upon this Ugaday ſaid him, "My father ſpoke no other language: how durſt you then come to tell me, that he ſpoke to you; ſeeing, that neither you underſtood his language, nor he your's?" Having, in this manner, detected him in a lye, he ordered that his impoſture ſhould be puniſhed with death [z].

SECT. II.

The Regency of Tolyekona, and Reign of Quey-yew Khân.

The Regency of Tolyekona, or Turakina Khatun

Chû-tſay's advice rejected.

AFTER the death of Oktay, the empreſs Tolyekona cauſed herſelf to be acknowleged regent of the empire at Karakorom, in ſpite of all the remonſtrances of Yelu Chû-tſay; who declared that Sheleymen ought to be proclaimed emperor, in obedience to his grandfather's will. But the empreſs rejected this propoſal, under various pretences; and artfully taking advantage of the abſence of the beſt generals, who were in China and the Weſt, ſhe, by the ſupport of her ſon Quey-yew, and ſeveral chiefs of tribes, governed the ſtate with the authority of an emperor. Mean time ſhe gave notice to the commanders who were in foreign parts, and ſent them orders relating to the wars. This princeſs had a great deal of addreſs, and knew how to conciliate the affection of the grandees. She particularly made uſe of the ſervices of Gautû-lauman, who through her means had inſinuated himſelf into the favour of her late huſband. As this grandee managed the treaſury, he furniſhed Tolyekona with great ſums of money; which ſhe employed to debauch the troops, increaſe the number of her adherents, and diſpoſe all parties to conſent that her ſon ſhould be emperor.

He dies with grief.

Yelu Chû-tſay attempted to remove Gautû-lauman from the miniſtry; by repreſenting to her that the finances were in diſorder, and that every thing was done at Karakorom by dint of money. But his remonſtrances proving

[z] Abul'gh. p. 155, & ſeqq.

ineffectual

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ineffectual, he became ſo greatly affected to ſee himſelf in a manner diſgraced, after the figure which he had made in the ſtate, that, he died in a little time at Karakorom.

His character; This great man was a prince of the Lyau family. The firſt time he was brought before Jenghîz Khân, that prince aſked him, if he was not pleaſed to ſee his houſe revenged of the evils which it had ſuffered from that of the Kin? Chû-tſay anſwered, that he could not help being affected with the misfortunes of princes, to whom he had been much indebted both in point of intereſt and honour. Afterwards, when he became the khân's prime miniſter, his whole ſtudy was to render his maſter's reign glorious. He was continually inſpiring that prince, his children, and the Mungls in general, with an averſion to ſlaughter and pillage, as well as with love for the people, and good government. The pains which he took to reform the manners and diſpoſitions of the Mungls cannot be ſufficiently commended. He was their firſt maſter, and as it were, their lawgiver: he formed a kalendar for them, which he finiſhed in Perſia, after the conferences which he had with the mathematicians of that country.

great knowlege; He was well verſed in the Chineſe ſciences and hiſtory; and poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, the qualifications of a miniſter. He had a firmneſs of reſolution not to be ſhaken, an extraordinary preſence of mind, a vaſt knowlege of the countries ſubject to his maſter, diſcernment in the choice of perſons, and ſure reſources for ſupplies of money and proviſions on all emergencies. His zeal was entirely diſintereſted; and he continually ſacrificed his own advantages to thoſe of the ſtate. He was at great expence to procure workmen, officers, and engineers, from all countries. At the reduction of Ning-hya, capital of the Hya kingdom, the Mungls committed great diſorders in plundering the city and palace of the king: Chû-tſay took for his ſhare the geographical maps, the books, paintings, and ſeveral bales of rhubarb. The army, after this, being afflicted with a malignant fever, and other diſeaſes, the miniſter became the phyſician; and, by giving the rhubarb to the ſoldiers, ſaved their lives.

zeal for learning; He reſcued from death many thouſand Chineſe literati, and cauſed public colleges to be built; in which the Mungls were taught hiſtory, geography, arithmetic, and aſtronomy. He ſent for learned men from the countries of the Igûrs, Arabia, Perſia, and other weſtern regions; and

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and ordered many books to be tranſlated. The ſagacity of this excellent miniſter, appeared in nothing more ſenſibly than in his regulations with regard to the cuſtoms, commerce, the public granaries, and the ſubordination which he introduced among the mandarins both civil and military. The natural ferocity and ignorance of the Mungls, were great obſtacles to the execution of his grand deſigns. He aboliſhed the cuſtom of ſelecting, at certain times, the moſt beautiful maidens for the emperor's palace. His ſons and grandſons were educated by himſelf, and formed by his precepts and example, to the love of the ſciences and virtue. One of his ſons was particularly eminent; and, from his father's memoirs, compoſed the hiſtory of the Kin and Lyau [a].

After the death of Yelu Chû-tſay, Tolyekona, at the inſtigation of his enemies, made an enquiry into his effects; but that enquiry filled them with confuſion: they found only a ſmall quantity of money, but a great number of volumes, written with his own hand, on hiſtory, aſtronomy, agriculture, government, and commerce. They likewiſe met with ancient coins, muſical inſtruments, old books, and inſcriptions, cut either on ſtones, marble, or metal. He was very ſedulous in his travels to amaſs theſe ſorts of curioſities, inſtead of the immenſe riches which he might have acquired. Chû-tſay had many enemies, but hiſtory has done him juſtice; and the Mungls, to this day, beſtow on him the greateſt eulogies. The remains of his tomb are ſtill to be ſeen ſome leagues to the ſouth-weſt of Pe-king. It is now neceſſary to return to the Mungl affairs. *His diſintereſtedneſs.*

In 1241, the Song generals, who had retaken Ching-tû-fû, the capital of Se-chwen, named Chîng-long-chi, a good officer, for governor: but Wang-ſhi-hyen having been ſent by general Ta-hay to beſiege him, he was, after ten days brave defence, betrayed by an officer, who delivered up the city. A.D. 1241. *A brave governor.*

A powerful army, commanded by Yeko Noyen, a great Mungl lord, and Yelu Ko, a Kitân prince, having marched by the way of Si-gan-fû, capital of Shen-ſi, and entered Se-chwen, laid ſiege to Lû-chew. *Mengkong's care.*

Prince Gan-chi-tay, who commanded at Tſi-nan-fû, had orders in 1244 to attack the Song on the ſide of Fong-yang-fû, in Kyang-nan; and in July 1245, the generals Chang-jau and Cha-han made incurſions into that pro- A.D. 1244.

[a] Gaubil Hiſt. Gentch. p. 101, & ſeqq.

vince,

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A.D. 1245. vince, as far as Yang-chew. In the same month the empress Tolyekona, having convened a general assembly of the grandees and princes, by her intrigues raised her son Quey-yew to the throne; and, soon after his installation, the princes Patû, Mengo, with the generals Suputay, Mangkûsar, and others, arrived at Karakorom, after an absence of several years. Their first expedition was to the north of the Caspian, where Mengo defeated a prince called Pacheman; who was taken and slain, as he was flying to one of the islands in that sea. After this expedition they marched against the Olotse (or Russians), took the city of Tuli-tse-ko, and sacked that of Ye-li-tsan; in both which they met with a very great resistance. Then they ravaged the country of Ye-lye-pan, made a road over the mountain Atsali, took the country of Machar, and vanquished king Kyo-lyen. Being advanced to the river Kon-ning, a great battle was fought, in which the Mungls were defeated. Upon this ill success Patû and Meng-ko were for retiring; but Suputay kept up the courage of those princes.

Quey-yew declared khân.

Conquests in the West.

A.D. 1246. The news of Oktay's death induced them to return; and they arrived at Karakorom towards the end of the year 1246. Not long after, Suputay died, at the age of thirty-seven, lamented by all the princes of the imperial family; and especially by the Mungl officers who had served under him. The history remarks, that the army commanded by this general, Patu and Meng-ko, entered a country whose inhabitants had blue eyes and fair hair; that the days, at the summer solstice, were very long; and that they had scarce any night at that season. We know that this, and other armies of the Mungls, ravaged Russia, Poland, Moravia, Bohemia, Austria, and Hungary; but it is difficult to discover the names which are given to those countries in the Chinese history, which speaks of them in a very confused manner [b].

Death of Su pu-tay.

The Reign of Quey-yew, or Kayûk Khân.

The bonzas encouraged.

THE emperor Quey-yew had a very great respect and tenderness for his mother Tolyekona, who, therefore, kept the greater share of the government in her hands. Ching-hay, and Gautû-lauman, were his chief counsellors; it is under this khân that the Chinese history begins to speak of the extraordinary credit which the bonzas of the West had at the Mungl court; whereas, during the reigns of

[b] Gaubil, p. 103, & seq.

Jenghîz

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Jenghîz Khân, and Oktay Khân, neither the bonzas nor lamas were employed in ſtate-affairs.

The kingdom of Korea having refuſed to pay tribute to the Mungls, in 1247 Quey-yew ſent thither an army, which obliged the king not only to ſubmit to that impoſition, but likewiſe to receive commanders appointed by the Mungls. The hiſtory ſays very little concerning the reign of this khân, or his actions either in China or Tartary; and although it ſpeaks of an army ſent by him into the Weſt, yet it neither mentions what it did there, nor the country to which it was deſtined. A.D. 1247. *Korea humbled.*

In March 1248, the emperor Quey-yew died, at the age of forty-three, in the country of Hong-ſyang-i-eul. *Death of Quey-yew.*

After his death, the empreſs Wauli-hamiſh governed the empire; and, whether by order of her huſband, or of her own will, ſhe reſolved to cauſe prince She-lye-men to be declared emperor, purſuant to the appointment of the emperor Ogotay. Her regency was not very happy: prince She-lye-men, who wanted nothing of the emperor but the name, paid little attention to the grandees and princes; giving acceſs to none but ſuch as his mother, the empreſs dowager, the empreſs Wauli, and the empreſs Tolyekona, thought proper to be admitted. People complained loudly that the court was too expenſive in jewels and precious ſtones, which they purchaſed dear of the Mahommedan merchants; and that the ſubjects were continually forced to furniſh horſes to the lords, who rode poſt day and night. Mean time the drought and mortality among the cattle had reduced many countries to famine; and there was not money to pay the great armies which were raiſed. At length the empreſs regent agreed with the princes and great lords to hold a general aſſembly at Karakorom, in the beginning of the year 1251. *Empreſs Wauli regent.*

At the time appointed the ſtates met: Patû, eldeſt ſon of Juji, preſided in the aſſembly; where they began to deliberate about proclaiming an emperor. Pala, a Mungl lord, ſpoke firſt in the name of the empreſs regent; and declared, that, according to the orders of the emperor Ogotay, She-lye-men ought to be elected khân. Moko, one of the ſons of Tuli, ſaid, that there was none who durſt oppoſe the poſitive command of a dying emperor. Patû ſaid nothing at firſt, and ſeemed inclined to execute the will of Ogotay. The brothers and uncles of She-lye-men, with the ſons of Quey-yew, and their friends, followed the advice of Pala. The general Manguſar was the firſt who propoſed Meng-ko for emperor: he was ſe- A.D. 1251. *Meng-ko elected.*

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conded by Hu-lyang-hutay, great general of the troops, who made a ſpeech in favour of that prince; and ſaid, that the circumſtances of the times required that he ſhould be elected. The advice of the great general was of much weight in the affair. In fine, Patû, who ſpoke laſt, declared that Meng-ko ought to be choſen. This opinion being carried by a majority of voices, Meng-ko was accordingly proclaimed and acknowleged emperor at Karakorom. The partiſans of She-lye-men, ſpirited doubtleſs privately by the empreſs regent, appeared reſolved to proclaim that prince. On this occaſion a ſecond aſſembly was held in June, at the ſource of the river Wa-nan, or Onon; but notwithſtanding all the cabals of She-lye-men, the princes and generals of his party, the election of Meng-ko was confirmed; and the year 1251, which is the year of the Hog, is marked in hiſtory for the firſt of his reign [c].

by the ſtates;

by the influence of prince Batû.

This is the Chineſe account of Meng-ko, or Mang-ku Khân's election. When the ceremony was over, Meng-ko entertained thoſe who met on that occaſion for ſeven days; in which time were conſumed, every day, eight waggon-loads of wine, two of brandy, and twenty of kumis, in liquors. There were likewiſe ſlaughtered three hundred horſes, as many cows, and a thouſand ſheep [d].

SECT. III.

The Reign of Meng-ko, or Mangu Khân.

Fourth khan, Meng-ko.

THE emperor Meng-ko had much vivacity and courage, having gained great experience in the campaigns which he made in Shen-ſi and Honan, with his father Toley; as well as in the war which engaged him ſo long in the Weſt. He was perſonally acquainted with the vaſt dominions of the Mungls, and moſt of the generals, whether Chineſe, Tartars, or foreigners. He appointed his brother Hu-pi-lay (or Kublay), lieutenant-general in all the countries ſouth of the Great Kobi, or Deſert; that is, of Tartary bordering on the great wall of China, Lyau-tong, and the conquered provinces of China. He nominated generals to command in the countries of Almalig and Kâſhgar, on the river Amû, and in the parts adjoining to the rivers Irtiſh, Selinga, Onon, Tula, and

[c] Gaubil, ubi ſup. p. 105, & ſeq.

[d] Abu'lgh. Hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 158, & ſeq.

Kerlon.

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Kerlon. He likewiſe ordered a great army to encamp near Karakorom. He took away the ſeals from the mandarins and officers, and publiſhed rules for government.

Shortly after Mangû Khan's advancement, Shiramûn (in Chineſe, She-lye-men), one of Ugaday Khân's grandſons, perſuaded the other princes of that khân's race to aſſaſſinate Mangû, as having uſurped the throne in prejudice to them. The propoſal being approved of, Shiramûn marched before, with a detachment of five hundred men, and ſome waggons, loaded with arms; but a domeſtic of the khân, who was in ſearch of ſome ſtrayed dromedaries, happening to paſs by a place where they ſtopped in the evening, ſuſpected they had ſome ill deſign in hand, and haſtened back to inform the khan of it. Mangû, on this advice, ſent a thouſand of his principal officers, with two thouſand ſoldiers, to learn the occaſion of their meeting; and being anſwered by Shiramûn, that he was going to pay his compliments to the khân, they conducted him and his followers to court. Mangû treated them very handſomely for three days; but on the fourth, having ſtrictly examined ſome of them, concerning the intention of their aſſembling, and they confeſſing that it was to revolt, he put to death fourſcore, and pardoned the reſt, together with Shiramûn, and the children of Kayûk Khân *.

Plot in favour of Shiramûn;

After this diſcovery, Meng-ko took all places of truſt and conſequence from thoſe whom he knew to be inclined to She-lye-men; and cauſed that prince, as well as others of the family of Ogotay and Quey-yew, to be carefully watched. About the ſame time he ordered Holitay, one of his generals, to enter Tibet, and put to the ſword all thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit to the Mungls: he alſo appointed bonzas of the ſect of Tau and Fo, to govern the other bonzas of their reſpective ſects. He conferred on the princeſs his mother the title of empreſs, and cauſed a palace to be built, to honour the memory of prince Toley (or Tuli), his father. He beſtowed on him the title of Whang-ti (A), or emperor, and the name of Jû-i-tſong (B).

who is watched.

In January 1252, the princeſs, mother of the emperor Meng-ko, died greatly lamented. She was daughter of the prince of the Kara-it, brother of Wang Khân; for whoſe relations, as well as tribe, the Mungls had always

A.D. 1252.

Meng-ko's ſeverity

* Abu'lg. p. 159, & ſeq.

(A) Whang, *auguſt*; ti, *lord, ſovereign.*

(B) Jû-i, *full of ſpirit*; tſong, *reſpectable.*

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a very great respect. The Khan being informed that several princes were still inclined to set She-lye-men on the throne, took some extraordinary steps which made a great noise. He ordered prince Hoangur, son of Hasar, Jenghîz Khân's brother, who commanded the troops encamped near Karakorom, to make a review of them; and repaired himself in summer to that city; where he ordered all the grandees, generals, and princes of the blood, to attend him. He banished the princess, who was the third wife of the late emperor Ogotay, and confiscated her effects. He, in like manner, took from the other wives of that monarch all their gold, silver, and jewels, which he distributed among the princes, lords, and officers. Hatan and Myeli, sons of Ogotay, were exiled to different countries: his grandsons Perko, Toto, and Mongoto, were also banished, as well as the brothers of She-lye-men and prince Haytu, who was the son of Hashe, son of Ogotay. As for She-lye-men, he was fettered, and confined in a fortress [f].

and cruelty. But the most unpopular measure was the sentence of death pronounced against the empress Wauli-haymish, formerly regent of the empire, and dowager of Quey-yew; and against the princess, mother of She-lye-men. Sentence was executed upon both these great ladies; and, to palliate the action, it was asserted, that they were magicians, and made use of sorcery to set the crown on She-lye-men's head. After this execution, the new khân bestowed great sums on the troops, diminished the taxes, and ordered all the officers to hold their forces in readiness on the first notice. This same year Meng-ko made a solemn sacrifice to heaven, on a mountain, according to the Chinese rites. The lama Na-mo was declared head of his religion in the empire, with the title of the emperor's doctor and preceptor; and his brother Wato-chi, another lama was vested with great employments at court.

War in Yun-nan. In December the khân erected the lands of China into fiefs, for the princes of his house. Hû-pi-lay had for his share Honan, and part of Shen-si. This prince having received orders the same month to attack the city of Tali-fû, in Yun-nan, he took with him the general Hû-lyang-hûtay, and Yau-shû his counsellor. About the same time envoys arrived from the country of Intû, or Hintûs, to render homage to the emperor.

[f] Gaubil, ubi supra, p. 109, & seq.

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In February 1253, Meng-ko aſſembled the princes and grandees at the river Onon, from whence he reſolved to ſend armies on foreign conqueſts; one to India and Kaſhmîr, another againſt Korea, and a third againſt the khalif, or ſoltân of Baghdâd. This laſt, the moſt conſiderable of the three, was put under the command of Hyu-le-hû, or Hulâkû, the emperor's brother. A.D.1253. *Armies ſent forth.*

Prince Hû-pi-lay, who had aſſembled his army the year before at Lin-tau-fû, in Shen-ſi, entered Se-chwen; and by difficult roads, through mountains and precipices, arrived on the river Kin-ſha, or the Kyang. Great part of Yun-nan province was then poſſeſſed by princes independent of China. Tali, in particular, had a king of its own, who was taken with that city in December. Hû-pi-lay intended to have put all the inhabitants to death, but Yau-ſhû diverted him from that cruel deſign. The prince cauſed a map of the country to be made, ſubdued the neighbouring princes, and penetrated into Tibet, where ſeveral others ſubmitted. After this expedition, he returned to his government, leaving Hu-lyang-hotay to command the troops. *Kublay's conqueſts.*

In 1254, Meng-ko again aſſembled the Tatar princes and lords, at the ſource of the Onon, where he made them great preſents in gold, ſilver, and ſilks: he likewiſe fixed what the emperor was thenceforward to beſtow on them every year, and performed another ſacrifice to heaven. He ordered the troops in China to form great magazines of proviſions in ſuch cities of Honan as they had incloſed with walls. Hitherto they had only made incurſions into Se-chwen to pillage the country, from whence they were obliged to retreat, and often with loſs, for want of ſubſiſtence. For this reaſon Meng-ko ordered general Wang-te-ching, ſon of Wang-ſhi-hyen, to incloſe ſeveral towns with ſtrong walls, and lay in plenty of proviſions. The khân likewiſe gained the love of the people, by the care he took to prevent his troops from ravaging the lands of the peaſants. He cauſed diligent enquiries to be made upon that head, made thoſe amends who had been ſufferers, and puniſhed with death even conſiderable officers, who had been guilty of peculation. Nay, he ſeverely puniſhed his own ſon, for having once in hunting damaged the plowed lands of ſome countrymen [g]. A.D. 1254. *Regulations made by Meng-ko.*

In June 1256, Meng-ko made great feaſts for the princes and grandees. At the ſame time he received homage from A.D.1256.

[g] Gaubil, p. 112, & ſeq.

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The court removed to Shang tû.

several princes of Yun-nan, and the neighbouring princes, as well as from the soltâns of the West. As Karakorom seemed very incommodious for holding general assemblies, and keeping his court, he ordered a Chinese bonza, called Lyew-ping-chong, to chuse a place in Tartary, which might be from this time the capital of his dominions. Ping-chong, who was a man of great genius, skilled in mathematics, history, and almost all parts of literature, made choice of a place called Long-kang, to the east of the city Whan-chew; where they built a great city, with a palace for the emperor and grandees, temples, and tribunals, the whole surrounded with high and thick walls. In the neighbouring country they pitched on places for hunting, fishing, and whatever else might serve for the conveniences of the new city, which was called Kayping-fû (C), and in a short time filled with an infinite number of Chinese and Mungls. Yet Karakorom still continued to be considerable, and enjoyed a jurisdiction of greater extent.

A.D. 1257.

Expedition into Shen-si.

In 1257, Meng-ko sent orders to his generals in Sechwen, Hu-quang, and Kyang-nan, to prepare for attacking the Song on all sides, resolving to make the campaign himself in the first of those provinces. Before he left Tartary he went to honour the memory of his grandfather Jenghîz Khân, in the palace destined for that ceremony; and in July made a solemn sacrifice to heaven. After this he appointed his brother Alipûko to command in Karakorom, and left the general Alantar to assist him with his advice. Then setting out, he came to the mountain Lewpan, in Shen-si, where Jenghîz Khân died. He had scarce arrived at this place when he understood that his brother Hû-pi-lay was come, with his family, and without any attendance, in the form of a criminal, to submit himself implicitly to the orders of his majesty; which news affected Meng-ko, and began to remove the suspicions which he had conceived against his brother.

Kublay's prudence prevents his disgrace.

Hû-pi-lay was greatly loved and esteemed by the Chinese, whom he governed with gentleness. He was accused of endeavouring to make himself independent, and his having gained the affections of the soldiers and the Chinese was interpreted to his disadvantage. Meng-ko began by depriving him of his government, and turning out some generals who seemed too much attached to him. Officers

(C) And afterwards Shang-tu. Lat. 42 deg. 25 minutes, long. 11 min. 50 seconds, west of Pe-king.

were

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were appointed to command in China, and mandarins to try thoſe who were found to be criminals. While theſe judges repaired to Si-gan Fu, capital of Shen-ſi, and prepared to execute the emperor's orders, Hû-pi-lay, ſhocked with this ſudden diſgrace, ſeemed inclined at firſt view to have recourſe to arms, and revenge himſelf on thoſe who were the authors of it; but as he did nothing without the advice of Yau-ſhû, this lord adviſed him inſtantly to depart, without any troops, and, throwing himſelf at the emperor's feet, offer to give up his wives, concubines, and children, with all the riches that he had in gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones. Hû-pi-lay took his advice, which had ſo happy an effect, that Meng-ko was touched when he beheld his brother's humiliation; and his former tenderneſs returning, he embraced him ſeveral times with tears, revoked all his orders, and gave him full power. He ordered him to prepare for the ſiege of Vû-chang Fû, capital of Hû-quang, then to march to Hang-chew, the metropolis of Che-kyang, and empire of the Song. At the ſame time he nominated general Chang-jau to command under him [b].

Hû-lyang's conqueſts.

During theſe tranſactions, Hu-lyang-hotay, after the conqueſt of Tibet in 1255, ſubdued moſt of the countries bordering on Yun-nan: he afterwards undertook to penetrate as far as Ton-king and Kochin-china, which at that time were comprehended under the name of Gan-nan. Purſuant to this deſign he ſent officers to the king of that extenſive country, to ſummon him to pay tribute to the Mungls; but on advice that thoſe envoys were impriſoned, he marched to the capital of the kingdom, ruined it, plundered the country, and was on the point of returning towards Tali, when he received orders from Meng-ko to make all poſſible haſte to join Hû-pi-lay at the ſiege of Vû-chang Fû.

Meng-ko's forces.

The army of Meng-ko was divided into three bodies, in order to enter Se-chwen by three different parts. Po-li-cha, a great Tartar lord, was nominated to command the firſt body; Mu-ko, the emperor's brother, led the ſecond; and the khân himſelf conducted the third, which took the route of Han-chong Fû, in Shen-ſi.

A.D. 1258.

Vigorous oppoſition made by the Song.

The Song always took care to furniſh Se-chwen with good troops, well officered; ſo that, notwithſtanding the formidable armies of the Mungls, they ſtood their ground;

[b] Gaubil, p. 114, & ſeqq.

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and although defeated, they commonly retook the cities which the enemy had reduced; because the Mungls, for want of provisions and forage, were obliged to retreat. Nyew-lyen, of the Chanchû tribe, whose father and grandfather were celebrated in the army, having been sent before by Meng-ko, learned, towards the beginning of the year 1258, that Atahû, general of the Mungls in Ching-tû Fû, was reduced to great extremities, besieged on all sides by the Song. Hereupon he resolved to succour Atahû. For this purpose he made rapid marches towards him, and meeting by the way with a detachment of the enemy's army, engaged them for a whole day, and gained a complete victory. Nevertheless the Song took Ching-tu, and Atahû died. Nyew-lyen, driven almost to despair for not having prevented that loss, marched directly to Ching-tû, and posting himself between the city and the army of the Song, entrenched his forces; in short, the city for want of provisions, surrendered, and the enemy's troops dispersed.

Nyew-Lyen being informed that Meng-ko had arrived at Han-chong Fû, left the government of the city to Lyew-hema, and repaired to Mahû, from whence he sent troops to facilitate his passage of the river Kyan-lin, over a bridge of boats.

Lang-chew surrenders.

The princes Moko and Tachar having joined the khân, he took Long-gan Fû, and, at the head of his choicest troops, attacked Lan-chew. Yang-ta-ywen, who had at first killed the officer sent to summon him to surrender, being seized with a panic on sight of the Mungl army, went out, with a design to submit; but changing his mind, returned to the city. Meng-ko, enraged at the murder, protested that he would ruin the city; but Li-hû-lan-ki, who was a good officer, and native of Shen-si, having represented that without the assistance of Yang-te-ywen, they could scarcely succeed in the war of Se-chwen, he sent an officer to assure the governor of his favour, who thereupon surrendered.

Quey-lin Fû taken.

General Hû-lyang-ho-tay, in his return from Gan-nan, entered China by the way of Tong-king, and advancing to Quang-si, seized Quey-lin Fû, capital of that province, notwithstanding the difficulties of the roads, and the troops of the Song, who endeavoured to dispute his passage; but that commander, and his son Achû, either defeated them wherever they appeared, or deceived them by false marches, so that the Chinese were surprised to see him penetrate as far

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far as Chang-ſha, a city of Hu-quang, which he inveſted in the beginning of the year 1259[1].

On the firſt day of the ſame year Meng-ko, with the army, arrived at the mountain Chong-quey, where, in a great council of the old generals, To-whan, of the Cha-lar tribe affirmed, that the war in Se-chwen would prove unfortunate, as the heats and damps would deſtroy the ſoldiers; for which reaſons he adviſed his majeſty to return to the north; but Pa-li-che, of the tribe of Orla, inſinuating that To-whan ſpoke through fear, was of opinion that the emperor ſhould remain where he was. Meng-ko praiſed that general for his advice, and reſolved to beſiege Ho-chew, which he inveſted in February. The place was ſtrong, and defended by Vang-kyen, a very intelligent officer, who had a good garriſon, and plenty of proviſions. Lu-ven-te, governor-general of the province, who ſo bravely defended Gan-fong, in Kyang-nan, watched all advantages, and loſt no occaſion of harraſſing the Mungls, who were always obliged to march in ſtrong bodies to prevent being ſurpriſed by the troops which he had poſted in all the difficult paſſages. A.D. 1259. *Ho-chew beſieged out of ſeaſon.*

Meng-ko having ſent a Chineſe officer to ſummon Vang-kyen to ſurrender, that commander, knowing he had been in the ſervice of the Song, after reproaching him with treaſon, ordered him to be carried to the place of arms, and put to death. Mean time Nyew-lyen, advancing to join the khân, cauſed a bridge of rafts to be made near Fû-chew. Fû, another general, went and encamped near Quey-chew, on the borders of Hû-quang. It was not long before Meng-ko perceived that the ſiege of Ho-chew would coſt him much trouble. In the ſame month the Mungls were repulſed before the weſtern gate, nor were the attacks more ſucceſsful in March. In April the thunder and rain, which continued for twenty days, did them much damage. Nevertheleſs, they one day ſcaled the walls, and made great ſlaughter among the defendants; however, they were at laſt repulſed.

Mean while Lu-ven-te attacked with much reſolution the raft-bridge at Fû-chew, and got into the city of Kon-chin Fû, eight leagues ſouth-ſouth-weſt of Ho-chew. There he gathered more than one thouſand barks to aſcend the Kya-ling; but being attacked on that river by the general She-tyen-che, this latter took one hundred barks, and purſued him to Chong-king. Notwithſtanding this defeat, Lu- *The Mungls diſtreſſed.*

[1] Gaubil, p. 117, & ſeq.

ven-te

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ven-te diſtreſſed the Mungls greatly, by cutting off their proviſions, which was one of his principal cares. They ſuffered much likewiſe by diſeaſes; and Vang-kyen had always the advantage over them, both in the attacks and ſallies. The Mungls, weary of the ſiege, which, notwithſtanding the diligence and bravery of Vang-te-ching, who had the conduct of it, was very little advanced in July, reſolved to employ their beſt troops, and carry the place, coſt what it would. On the other ſide, Vang-kyen and his garriſon ſwore to periſh, ſooner than ſurrender.

A general aſſault. On the 10th of Auguſt Meng-ko viſited the works, and ſending for Wan-te-ching, ordered him to get things ready for ſcaling the walls the night following. Theſe orders were executed with much ſecrecy and conduct. The Mungls were already mounted in great numbers on the walls, when the governor haſtened to their defence. The aſſailants cried out, "Vang-kyen, ſurrender, and you ſhall have your life." But he, without regarding this exclamation, aſſembled his people, and attacked them with ſo much fury, that Vang-te-ching, who mounted the walls firſt, and moſt of thoſe who followed him, were ſlain upon the ſpot; the reſt were purſued by the victor, who put ſeveral quarters of the Mungls into confuſion. Meng-ko, upon this check, ordered a general aſſault, and went himſelf to the ſcalade. But Vang-kyen was not to be forced. At the ſame time a ſtorm fell, and blew down the ladders. A dreadful ſlaughter enſued, in which an infinite number of Mungls periſhed; and among the reſt the emperor, whoſe body was found pierced with ſeveral wounds. Thus died Meng-ko, at the age of fifty-two, after a reign of nine years.

Meng-ko ſlain.

Upon this diſaſter, the prince Moko, and the reſt of the generals, agreed to raiſe the ſiege, and retire towards Shen-ſi. He likewiſe ſent a lord to invite his brother Hû-pi-lay to return into Tartary, and be proclaimed emperor. The army decamped; and the herſe which carried the khân's corpſe was placed in the midſt of a great body of troops [k].

Perſon and character. This khân, in perſon, was of a middle ſtature, and flat-noſed (D). Several of his wives had the title of empreſſes, after

[k] Gaubil, p. 119, & ſeq.

(D) It may not be amiſs to give the whole paſſage wherein this is found, from William de Rubruquis, who was ſent into Tartary in 1253; in January following he arrived at the court of Mangu Khân, and was admitted to audience, ſitting on a bench before the ladies. The houſe was hung with cloth of gold,

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after the title of Jenghîz Khân and Ogotay. The firſt of them was of the Hongkila (or Kongorat) tribe, and family of Te-in. By theſe he had five ſons, and ſeveral daughters.

The hiſtory reproaches Meng-ko for his attachment to the lamas [1].

SECT. IV.

The Reign of Hû-pi-lay or Kublay Khân.

DURING the winter of this year Hû-pi-lay left Long-kang, afterwards called Shang-tû; and in July, 1259, encamped to the ſouth of the river Jû, in Honan. There he forbad committing maſſacres; and having given one part of the army to Chang-jau, the two bodies reduced the fortreſſes which are near the city Ma-ching, in the diſtrict of Whang-chew, in Hû-quang. In September he received an expreſs from his brother Moko, to haſten his return with his beſt troops: but Hû-pi-lay, not thinking it for his honour to quit the country without performing ſome remarkable action, paſſed the great river Kyang, in the face of a numerous army and fleet belonging to the Song, and next day appeared before the city of Vû-chang Fû; a circumſtance which greatly alarmed the court at Hang-chew. A.D. 1259. *Kublay marches.* *Beſieges Vû-chang Fû.*

The emperor of the Song, on this occaſion, opened his treaſures, and diſtributed immenſe ſums, with pieces of ſilk, to his troops: great levies were made throughout the empire; and a numerous army was ordered to Han-yang Fû, to ſuccour Vû-chang Fû. The general of this army was Kya-tſe-tau, a man raiſed to the higheſt dignities of ſtate, without talents equal to the charge; neither beloved nor eſteemed by the troops.

1 Gaub. p. 121.

gold. In the midſt was a fire, made of thorns, wormwood-roots of a very large ſize, and ox-dung. The khân ſat on a bed, and was clad with a robe of ſpotted fur, which ſhined like a ſeal-ſkin. He was of a middle ſtature, flat-noſed, and about forty-five years old (1). His wife, who was a little pretty woman, ſat by him: and in another bed near it ſat Sirina or Khirina, one of his daughters, who was grown up, but very ill-favoured, and ſeveral little children. Purchas's Pilgrim. vol. iii. p. 25.

(1) He was then forty-eight years of age.

The

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Makes peace with the Song.

The governor of Vû-chang Fû amuſed Hû-pi-lay at firſt with falſe hopes, and ſlew the officer ſent to treat with him; but was himſelf ſlain ſome time after in a ſally which he made. Kya-tſe-tau led the greater part of the army to Whang-chew Fû; and in this march betrayed his own want of courage and experience. In November Lû-ven-te, governor of Se-chwen, received orders to repair to Vû-chang Fû, to command in that important place. The ſiege was proſecuted with vigour; and the garriſon had already loſt many officers as well as ſoldiers. Kya-tſe-tau, apprehending the conſequences of the loſs of that city, ſent to propoſe conditions of peace; one of which was, that the empire of the Song ſhould become tributary to the Mungls; but Hû-pi-lay would not be ſatisfied. At this time Kya-tſe-tau learned, by an expreſs from Wang-kyen, what had happened at Ho-chew, and took occaſion from thence to renew his propoſitions. At the ſame juncture Hû-pi-lay received poſitive advice that the general Alantar was doing his endeavours to ſet his brother Alipuka on the throne; and that ſeveral princes and lords were of his party. Upon this intelligence a great council was held, in which Hau-king, a learned and ſage counſellor, adviſed Hû-pi-lay to make peace with the Song, to fix his court at Yen-king, and cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed emperor. This advice being followed, Kya-tſe-tau promiſed to pay annually twenty van of ſilver (E), and as much in ſilk, by way of tribute, and acknowlegement of the ſovereignty of the Mungls over the Song. In conſequence of this treaty, after the limits of both empires had been ſettled, Hû-pi-lay decamped, and repaſſed the Kyang. Hû-lyang-ho-tay likewiſe raiſed the ſiege of Chang-ſhu, and croſſed the ſame river, in his way to the North: but ſome of his troops having continued behind, on the other ſide, till February 1260, Kya-tſe-tau ordered them to be put to the ſword.

This wicked miniſter made a ſhameful treaty for the Song, and concealed it from the emperor Li-tſong (F), who believed the retreat of Hû-pi-lay was owing to that officer's valour and conduct; and the ſoldiers, maſſacred by his order, gave occaſion to a report that the Mungl army had been defeated. So that the court at Hang-chew laviſhed

(E) That is, a million of livres, or about fifty thouſand pounds ſterling.

(F) He was fourteenth emperor of the Song dynaſty, which governed the ſouthern China, and conſiſted of eighteen princes.

their

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their praiſes and rewards on Kya-tſe-tau, not dreaming that what this abandoned wretch had done would ſhortly ruin the empire [m].

Hû-pi-lay, after the treaty concluded with the Song miniſter, left Hû-quang with his beſt troops; and in December following, encamped in ſight of Yen-king. His return produced a general joy in the people of the North, who wiſhed to ſee him immediately ſettled on the imperial throne. Moſt of the princes of his houſe, as well as of the Chineſe and Mungls, but above all the princeſs of Hongkila (or Kongorat), his firſt wife, preſſed him to declare himſelf emperor. While Hû-pi-lay ſeemed unreſolved what to do on this occaſion, there arrived a Mungl lord, deputed by Hulagû, and, in the name of that prince, made ſtrong inſtances for having Hû-pi-lay proclaimed. At length, in April 1260, Moko, Hû-pi-lay's brother; Hatan, ſon of Ogotay, whom Meng-ko had baniſhed to Bîſhbâleg; Tachar, grandſon of Tye-muko, fourth brother of Jenghîz Khân; the deputy of Holagû, with thoſe of many other princes, and a great number of Tatar lords, aſſembled at the new city of Kay-ping Fû, afterwards Shang-tû, in Tartary, and declared Hû-pi-lay emperor of the Mungls. Afterwards they ſaluted him as ſuch; and the troops followed their example. The Chineſe every where made great rejoicings; and the new monarch thought only of chooſing good generals, able miniſters, and above all wiſe men, who ſhould promote the ſilk manufactures, commerce, and agriculture.

A.D. 1260.

Proclaimed khân.

Mean time it was confirmed, from all ſides, that prince Alipûko (or Aribuga), intended to make himſelf emperor; that he had a great army at Karakorom, commanded by geeneral Alantar; that he was ſupported by the princes Aſûtay, Yu-long Ta-ſhe, and Siliki, three of Meng-ko's ſons, beſides ſome others; and that many officers, who ſerved in the provinces of Se-chwen and Shen-ſi, were in his intereſt. Hereupon Hû-pi-lay ordered his generals in Tartary to ſend him an exact account of what they knew in relation to the intrigues of his competitor. In China, among other truſty lords, he employed Lyen-hi-hyen, born in the country of Igûr; Chang-ting, a Chineſe; and Chau-lyang-po, a native of Nyu-che. He appointed Hi-hyen the firſt governor-general of Shen-ſi and Se-chwen, with a good army under his command. This Hi-hyen was an able miniſter, as well as an experienced general, very

Aribuga aſpires to the empire.

[m] Gaubil, Hiſt. Gentch. p. 123, &c. ſeq.

learned,

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learned, and had a prodigious memory. As an inſtance of his merit, prince Hatan deſired to ſerve under him.

Nor was Alipuko idle on his part: he ſent general Alantar into the northern provinces of Tartary, with large ſums of money, and great quantities of ſilks, to gain the heads of tribes. When-tû-hay, governor of Lû-pan, where Jenghîz Khân died, who had ſixty thouſand men at his devotion, joined the governor of Ching-tû Fû, capital of Se-chwen; while other officers of Alipuko's party ſeized Fong-tſyang Fû, in Shen-ſi, and carried on a correſpondence in Si-gan Fû, the metropolis of that province. After theſe precautions taken, Alipuko cauſed himſelf to be acknowleged emperor at Karakorom, as ſoon as he underſtood what had paſſed at Kay-ping Fû. Lyew-tay-ping, and A-lû-whay, who in the time of Meng-ko commanded in Si-gan Fû, being now at Fong-tſyang Fû, as ſoon as they heard that Hi-hyen was on his march for Shen-ſi, ſet out poſt for Si-gan Fû, where they arrived on the 1ſt of May, and began to perſuade the inhabitants to declare for the party of Alipuko: but two days after Hi-hyen arrived, and infuſed freſh courage into the people, who dreaded the return of the two officers [n].

Attempts on Shen-ſi. The general immediately cauſed the order for acknowleging Hû-pi-lay to be publiſhed through the city; likewiſe the patent whereby he was declared commander and governor of the provinces of Se-chwen and Shen-ſi. This ſtep being taken, he charged the officers to keep ſtrict guard at the gates and walls, and to examine minutely all thoſe who went either in or out. He particularly gave orders in ſecret, not to ſuffer either Lyew-tay-ping, or A-lu-hay, to eſcape. Soon after, the guards gave notice, that they had arreſted a ſtranger at the gate, who ſaid he came from Lû-pan. This was a truſty officer, who had watched all the motions of When-tû-hay; and from him Hi-hyen learned the names and numbers of thoſe who were of that governor's party. Hereupon the general aſſembled the officers and mandarins: and, after conſulting with them, cauſed Lyew-tay-ping and A-lû-hay to be put under arreſt. Then he ſent Lyew-he-ma into Se-chwen, to put to death Mi-lyo-che, governor of Ching-tu Fû, and Kitay-pu-wha, who commanded on the frontiers. He gave an army to general Vang-lyang-ching, with orders to join prince Hatan; and appointed Pachun, a Mungl officer, to ſuſtain Lyang-ching with five thou-

[n] Gaub. p. 132, & ſeq.

ſand

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ſand choice men, drawn from Se-chwen. Theſe meaſures being taken, he put to death Lyew-tay-ping and A-lu-hay, as rebels; and received orders ſoon after to ſave their lives.

His army defeated, and generals killed.

When-tu-hay, who heard all theſe tidings with ſurprize, plainly perceived that Hi-hyen was thoroughly inſtructed; and, loſing hopes of taking Si-gan Fu, reſolved to repaſs the Whang-ho; and, after reducing Kan-chew, went and joined Alantar. Prince Hatan, not being able to prevent either of theſe events, marched northward with his horſe; and, having encamped between the rebels and Karakorom, ſent Hi-hyen an account of the ſituation of affairs. As he was quickly joined by Wang-lyang-ping and Pachun, he reſolved to march in three bodies, and ſeek the enemy, whom he attacked to the eaſt of Kan-chew. When-tu-hay and Alantar had the advantage at firſt, by means of a great wind, which incommoded with the ſand and duſt the cavalry of Wang-lyang-ping. Hereupon this general ordered his men to alight; and, attacking the enemy's left wing, put them into diſorder, and then poſted himſelf to the north of them. The right wing likewiſe began to ſtagger, and Pachun wheeled to the ſouth. Mean time Hatan cut off their retreat towards Karakorom, and made ſo deſperate an attack, that the troops of Alantar and When-tu-hay gave way on all ſides. Theſe two generals were both killed in the battle; and a great ſlaughter was made among their troops, who were not able to retire either towards the north or the great wall. In ſhort, Hatan and his lieutenants gained a complete victory; and Shen-ſi and Se-chwen became entirely ſettled.

Song miniſter's treachery.

Mean time Hû-pi-lay ſent Hau-king to the court of the Song emperor; both to notify his advancement to the throne, and execute the treaty concluded with Kya-tſe-tau, during the ſiege of Vu-chang Fu. But as the Chineſe monarch knew nothing of that treaty, his miniſter, fearing the envoy would diſcover his knavery, impriſoned him near Nan-king; and took every precaution that neither Hû-pi-lay nor his maſter ſhould hear any thing from this lord. The Song emperor indeed was informed that a Tatar envoy was arrived on the frontiers; but Kay-tſe-tau had the art to divert his thoughts to other matters.

A.D. 1260.

The Mungl emperor, being a lover of ſcience, invited learned men to his court, from all nations. He eſtabliſhed an academy of the ableſt doctors called Hanlin, a certain number of whom were ſet a part for compoſing the

the hiſtory of the empire; and he inſtituted ſchools of mathematics, geometry, aſtronomy, and medicine. China and Lyau-tong were divided into ten departments, with each its officers and mandarins; and ten lords were appointed to be at the head of affairs relating to them: an order was likewiſe publiſhed, that the preſidents in all the tribunals ſhould be Mungls.

A.D. 1261. In the beginning of the year 1261, the emperor ſet at liberty all the literati who had been made ſlaves during the late wars.

Affairs of Se-chwen. Alipuko defeated.

In October he ſet out for Tartary, followed by the princes Hatan and Tacher, with a great body of Chineſe troops, in order to attack thoſe of his brother Alipuko. The two armies met at Simutû Nor; where, after a bloody fight, that of Alipuko was entirely defeated: but this prince broke through the khân's troops, and retired to the North. Hû-pi-lay took poſſeſſion of Karakorom, where he found a great deal of riches; then returned to Kay-ping Fu, and from thence to Yen-king. Towards the end of the year, Lyew-cheng repaired to court: and Lu-ven-te, the new governor of Se-chwen, having taken Lu-chew, the beginning of 1262, Hû-pi-lay made Lyew-cheng governor of Quey-chew, in the ſame province, on the borders of Hu-quang; and this lord did the Mungls great ſervices.

Li-tan revolts.

Li-tan, the ſon of a great mandarin, who had ſurrendered to Jenghîz Khân, commanded the Mungls in the diſtricts of Tſi-nan Fu, Itû (at preſent Tſing-chew Fû), and other places in Shan-tong. His power likewiſe extended over the parts of Kyang-nan ſubject to the emperor Hû-pi-lay; ever ſince whoſe acceſſion to the throne Li-tan had reſolved to join the Song. This lord, having in January ſent for his ſon from Kay-ping Fu, cauſed the two cities before mentioned to be fortified, and then threw off the maſk, declaring openly for the Song, to whom he delivered up ſeveral places of importance. On this occaſion Wang-ven-tong, one of Hû-pi-lay's miniſters, was detected in correſponding with Li-tan, and put to death. This Li-tan, who was a good commander, took the field, and made ſome conqueſts. Hereupon the emperor ordered prince Apiche, and general She-tyen-che, to make haſte and beſiege Tſi-nan Fû. Chang-hong-fan, ſon of Chan-jau, who was poſted on the weſt of the city, raiſed a rampart of earth, behind which he laid an ambuſcade of cuiraſſiers, and left the eaſt gate open.

Li-tan

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Li-tan ſallied out to attack this intrenchment; and while one part of his detachment paſſed the ditch and entered the gate, the other ſcaled the rampart: but the troops in ambuſh cut this whole detachment in pieces, and Li-tan eſcaped with much difficulty. The Song had indeed ſent ſuccours to Li-tan; but the general who commanded this army being ſeized with conſternation, on his entering Shan-tong, retired, after having conveyed thirty thouſand lyangs to I-tu. The Mungl generals afterwards incloſed the city with a ſtrong wall of earth, ſo that Li-tan could make no ſallies, yet he ſtill held out; and, after having conſumed all the proviſions, fed on human fleſh. At length, ſeeing no hopes of relief, he firſt ſlew his wife and concubines, and then threw himſelf headlong into a lake. However, She-tyen-che found him alive, and ſlew him with his own hand; then ordered him to be cut in pieces. After this cataſtrophe the army marched to I-tu, which immediately ſurrendered [a]. *Beſieged and ſlain.*

The Chineſe great men who were at court, particularly general Kokan, provoked at the conduct of the Song towards the Mungls, preſſed Hu-pi-lay inceſſantly to declare war againſt them. The emperor hereupon complained, in a manifeſto, of their unfair dealing; and either being ignorant of, or diſſembling, the detention of Hau-king, ſaid, that, before he reſolved on war, he would wait the ſucceſs of that envoy's negotiations. Mean time he appointed Achu, ſon of Hu-lyang-ho-tay, who was reckoned a great captain, to command the army deſtined for the ſouth. *The Song inſincerity.*

One of Hû-pi-lay's faults was the love of money. It was difficult to perſuade him that the mandarins were diſhoneſt, who furniſhed him with it. Ahama, a Mohammedan lord, and an Arab by nation, was one of thoſe bad ſubjects, who ſtudy only to procure money for their prince, by enriching themſelves; without regard to the unlawful means which they employ, the evils which they cauſe to the ſtate, and the injury which they do to the reputation of their maſter. Ahama, who was ſuperintendant of the cuſtoms through the empire, had recourſe to many contrivances to deceive the emperor, and the Mungl grandees. He would ſubmit his accounts to none but the emperor, pretending to be independent of the miniſters. Tew-me, Yau-ſhu, Hyu-heng, Lyew-ping-chong, and other Chineſe, knew, from the firſt, the character of Ahama, and did not fail to acquaint the khân with it. Chang-wen- *Ahama's artifices.* *Plunders the people.*

[a] Gaubil. p. 138, & ſeqq.

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kyen, in particular, made it appear, that it was contrary both to reason and practice to withdraw the customs from the jurisdiction of the ministers. As Hû-pi-lay, in this point, followed the advice of the Chinese, Ahama had recourse to a thousand artifices to be revenged on them: he caused great sums of money to be brought in to the emperor, giving him to understand, that it was the fruit of his good management; when, at the same time, the money was forced from the people by his commissaries, who were men of no credit; and, indeed, no better than public robbers. He never ceased urging the Mungl lords to complain that the Chinese had too much power: but Yau-shu and Hyu-heng, being possessed of more genius and address than Ahama, discovered all his artifices, and took care to make the prince Cheng-king (G) acquainted with them.

A D. 1263. Ahama was greatly mortified to see the illustrious Yau-shu declared prime minister in January, 1263. This lord, who was one of the most learned men among the Chinese, counselled Hû-pi-lay to found, in all the countries within his extensive dominions, colleges and academies, to educate youth in the knowlege of the sciences, arts, and good morals. The khân himself was sensible of the ignorance which prevailed in general among the Mungl lords; and was ashamed to see the difference which there was between them and the Chinese, as well as the strangers from the West, who resorted in great numbers to his court. The Mungls knew only how to handle the sword and bow; and their whole science was limited to some knowlege they had of horses. Hû-pi-lay began this reformation, by causing the princes his sons to be well educated. Chau-pi, a native of Tay-tong-fû, had already translated, into the Mungl language, part of the classical books; and Hyu-heng made an abridgement of the Chinese history and chronology. The emperor gave these works to the Mungls, to learn; and did not disdain to examine them himself upon the book of Hyu-heng.

Mungls, their ignorance.

Palace of ancestors. The observation of the rites due to the memory of their ancestors is, in China, an affair of state; and one of the principal duties from which the emperors themselves are not exempt. Hû-pi-lay built a magnificent palace, in honour of his ancestors; and, in March, the same year, went

(G) Elsewhere Cheng-kin. He was the son whom Hû-pi-lay designed for the empire; but was not appointed heir apparent till the year 1273. Gaubil.

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to pay his reſpects to their remains. He was the firſt Mungl prince who performed this ceremony after the Chineſe manner. He ordered the bonzas and lamas to recite, for ſeven days and nights, the prayers of their Fo: and ſince that time, this practice had been obſerved every year.

In 1264, Lyew-ping-chong and Ahama were declared miniſters. This laſt had the management of the revenue and cuſtoms, without being accountable to any but the emperor. In March, prince Alipuko, brother of Hû-pi-lay, with the princes and lords of his party, came and ſubmitted themſelves to his clemency. The princes he pardoned; but ordered to be put to death ſuch of the lords as had ſeduced them to take up arms. The emperor gave to Kay-ping-fû the title of Shang-tu, or *High Court*; whither he went in March, and did not return to Yen-king till Auguſt. Every year he made this journey; and his Mungl ſucceſſors followed his example. In January, the king of Korea ſent an envoy, with compliments to Hû-pi-lay; and this cuſtom has continued ever ſince. A.D. 1264. *Arikbuka ſubmits.*

In 1265, Gan-tong, deſcended from Mûhûli in the fourth generation, being then no more than twenty-one years of age, was the admiration both of the Mungls and Chineſe, for his prudence and capacity. The moſt experienced generals propoſed him to be generaliſſimo of the troops: the Chineſe grandees adviſed the emperor to ſet him at the head of ſtate affairs; and the moſt able doctors reaped ſome inſtruction from his converſation. His high birth and good mien, his probity and moderation, rendered him beloved and reſpected by all the lords at court. He was, this year, appointed miniſter. The firſt ſtep he took was to fetch Hyu-heng back to court, and learn from him the ſcience of government. Hyu-heng had never ceaſed to acquaint the emperor that Ahama was a bad man; and the vexation it gave him to ſee him at the head of the finances, with the quality of miniſter, induced him to retire from court, and apply himſelf to ſtudy. Gan-tong had for an aſſociate in the miniſtry a lord of the country of Parin, named Pe-yen, a man of his own character [p]. A.D. 1265. *Gan-tong prime miniſter.* *Aſſociate Pe-yen.*

In 1266, the Tay-myau was finiſhed; in which there were as many halls as princes to honour. In each hall was placed a tablet, inſcribed with the name and title of A.D. 1266. *Hall of anceſtors.*

[p] Gaubil, p. 142, & ſeqq.

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A.D. 1267. the prince; and on the side of that table was another, with the name and title of the princess his first wife.

Ta-tu city. In April, 1267, was finished, by the emperor Hû-pi-lay's order, the city called Tatû, or Tay-tû; that is, the *Great Court*, to the north-east of Yen-king, named also Chong-tu, or the *Court of the Middle*. Ta-tu (H) is the bulk of the Tatar city, at present called Pe-king, the capital of China.

Haytu defeated. In the course of this year, Haytû, who, among others, had been banished by Meng-ko, because he favoured She-lye-men, appeared in Tartary, with a great army. This prince resolved to be revenged on Meng-ko, when he could find an opportunity; and, after his death, founded a considerable dominion in the country of Almâlig. He gained the affections of the people there, and drew to his interest the chiefs of tribes who encamped to the north-north-east of Turfan, as well as to the west and north of Mount Altay. He likewise stirred up several princes of his family; and resolved at length to declare against Hû-pi-lay: but his first attempt proved unsuccessful; for he was defeated, and forced to retreat to Almâlig.

Great army. She-tyen-che, having been made generalissimo of the army to be sent against the Song, amounting to three hundred thousand men, of the best soldiers; several foreign lords, Igûrs, Persians, and Arabs, as well as princes and chiefs of tribes, desired to serve under that Chinese lord, who was loved and esteemed by all. This general examined the avenues of Syang-yang; and, judg-

A.D. 1269. ing that the siege would be long, in January 1269, ordered strong walls to built, to cut off its communication with other places; and caused great intrenchments to be made at a post called Lû-men, to blockade Fan-chin [q].

The Mungl emperors had, since the time of Jenghiz Khân, employed in the public acts the Igûr and Chinese characters; but Hû-pi-lay imagined, that it was requisite for the grandeur and glory of his nation, that it should have characters of its own. The charge of inventing them was committed to Pa-se-pa, chief of the lamas, who was

[q] Gaubil. p. 146. & seqq.

(H) This is evidently the Kanbala (or Kambalu) of M. Polo. The vestigia of the ancient Yen-king are still to be seen, a few furlongs to the south-west of Pe-king. Gaubil.— Kanbalu, or Khan-palu, signifies the *Palace of the Khân*. Khân-balig, as the Oriental writers name it, signifies the *City of the Khân*.

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thoroughly acquainted not only with the Chineſe and lama characters, but alſo with thoſe of Tibet, called the characters of Tangut, of Igûr, the Indies, and ſeveral countries of the weſt of Aſia. Pa-ſe-pa, having examined the nature of theſe ſeveral characters, with their conveniencies and inconveniencies, rejected the Chineſe, which repreſent the ideas of things, and contrived other ſigns which were proper to expreſs the different ſounds. Of theſe he formed one thouſand, with rules for pronouncing and writing with them. Hû-pi-lay was ſo well ſatisfied with this work of Pa-ſe-pa, that, in 1269, he declared this lama a regulo; and, by edict, ordered his characters, which were called the new Mungl characters, to be uſed in all the tribunals; although, at firſt, the Mungls, who were accuſtomed to the Igûr letters, as well as the Chineſe, who preferred their own, found ſome difficulty to learn the new alphabet.

In 1270, Ahama began to dread the probity and genius of ſeveral great lords who were at court. He had found means to render the fidelity of Lyen-hyen ſuſpected, and to remove him from court; but this miniſter, having cleared himſelf, reſumed his employment, and joining the Chineſe grandees, reſolved to deſtroy Ahama. This miniſter accuſed Hi-hyen of negligence, in ſuffering an officer within his juriſdiction to remain in priſon, after the emperor had ordered his diſcharge. On Ahama's complaint, Hi-hyen was removed, and ſent home; where he lived like a philoſopher. A.D. 1270. *Ahama's power;*

Hi-hyen, although a ſtranger, was in great eſteem among the Chineſe literati, becauſe he followed the doctrines of Confucius. He was an enemy to the Mohammedans, Tau-tſe, and bonzas; eſpecially the lamas, or thoſe of Tibet. A Tau-tſe, who had acceſs to court, adviſed the emperor to drink a liquor, which, according to the principles of his ſect, would prolong his life, and make him happy after death. Hi-hyen, being conſulted on this occaſion by the emperor, made a ſevere ſatire on the ſect of Tau-tſe; concluding with an harangue on the long life and virtues of the ancient emperors Yau and Shun. Hû-pi-lay afterwards diſmiſſed the Tau-tſe; but would have perſuaded Hi-yen to follow the maxims and rules of conduct laid down by Pa-ſe-pa: Hi-hyen anſwered, that he followed the rules of Confucius; and, without being afraid, repeated the precepts of that philoſopher's diſciples, on the ſincerity of great men when they ſpeak to the emperor; and the care with which a ſon ought to keep the precepts of his forefathers. Nothing could be better timed *diſgraces Hi-hyen.*

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than this answer. Ahama passed for a knave, and yet obtained the confidence of Hû-pi-lay[r]. Jenghîz Khân had given orders, not to make use of bonzas, and yet the court was full of lamas. Hû-pi-lay was one of those great princes who was not offended at being told their faults; and always set a high value on those courtiers who were of Hi-hyen's character, praising the delicacy and integrity of his answers.

A.D. 1270. Ahama was detested by every body; but because he imposed on the emperor by projects which gave him hopes of money, he was in favour; and in 1270 his majesty gave his son the department of war. Among the princes none but Ching-kin, the emperor's eldest son, dared to speak against Ahama; yet Hyu-heng said openly, that it was dangerous to give such great employments to the father and the son.

Hated by all.

Syang-yang distressed.

In May Hû-pi-lay exempted the people of Se-chwen for a season from tribute; and at the same time ordered general Say-tyen-che to plunder that part of the province which was still subject to the Song. Say-tyen executed his commission with rigour, and almost ruined the district of Kya-ting-fû. The troops who were before Syang-yang and Fan-ching, resolving to take these two cities by famine, general Chang-hong-fang made new entrenchments on the mountain Van. In June, a fleet of the Song, with a hundred thousand men aboard, and provisions for the besieged, appeared before Lû-men; but Achû, who commanded in the place, dispersed them, and took a great many barks, with all sorts of arms and other valuable booty.

A.D. 1272. Syang-yang, though greatly distressed by the besiegers, made a desperate resistance both by land and water. Among the general officers who commanded at the siege, was an Igûr lord, named Ali Yaya, who had a great knowlege of the western countries, and their manner of making war. He advised the emperor to send for several of those engineers out of the West, who knew how to throw stones a hundred and fifty pounds weight, which made holes seven or eight feet wide in the thickest walls; and with these, he said, Syang-yang and Fan-ching would soon be taken. Hû-pi-lay, adopting the proposal, ordered two of these engineers to be sent for; who, after having given a specimen of their art before the emperor at Ta-tû, were sent to the army towards the end of the year 1272.

[r] Gaubil, p. 148, & seq.

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The river Han runs between Syang-yang and Fan-ching, in which laſt place Fan-ſhun and Nyew-fû commanded at the beginning of the year 1273. The two engineers, Alawating and Iſemayn, planted their machines, which immediately made a breach in the walls. Hereupon the Mungls, now diſtinguiſhed by the name of Ywen, under Ali Yaya, made an aſſault, and after a bloody conflict, the ſuburbs of Fan-ching were taken. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, She-tyen-che ordered Achâ to attack the bridge, which joined that city to Syang-yang. Achû conducted the troops with hatchets and ſcythes to cut the wood and poſts; while Ali Yaya cauſed ſtones to be diſcharged againſt thoſe who oppoſed that general. Other officers were commanded to cut the faſtenings and ſtakes, and take away the croſſes which ſupported the chains. This ſervice being performed, they burnt the bridge of barks. A great detachment was then poſted along the Han to hinder any ſuccours from getting to Syang-yang by water. Theſe precautions having been taken, the greater part of the army attacked Fan-ching on all ſides, and made themſelves maſters of the walls and gates. Fan-tyen-ſhun ſeeing the city taken, ſlew himſelf; ſaying, that he had lived and would die a ſubject to the Song. Nyew-fû, at the head of a hundred ſoldiers, reſolved to fight from ſtreet to ſtreet, and ſlew a great number of the Ywen. Both parties were ſo overcome with thirſt, that they drank human blood to quench it. Nyew-fû, full of rage and deſpair, ſet fire to the houſes, that the great beams falling might kill his purſuers, and block up the way. At length, pierced with ſeveral wounds, he ran his head againſt a pillar, and threw himſelf into the flames, where he expired. His officers and ſoldiers followed his example. Thus the Mungls became maſters of Fan-ching, in January, where moſt of the general officers diſtinguiſhed themſelves, though their loſs of ſubalterns and ſoldiers was conſiderable[s].

A.D. 1273.

Fan ching battered with engines, and taken.

After the reduction of Fan-ching, all the materials which ſerved at the ſiege were brought before Syang-yang. The two engineers poſted themſelves to the ſouth-eaſt of the city, againſt a wooden entrenchment, which was raiſed upon the ramparts. This was quickly demoliſhed by the great ſtones which they launched againſt it; while the noiſe and havock which they made ſtruck terror into

Syang yang is battered, and ſurrenders.

[s] Gaubil, p. 154, & ſeqq.

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the hearts of the beſieged (I). The garriſon had, from the walls, obſerved part of what paſſed at Fan-ching, which much damped their courage. Lyew-ching having, in an aſſault, received a wound with an arrow, ſhot by Lu-ven-whang, to be revenged, aſked leave of Ali Yaya to go and attack him; bût Ali Yaya, inſtead of permitting him, went himſelf to the foot of the wall, and offered Ven-whang honourable conditions, which were accepted of, and his requeſt granted, that he might be of the van-guard when they went to attack Gan-lo. Poſſeſſion was given to Achû in February; upon which She-tyen-che ſent Ali Yaya to court, where he was received with marks of diſtinction, and publicly commended, with the other generals, by Hû-pi-lay, who ratified all which he had promiſed to Ven-whang. This general, who followed Ali Yaya to Ta-tû, had alſo the honour to ſalute the emperor, and both were ſent back to the army with new inſtructions.

The emperor, Hû-pi-lay, being informed that ſeveral princes of his family were forming plots in Tatary, ſeemed inclined to make peace with the Song; but Ali Yaya, Lyew-ching, and others, having ſhewn how eaſy it would be to carry on the war with ſucceſs, now Syang-yang and Fan-ching were taken, that prince reſolved to continue it. She-tyen-che, on account of his infirmities, obtained leave to lay down his poſt of generaliſſimo, and propoſed Gan-tong to ſucceed him. Yau-ſhu followed his example, and
A.D. 1274. the emperor appointed Pe-yen, whom he ordered to go, without delay, and put himſelf at the head of the army; complaining that the Song had impriſoned his envoy, and infringed the treaty concluded with Kya-tſe-tau. At the ſame time the generals Polo-whan and Lyew-ching, were commanded to march to Yang-chew, in Kyang-nan.

Pe-yen made general.

(I) Marco Polo, cap. 48. ſpeaking of the ſiege of this place, which he calls Sian-fu, ſays, that he, with his father and uncle, offered their ſervice for making engines after the European manner, for caſting ſtones three hundred pounds weight; in which they employed Neſtorians, who made three mangani, as he calls them. And that the firſt ſtone, falling on a houſe, ſo demoliſhed it, that the inhabitants immediately capitulated. This agrees with the Chineſe hiſtory; but this latter declares poſitively, that the engineers were Whey-hu, or Mohammedans; but our author Gaubil thinks it might eaſily have miſtaken them for Chriſtians.

Pe-yen

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Pe-yen was ſaluted great general near Syang-yang, by the officers, who were charmed with the manner in which he took poſſeſſion of his new dignity. Lu-ven-whang being appointed to command the troops, the army marched toward Gan-lo; and in October encamped to the weſt of this place, which is ſeparated from Sin-in by the Han. They had ſtretched iron chains acroſs the river, and obſtructed it with great barks faſtened together. They had likewiſe driven ſharp ſtakes into the bottom of the channel. The walls of Gan-lo were of ſtone, and the ciey was furniſhed with all ſorts of neceſſaries: beſides, it had a ſtrong garriſon, and Chang-chi-kyay was intrenched in the neighbourhood with a fine army. Notwithſtanding the apparent ſtrength of the place, moſt of the generals were for attacking both it and the Song forces; but Pe-yen holding a council of war, and examining the priſoners whom Achû had made, reſolved to go another way to work. He cauſed a great quantity of wood and bambû canes to be cut down, and then ordered the general Liting to attack the poſt of Whan-kya-wan. This poſt being carried, Pe-yen made uſe of his wood and bambûs to tranſport the barks into the lake Teng, from whence they entered the Han before Gan-lo [t]. *Encamps near Gan-lo.*

One of the principal officers of the garriſon having, at the head of two thouſand men, retired to Tſven-tſe-hû, was defeated after a brave defence, and killed by Pe-yen himſelf. Afterwards the general marched to Sha-yang, and taking advantage of a high wind which aroſe in the evening, by means of his kin-ſhi-pau (K), burnt the houſes, and took the city. They next beſieged Sin-ching, oppoſite to Gan-lo; from whence Pyen-ku ſallying on horſeback, ſhot arrows on every ſide, with which he wounded Luven-wang, and having unhorſed, obliged him to retire. Ven-whang renewed the attack with freſh men; but Pyen-ku, with his fire-arms (L), made him give way a ſecond time. However, that commander having ordered all his ſoldiers to the aſſault, they, by climbing on one another's ſhoulders, mounted the walls, and took the city on the ſecond of December. Pyen-ku, after a brave reſiſtance, run a *Takes Sin-ching.*

[t] Gaubil, p. 156, & ſeqq.

(K) Gaubil knows not the nature of this compoſition; the words literally ſignify *melted metal pau.*

(L) It is not ſaid what theſe fire-arms were. Gaubil.

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sword into his own body, and being half-dead, threw himself into the fire. Three thousand men, whom he commanded, fought desperately, and all died with their arms in their hands.

and Shaw-kew;

Pe-yen, in 1274, assembled the generals at Tsay-tyen, some leagues to the west of Han-kew, where the Han enters the great Kyang, to consult on the manner and time of passing that river, the banks of which the Song had fortified. For this purpose he prepared a great number of barks, in which a strong detachment, under the command of Achû, crossed the river, near the isle of Shachew, after having defeated a body of the enemy. Having fortified himself, and sent advice of his landing to Pe-yen, that general ordered the greater part of his army to join Ali Yaya, and follow his directions for attacking Yang-lo-pû; where Wang-ta, after defending himself valiantly at the head of eight thousand men, was slain. As soon as this place was taken, Pe-yen, without delay, crossed the Kyang with all his army; and the city of Han-yang surrendered to the Ywen.

A.D. 1275.

Vû-chang-fû surrenders, with other cities.

Pe-yen having joined Achû, the siege of Vû-chang-fû was resolved on; in order to have a retreat on the Kyang, in case of any misfortune. This city was immediately surrendered, notwithstanding the strong remonstrances of two officers, whom the Mungls would have killed; but Pe-yen praised their fidelity, and forbad his troops to put any body to death. This general, by his address, gained the people to his interest; and knew how to profit by the discontent which reigned among several of the Song officers. Lu-ven-whang seduced many lords of his family, who commanded along the Kyang: so that the cities of Kichew, Whang-chew-fû, and others, were taken, without striking a stroke [a].

Peace proposed.

Kya-tse-tau, the Song minister, having equipped a numerous fleet, and assembled a hundred and thirty thousand men, entered the Kyang by Si-gan-chi-kew. He posted himself at U-hû; and, in February, he was joined by the fleet of Hya-quey. He then sent to Pe-yen a Mungl prisoner, with a grand present of fruits; and was not ashamed to propose peace to him, upon the terms concluded with Hû-pi-lay. Achû, at the time of that treaty, had been with his father Hu-lyang-ho-tay at the siege of Chang-sha; and, having been witness of Kya-tse-tau's

[a] Gaubil. p. 159. & seq.

knavery,

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knavery, explained his character to Pe-yen, who ſent Nankyatay, a Naymân lord, of great deſcent, to that miniſter, with orders to reproach him for his unjuſt dealing: and to tell him, "that, for the honour of his maſter, he ought to have ſpoken of peace ſooner; but that now the time was paſt." *Pe-yen's anſwer.*

Pe-yen having inveſted and taken Chi-chew, a few leagues to the eaſtward of Gan-king, reſolved to attack the forces of the Song, which were poſted in different parts on the river. Kya-tſe-tau had his quarters at Lûhyang: ſeventy thouſand men lay at Ting-kya-chew, under the command of Sû-hû-ching; and Hya-quey had two thouſand five hundred barks ſtationed in the middle of the river. *takes Chi-chew;*

The Ywen general, having cauſed great heaps of graſs and ſtraw to be fixed upon rafts, ſpread a report, that he intended to burn the enemy's barks. He then ordered his own to get ready for battle; while the horſe and foot marched along both ſides of the Kyang. The Song commanders were day and night on their guard, although their ſoldiers had no inclination to fight. At length Pe-yen ordered a great ſtone to be ſhot from his pau, againſt the body commanded by Hû-cheng; as a ſignal for putting the troops in motion. Achû, who encamped oppoſite to Hû-cheng, following the ſtream, advanced to attack his van-guard. Kyang-tſay, Hû-cheng's lieutenant, made a ſhew as if he intended to ſtand the ſhock: but the troops, ſeeing their general on board his concubine's bark, cried out, that he had taken to flight. Theſe cries produced confuſion. Achû took advantage of this diſorder, and fell upon the Song troops; who were put to a general rout: while Achû, ſupported by Pe-yen, with all his forces, made a horrid ſlaughter. Great numbers of the enemy were drowned; and the Ywen got an ineſtimable booty. *defeats the Chineſe.*

After this defeat, Kya-tſe-tau retired in haſte; and ſoon after, Hya-quey joined him. Many of thoſe who fled from the battle repaired to Yang-chew, and ſpoke openly againſt Kya-tſe-tau; and indeed Pe-yen owed his great ſucceſs as much to the bad conduct of the Song generals, as to his own valour and prudence. The conſternation became almoſt univerſal through Che-kyang and Kyang-nan: ſo that the governors of Ching-kyang, Ning-que, and Ho-chew, in the laſt of thoſe provinces, and even of Nan-chang-fû, capital of Kyang-ſi, abandoned theſe cities; and the Ywen took Tau-chew in the ſame province, ſeveral *Affairs deſperate.*

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ral of whose Mandarins slew themselves, rather than surrender [w].

The minister removed.

The principal officer of Kyen-kang (now Nan-king), in Kyang-nan, took what gold and silks he could find, with abundance of silver, and abandoned that city: for a great number of mandarins were weary of Kya-tse-tau's government, and chose rather to see the state perish, than obey that minister. The empress, who had the title of the Song monarch's grandmother, and regent of the empire, took the management of affairs from that minister; and published an edict to exhort the mandarins to do their duty. She likewise caused writings to be posted up throughout the empire; wherein she invited the grandees, officers, and persons of fortune, to succour the state in such deplorable circumstances. Chang-shi-kyay, always faithful to his prince, retook Jau-chew in Kyang-si; Ven-tyen-syang sold his effects to levy troops. Others made great efforts likewise: but Pe-yen, by his activity and policy, disconcerted the most prudent measures of the loyal Song.

Pe-yen's humanity.

In March, this general, having taken Nan-king, relieved the distresses of the poor, sent physicians into the towns and villages afflicted with contagious diseases, forbad pillage on pain of death, and did friendly offices to every individual: in short, he made himself respected and admired, as well for his sincerity, as for his disregard of pleasures and wealth.

Complaints of the Yuen.

Hû-pi-lay having renewed his complaints against the Song ministers, for the detention of Hau-king, the court caused that lord to be enlarged. On his return to Takû he fell sick; and although the emperor sent physicians to cure him, yet he died as soon as he arrived at that city. Another ground of complaint quickly followed: Lyen-hi-kyen, brother of Lyen-hi-hyen, president of the tribunal of ceremonies at Ta-tû, being transferred to Nan-king, Pe-yen sent him a guard of five hundred soldiers. At a fort near Hang-chew-fû, capital of Che-kyang and the Song empire, the garrison seized, wounded, and sent him to that city, where he died of his bruises. An officer likewise of the tribunal of public works, in his retinue, was slain. This affair made a great noise. The Song ministers immediately dispatched a messenger, to assure Pe-yen that neither the empress regent, nor the emperor, knew any thing of the matter; and that they would, without delay, make the necessary inquiries to discover and punish

[w] Gaubil. p. 162. & seq.

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the authors of that crime: they intreated Pe-yen, at the ſame time, to make peace on the conditions which they propoſed.

Ali Haya's exploits.

After Vû-chang-fû was taken, Pe-yen left the government of that city, and its diſtrict, to Ali Haya, with forty thouſand men, including the two weſtern engineers. This general made himſelf no leſs popular than Pe-yen: he knew how to gain the hearts of the Chineſe, as well as of the troops, who had a great eſteem for him. Ali Haya took the field, and attacked the naval force of Kau-ſhi-kyay in Tong-ting Hû, a famous lake of Hû-quang; which he defeated after a bloody fight, and ſlew the admiral with his own hand. After this victory, he preſented himſelf before Yo-chew, on the banks of this lake, and reduced it: he obliged King-chew, Gan-lo, and other places, to ſurrender; and, in ſeveral rencounters, defeated general Kau-ta, an officer of reputation, who afterwards went over to the Ywen.

Affairs of Tartary.

She-tyen-che died at Ching-ting-fû, in Pe-che-li, on his return from Hû-quang, in the beginning of the year. This general had always commanded great armies with reputation ſince the time of Jenghîz Khân. Before he died, he intreated Hû-pi-lay to forbid ſlaughter after he had paſſed the Ky-ang. At this period, the emperor beſtowed the government of Al-mâlig on his ſon Nanmûhân, under whom Gan-tong had command of the troops. Hû-pi-lay thought it convenient to oppoſe a prince of the blood, and a good general, to prince Hay-tû, who made incurſions over all Tartary [x].

Hay-tû in arms.

The officers of Hay-tû viſited all the tribes to make friends, and the prince himſelf excited his whole family againſt the emperor: however, it does not appear from the hiſtory, what were either his complaints or pretenſions. Whatever they were, he, in the courſe of this year, appeared with prince Tûa, at the head of a hundred thouſand men, in the country of Igûr, and beſieged Itûhû or Idikut, in his capital; becauſe he refuſed to become their ally, and renounce the party of Hû-pi-lay. However, he defended himſelf valiantly till ſuccours arrived; and then forced the princes to raiſe the ſiege. He afterwards went to court, where the emperor loaded him with riches and honours. Idikut was grandſon and heir of Idikut, who ſubmitted to Jenghîz Khân, and had married a daughter of the emperor Quey-yew or Kayuk.

[x] Gaubil. p. 165. & ſeqq.

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Pe-yen marches towards the capital.

This war, which threatened Tartary, induced Hû-pi-lay to recall Pe-yen, to command in the north: but, at that general's intreaty to continue the war in the south, the emperor complied, and ordered him to march immediately towards Ling-gan or Hang-chew-fû, the capital of the Song empire.

Chang-chew-fû taken.

Pe-yen paſſed the Kyang with his army, where he met with a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance; but his courage and activity ſurmounted all difficulties. He raiſed a rampart of earth, that he might be able to command the walls of the city. From hence he laid planks to the battlements; and giving the aſſault, was himſelf among the firſt who entered the city. Yau-in, one of the officers who commanded in the city, was killed at the beginning of the attack. Cheng-chau and Wang-gan-tſye ſtill defended themſelves in the great ſquare. It was propoſed to Cheng-chau, the fourth commanding officer, to eſcape through the north-eaſt gate, which was ſtill open; but he anſwered, "Any other place, though but an inch from hence, will not be fit for me to die in." He was killed about noon; and Pe-yen cauſed the inhabitants to be put to the ſword. He ordered Wang-gan-tſye to be bound, and then to kneel; but he preferred death to ſubmiſſion. Lyew-ſhi-yong, with ſome horſe, forced an intrenchment, and eſcaped toward Sû-chew-fû.

Peace ſued for.

Chi-ni-chong, principal miniſter of the Song, in December, ſent Lyew-yo to Vû-ſi-hyen, a city of Kyang-nan, near Chang-chew-fû, to aſſure Pe-yen, that the aſſaſſination of Lyen-hi-kyen was committed unknown to his court; and, at the ſame time, ſolicited peace. Lyew-yo affirmed that all the miſchief was owing to Kya-tſe-tau, who had violated the public faith, and betrayed the empire (M): he added, weeping, that the emperor his maſter was ſtill in mourning, and in an age not fit to govern. Pe-yen reproached Lyew-yo with the many treacheries acted by his miniſters; the murders perpetrated on the perſons of the envoys, even of Hû-pi-lay; and the unfair dealing with regard to the conditions which had been agreed to: "As to the minority of your prince, you ought to conſider, ſaid Pe-yen to Lyew-yo, that formerly your dynaſty wreſted

Pe-yen's anſwer.

(M) On the diſplacing of this miniſter, his effects were confiſcated, and he retired to Chang-chew-fû (a city of Fo-kyen); where, on his arrival, he was ſlain by a mandarin, who could not bear to ſee the man enjoy life who had ruined the empire by his wickedneſs. Gaubil.

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the empire from a prince who was nearly of the ſame age: at preſent, Heaven takes the empire from an infant to give it my maſter. There is nothing in this which is contrary to reaſon." Having expreſſed himſelf in this manner, he ſent back Lyew-yo, and ordered Nan-kya-tay to follow him.

Pe-yen, preceded by Lu ven-whang, made his public entry into Sû-chew (then called Ping-kyang); there he received an expreſs from Chi-ni-chong, wherein the Song emperor offered to be called nephew, or grand nephew, of Hû-pi-lay, and pay him tribute: but every propoſal was rejected by Pe-yen; who, being joined by Argan, and ſome other generals, prepared to make himſelf maſter of Lin-gan, without delay.

Mean while Ali Haya puſhed the ſiege of Chang-ſha vi- A.D. 1276.
gorouſly. He cauſed the ditches to be drained; and, after having made ſeveral breaches in the walls, ordered an aſſault to be given in January, 1276. As the garriſon had ſuffered extremely, and were not able to ſuſtain this laſt attack, the officers talked of ſurrendering: but Li-fû oppoſed that motion; and declared he would kill thoſe who ſhould converſe in ſuch a ſtrain. A mandarin of Heng-chew, then in the city, ordered the cap of ceremony to be put on the heads of his two young ſons, and made them perform the ceremony of ſalutation to thoſe who were preſent: after which, he and his two ſons, with his domeſtics, threw themſelves into the fire, and periſhed. Li-fû made a libation for them; ordered all the mandarins to repeat the oath of fidelity to their ſovereign; and to ſwear they would not ſurrender. One of the moſt conſiderable began, by drowning himſelf in a pond. Li-fû then ſent for Shen-chong, one of his officers, and ſaid to him, "I have no ſtrength; I muſt die; I would not have the people of my family diſhonour me by ſlavery; after you have ſlain them all, kill me." Shen-chong fell on his knees, and proteſted he could not undertake ſuch a taſk: but Li-fû importuned him ſo much, that at length he conſented. He ſlew all Li-ſû's domeſtics, after he had intoxicated them; then diſpatched Li-fû himſelf, and, having ſet fire to the houſe, returned to his own; where he firſt murdered his wife and children, then killed himſelf. All the mandarins of the city, and moſt of the inhabitants, followed their example; and the very wells were filled with the bodies of thoſe who threw themſelves in, to periſh: ſo that Ali Haya, entering the city, was aſtoniſhed to find it without any people. Moſt of the other cities of

Great magnanimity of the Chineſe.

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that part of Hû-quang, called Hû-nan, ſubmitted to the Ywen [y].

The empreſs ſubmits to Pe-yen.

The empreſs regent of the Song, finding that Pe-yen would not grant peace, on condition that the emperor ſhould be called grand nephew of Hû-pi-lay, offered that he ſhould be ſtyled ſubject, with a yearly tribute of twenty-five van in ſilver, and as much in ſilk. This ſtep was taken without the knowlege and againſt the advice of the miniſter Che-ni-chong, who adviſed the court to remove elſewhere: but the empreſs would not conſent to it; and, in reſentment, caſt the ornaments of her head on the ground, reproached the great men for having deceived her; ſhut the palace gates, and forbad any ſuch propoſals to be made to her. Che-ni-chong had promiſed Pe-yen to come to confer with him; but did not keep his word. That general, reſolving not to be duped, went and encamped on the mountain Kau-ting; from whence he ordered ſome troops of horſe to advance as far as the north ſuburbs of Lin-gan (or Hang-chew-fû). Ven-tyen-ſyang and Chang-ſhi-kyay propoſed, that the empreſſes, emperor, princes, and the miniſters, ſhould embark and put to ſea; while they two, and the officers who were willing to follow them, attacked the Mungls: but the prime miniſter rejected that meaſure. At length, the empreſs-grandmother ſent the great ſeal of the empire to Pe-yen, in token of ſubmiſſion; and that general diſpatched Nan-kya-tay with it to Hû-pi-lay. As Che-ni-chong did not approve of this ſtep, he immediately left the court, and retired to Wen-chew-fû.

Shi-kyay propoſes peace.

Chang-ſhi-kyay, not able to bear this ſhameful act of ſubmiſſion without fighting, retired with a body of troops, and encamped at Ting-hay. Pe-yen ſent Pyen-pyau, an officer of reputation, to exhort him to ſurrender. Shi-kyay imagined at firſt, that Pyen-pyau's deſign was to purſue him; but when he underſtood the real motive of his arrival, he ordered his tongue to be cut out, and his body to be hacked to pieces. The general Lyew-ſhi-yong, who had ſo bravely defended Chang-chew-fû, went out to ſea, and drank himſelf to death. Mean time Ven-tyen-ſyang, and the miniſter U-kyen waited on Pe-yen; and, with a view to repair the honour of the empire, which had been impaired by former negociations, ſpoke in the following terms: "If the empire of the North would withdraw its army, and make peace with our's as a neighbour; then

[y] Gaubil. p. 170, & ſeq.

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we might talk of money and ſilks to give your troops: but in caſe you intend to deſtroy the dynaſty of the Song, conſider that we have ſtill large and powerful countries, ſtrong cities, ſhips, money, and troops; and you know there is no inſuring the events of war."

Pe-yen, charmed with the great qualities of Ven-tyen-ſyang, whoſe character he was acquainted with before by report, ſent back U-kyen, and detained him, under pretence of conferring with him about important affairs; and ordered the generals Mangû-tas and Sû-tû to ſhew him all ſorts of civilities. Ven-tyen-ſyang boldly reproached the deſerting lords of the Song with their perfidy and cowardice: he even told Pe-yen, that it was unjuſt to detain the envoy of a crowned head. When Luven-whang adviſed him to talk in a more moderate ſtrain, that illuſtrious mandarin expatiated upon his ingratitude to the imperial family of the Song, from whom he had received ſo many benefits and honours. Pe-yen afterwards ſent an officer to Hû-pi-lay, and put Ven-tyen-ſyang in his train. *Detained by Pe-yen,*

In February, Pe-yen appointed Tatar and Chineſe lords to govern the city of Lin-gan. By his orders they took and ſealed up the books, the regiſters, the maps, the hiſtorical records, the paintings, the edicts, and the ſeals of all the tribunals. He ſent two great lords to guard the palace of the empreſs grandmother: they behaved to her with the greateſt reſpect; ſo that the Chineſe themſelves, in all their diſtreſs, admired the excellent regulations which Pe-yen cauſed to be obſerved. The Song emperor had two half-brothers: theſe young princes were carried away; and, after they had been concealed for ſeven days upon a mountain, were conveyed by a mandarin to Wen-chew-fû. In the courſe of this month, Hya-quey, who for a long time was inclined to ſubmit to the Ywen, joined them; and delivered into their hands the ſtrong city of Lin-chew in Kyang-nan. *who enters Lin-gan.*

In March, Pe-yen, on horſeback, followed by all the general officers, and with the ſtandard of the great general carried before him, left Hû-chew-fû, and came to Lin-gan; where he viſited all parts of the city, and had the curioſity to view the flux and reflux of the river Che. The emperor and empreſs deſired to ſee him; but he excuſed himſelf, by giving them to underſtand that he was not thoroughly acquainted with the ceremonial proper to be obſerved on ſuch an occaſion. Next day he left Lin-gan. In May, the generals Atahay and Li-ting entered the impe- *Emperor and empreſs ſent to Ta tû.*

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rial palace, and cauſed the ceremonies to ceaſe, which were uſed in appearing before the emperor. They then, ſaluting the emperor, and the empreſs his mother, acquainted them, that they were to ſet out for the court of the emperor Hû-pi-lay. The princeſs, at this meſſage, could not refrain from tears; and embracing the emperor her ſon, ſaid, "My ſon, the Son of Heaven grants you life, you muſt beat the head to him." The young prince, at theſe words, turned his face towards the north; and, falling on his knees, along with his mother (N), they both ſaluted the emperor Hû-pi-lay, by ſtriking the ground nine times with their heads. This ceremony being performed, they were both put in a chariot, and ſent to Ta-tû [z].

Immenſe treaſures.

This was a ſad ſpectacle for all the faithful ſubjects of the Song race. Su-ing-pyau, one of the greateſt lords of the court, not being able to ſurvive the misfortune of his prince, threw himſelf, with his two ſons and one daughter, into a well. The empreſs grandmother was ſuffered to remain in her palace till ſhe recovered from her illneſs. Pe-yen gave orders to take the gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, jewels, and other coſtly things of the imperial palace, and ſend them by ſea to Tyen-tſin-wey; from whence thoſe immenſe treaſures were conveyed to Ta-tû. Pe-yen, having received an expreſs order to repair to court, left the generals Argan and Tong-wen-ping to command the army which was in the neighbourhood of Lin-gan (O).

Emperor arrives at Shang-tû.

Li-ting-chi, Kyang-tſay, and other Song officers, ſhed torrents of tears when they heard that the emperor was carried priſoner to Ta-tû: they aſſembled in great numbers at Yang-chew-fû, and ſwore to do their utmoſt to reſcue their prince out of the hands of the Ywen. Purſuant to this reſolution they wrote circular letters; and, having

[z] Gaubil, p. 173, & ſeq.

(N) The captive emperor, named Kong-ti, or Kong-tſong, was then near ſeven years of age: the empreſs, grandmother was the wife of Li-tſong, his grandfather; the grandmother of Kong-tſong and of Tû-tſong was alſo conveyed to Ta-tû, or Pe-king, along with other princes of the imperial family. Gaubil.

(O) Lin-gan is the ſame city which M. Polo calls Quinſay; which is a corruption of King-tſe, or King-ſhe, the name which the Chineſe often give the place where the emperor keeps his court. In 1237, above five hundred and thirty thouſand houſes were burnt by a fire: the great number of barks, filled with people, which are continually in its port, ſhews how populous it is. Gaubil.

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diſtributed their money to the moſt reſolute ſoldiers, aſſembled an army of forty thouſand men. This army, under the command of Kyang-tſay, attacked the city of Qua-chew, where the emperor had arrived. The Ywen troops, conducted by Atahay, Li-ting, and other generals, engaged the Song for three hours together, and repulſed them. Kyang-tſay, who fought continually as he retreated, was ſurrounded by Achû, come from the reduction of Whay-gan-fû, who ſummoned him in vain to ſubmit. The inhabitants of Cheng-chew-fu attempted alſo, without ſucceſs, to deliver the emperor Kong-tſong; who at length in May, arrived at Shang-tû (P). Hû-pi-lay ſent the prime miniſter to meet him; and the princeſs of Hongkila, empreſs and firſt wife of the Mungl monarch, ordered a lord to furniſh the mother of Kong-tſong with every thing ſuitable to her rank: the Chineſe highly commend the virtue and moderation of this empreſs. When the treaſures from Lin-gan arrived at court, the princes and princeſſes beheld them with raptures of joy; but the empreſs did nothing but weep: "My lord (ſaid ſhe to Hû-pi-lay), the dynaſties are not eternal: by what you ſee has happened to that of the Song, judge what will happen to our's."

Twon-tſong in the end.

The retreat of the princes to Wen-chew-fu drew thither a great number of mandarins, officers of the army, and ſoldiers. Chang-ſhi-kyay repaired to that place with the body of troops which he commanded; and there was the miniſter Chi-ni-chong, by whom I-vang, brother of Kong-tſong, was declared great general of the empire, aſſociating with him his brother Quang-vang. Among the ruins of an old temple in that city, is ſeen the place where formerly Kau-tſong ſat on his throne when he quitted the north to paſs into the ſouth. On his throne I-vang being placed, the grandees kneeled, and took an oath of fidelity, not without ſhedding tears. After this ceremony they removed into Fo-kyen, and in May, I-vang was acknowleged emperor of the Song at Fu-chew-fu, capital of that province. He was then nine years of age, and aſſumed the title of Twon-tſong. He appointed his generals, as well as miniſters; and had it not been for traitors and cowardly ſubjects, the Mungls muſt of neceſſity have been obliged to repaſs the Great Kyang. Ven-tyen-ſyang eſcaped on the road, and, after many dangers, had the good fortune

(P) The new capital of Tartary, often mentioned before, whither the court was removed from Karakorom.

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to reach Fo-kyen, where he was received with great demonſtrations of joy, and unanimouſly declared generaliſſimo of the troops.

Pe-yen recalled.

Pe-yen was not without his enemies at court, who accuſed him of having demeaned himſelf too effeminately; but he had alſo his friends, who defended his conduct. Hû-pi-lay ſent all the great mandarins to meet him in the ſuburbs of Shang-tu, or Kay-ping-fu, from whence they conducted him to an audience of the emperor. This prince received him graciouſly, and appointed him his lieutenant-general in Tartary. He likewiſe did great honours to the generals Atahay and Li-ting, which latter was allowed to follow Pe-yen [a].

The cities of Yang-chew-fu and Tay-chew-fu were taken about this time, by Achû, who, ſoon after theſe conqueſts, was recalled to court, and became one of the miniſtry.

The army of general Argan, after reducing the places to the ſouth of Che-kyang, entered Fo-kyen, which being filled with traitors, great part of the cities ſurrendered without reſiſtance. This circumſtance obliged the emperor to put to ſea; who narrowly eſcaped being taken at Tſven-chew-fu, by the treachery of the governor. Chang-ſhi-kyay having preſſed for the emperor's ſervice ſeveral barks and ſhips, which that covetous mandarin employed in trade, he, to be revenged, ſurrendered that city to the Mungls. The emperor Twon-tſong arrived in November at Whey-chew with his fleet, in which, it is ſaid, were embarked a hundred and eighty thouſand men. Mean time Lu-ſhi-quey croſſed the famous mountain of Mey-lin, and entered the province of Quang-tong, where he made great conqueſts. The general Ali Haya put to the ſword all the inhabitants of Quey-lin-fu, which he took after a long ſiege, wherein he loſt a great number of men.

In 1277 Chang-ſhi-kyay levied forces in Fo-kyen, and ſupported the party of the emperor Twon-tſong. He beſieged Tſven-chew-fû in that province, but it was raiſed by Sû-tû; who, pretending that the Chineſe were not to be truſted, made a great ſlaughter wherever he came; he in particular put to the ſword the inhabitants of the cities Hing-wha-fu and Chang-chew-fu. Ven-tyen-fyang had a conſiderable number of troops in Kyang-ſi, but could never join a powerful army which Tſew-fong, a great mandarin, had raiſed, and the forces of both were new levies,

[a] Gaubil, p. 176, & ſeq.

and

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and undisciplined. In August general Li-heng sent troops to Kanchew, hindered his junction with Tsew-fong, and defeated their armies in several engagements; so that Ven-tyen-syang was obliged to retire, after his wife and two sons had been taken prisoners, and sent to Ta-tû. Chau-shi-shang, one of the imperial family of the Song, with others, were carried to Nan-chang-fû, capital of Kyang-si; where, encouraged by Shi-shang, they chose rather to be slain than kneel to the Mungls.

In November Ta-chû took the city of Quang-chew-fû (Q), in Quang-tong; and, in December, the ship in which the emperor Twon-tsong had embarked, was in danger, near the isles of Ma-kau, of being cast away in a squall of wind. The prince fell into the water, and was taken out again half dead with the fright. A great part of his troops perished. He had retired from Fo-kyen in 1276, first to Whey-chew-fû in Quang-tong; from whence he sent an officer to acquaint Sûtû, that he was willing to submit to Hû-pi-lay. That general sent the same officer to Ta-tû; but no mention is made with what success the negociation was attended. From Whey-chew-fû Twan-tsong retired to Chau-chew-fû, a city and port in the eastern part of the province, and there took shipping in order to get to the kingdom of Chen-chen (R). The minister, Che-ni-chong, went before, but he never returned, nor was he ever heard of after.

Hû-pi-lay this year appointed bonzas of the sect of Tau and Fo, to govern the bonzas of their respective sects, who were in Kyang-nan, and other southern provinces. He likewise ordered general Sey-ten, an Arab, to follow the army, which was ordered to march from Yun-nan into the kingdom of Myen, or Pegû [b]. *The bonzas regulated.*

We have already taken notice that the prince Siliki, son of the late emperor Meng-ko, first joined the party of Alipuko, and afterwards submitted. He was afterwards corrupted by prince Haytû, and, with the princes his allies, in the course of this year (1277) defeated the troops of Hû-pi-lay in the country of Olimali, or Almalig, and took the prince Nanmû-han, son of the emperor, and general Gan-tong. After these great advantages, Siliki marched *Revolts in Tartary.*

[b] Gaubil, p. 179, & seq.

(Q) The capital of Quang-tong, called by the Europeans Kan-ton.

(R) The part of Tong-king, opposite the isle of Hay-nan on the south of China, is, in the Chinese books, often called Chen-chen.

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towards the east with a powerful army, and had already arrived to the north of the city Holin, or Karakorom, when Pe-yen, who had been for some time in Tartary, advanced to meet the enemy, giving the command of great detachments to the generals Li-ting and Tû-tû-ha. Siliki, on the news of Pe-yen's march, decamped from the neighbourhood of Karakorom, and crossed the Orgûn, near which he entrenched himself. Pe-yen followed, and having encamped near the same river, seized all the avenues by which provisions could be brought to Siliki's camp.

Suppressed by Pe-yen. This prince, seeing himself in danger of perishing with his whole army, was obliged to come to a battle, in which he was taken and killed by Li-ting, in the month of July. The prince Totomûr fled towards the Tula, and entrenched himself between the sources of that river and the Onon; but Tû-tû-ha, being detached by Pe-yen, overtook and entirely defeated him. At the same time Li-ting marched westward, and having passed the river Tamir, which falls into the Orgûn, defeated the remains of Siliki's army, and several bodies commanded by the officers of the princes Hay-tu and Tûa. The emperor, to whom the revolt of those princes had given some uneasiness, was much rejoiced at the news of this great victory; which, for a time, disconcerted the measures several Mungl princes had taken with Hay-tu, who thought of nothing less than rendering Tartary entirely independent of Hû-pi-lay.

A.D. 1278. In January 1278, the Ywen completed the conquest of Se-chwen. Ven-tyen-syang, notwithstanding the losses he had received, took the field again, and in March reduced the city of Quang-chew Fû, or Kan-ton. Mean time the emperor, Twon-tsong, retired into a little desert isle, called Kang-chwen, where he died, aged eleven years. Several great men, after this event, entirely desponded, and quitted the army of the Song. Most of those who were about Twon-tsong, weary of such a long and unfortunate war, seeming inclined to acknowlege Hû-pi-lay, Lû-syew-fû said to them: "What shall we do with the third son of the emperor Tû-tsong, aged eight years, who is here with us? Anciently one Ching and one Lu(S) sufficed for one sovereign: there are still remaining in our possession vast countries, and millions of people: what is there wanting in us that may be necessary for the proclamation of a new emperor?" Hereupon, all agreeing to

Song emperor dies.

(S) Ching is the space of a league square; lu, the habitations of five hundred men. Gaubil.

proclaim

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proclaim Quang-vang, they cauſed this young prince to aſcend a riſing-ground, then fell on their knees, and acknowleged him emperor. Lû-ſyew-fû and Chang-ſhi-kyay were declared his two miniſters in April. This latter was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Ley-chew Fû, a ſtrong city, not far from Tong-king, which general Ali Haya cauſed to be well furniſhed with troops and proviſions. *Ti-ping proclaimed.*

In May the new emperor of the Song, known under the title of Ti-ping, retired to the mountain Yay-ſhan, near the city of Sin-whey-hyen (T), in Quang-tong. Yay-ſhan ſtands in the ſea, oppoſite to the mountain Ki-ſhi-ſhan. The flux and reflux of the current between theſe two mountains, makes the Chineſe compare them to a gate with folding-doors, which open and ſhut every moment. Chang-ſhi-kyay having choſen this mountain for the emperor's retreat, cauſed houſes to be built for the officers and ſoldiers, likewiſe a palace for Ti-ping and the princeſs his mother. Plenty of proviſion was brought from Quang-chew Fû, or Kan-ton; abundance of oars, arms, and arrows were made; ſhips and barks were equipped; in ſhort, the zeal and fidelity of that miniſter cannot be ſufficiently extolled. Reckoning the people, mandarins, and ſoldiers, the emperor had with him more than two hundred thouſand men. Great numbers of ſoldiers and ſailors marched from Hu-quang to join Chang-ſhi-kyay; but Ali Haya having ſent out large detachments to examine all paſſengers, great numbers were hindered from proceeding[c]. *Retires to an iſle.*

In Auguſt the mandarins performed the ceremonies for interring the late emperor Twon-tſong, on the mountain Yay-ſhan. Chang-hong-fan having been informed of what the Song miniſter was doing, repreſented to the emperor Hû-pi-lay, that it was neceſſary, as ſoon as poſſible, to ſubdue the province of Quang-tong. The Mungl monarch charged him with that important commiſſion, and making him a preſent of a ſword, adorned with precious ſtones, appointed him general of the army deſigned againſt the emperor Ti-ping. Hong-fan accordingly repaired to Yang-chew Fû, and there taking with him twenty thouſand choice men, in November arrived by ſea in the province of Quang-tong, where he ſurpriſed Ven-tyen-ſyang, in conjunction with two other generals, Tſew-ſong and Lyew-tſe-tſun. *The Song generals ſurpriſed and taken.*

[c] Gaubil, p. 182, & ſeqq.

(T) On the weſt ſide of the bay Kan-ton, about mid-way between that city and Ma-kau.

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The troops of these commanders gave way at the first onset, and the rout became general. Tsew-fong slew himself. Lyew-tse-tsun and Ven-tyen-syang were intimate friends, and each of them sought death in order to save the other's life. Lyew-tse-tsun being taken first, said he was Tyen-syang, in a belief that, on uttering those words, he should be killed; but instead of being slain, he was put into the hands of a guard. Tyen-syang was taken afterwards, and bound, to hinder him from poisoning himself. Hong-fan having ordered Lyew-tse-tsun to be put to death, Tyen-syang said he was the man; but the prisoners discovered the truth, and Lyew-tse-tsun was burnt alive by a slow fire. Tyen-syang being brought before the Mungl general, would not perform the reverence, in token of submission, although he was unbound for that purpose, but demanded to be slain: Hong-fan, however would not grant his request, but sent him prisoner to Ta-tû, and set at liberty his relations and friends who had been taken.

A D. 1279. After this victory Hong-fan sailed with his naval force, and on the 31st of January, 1279, came in sight of the mountain Yay-shan. He first caused this mountain to be examined, and then having informed himself concerning the tides, winds, and windings of the coasts, took measures with Li-heng for attacking Chang-shi-kyay to advantage; but this latter was before-hand with him; and on the 29th of March came in the night to attack the Ywen. However, he was repulsed. Hong-fan, to avoid confusion, divided his fleet into four squadrons, each distant from the other three or four hundred paces. Li-heng posted himself to the north of the Song fleet, which lay to the west of the mountain. On the third of April a thick fog covered that side of the mountain. Li-heng had orders to attack the enemy at the beginning of flood. When the tide came in, the instruments sounding, Li-heng bore down upon them on one side, while Chang-hong-fan advanced on the other. Chang-shi-kyay, though attacked on both sides, defended himself valiantly; but his troops being exhausted, gave way, and the Mungls having taken one great ship, several others struck.

Their fleet defeated.

The emperor drown-

In short, confusion seized the whole fleet of the Song; while Hong-fan and Li-heng, taking advantage of this disorder, routed them on all quarters. At sun-set, the wind and fogs beginning to arise, Shi-kyay cut his cables, and escaped with sixteen great ships. Lû-syew-fu, perceiving all was lost, first threw his wife and children into the sea; then,

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then, with a reſolute tone, ſaid to the young emperor, "Do not diſhonour your illuſtrious family, in following the example of your brother Kong-tſong. Die a ſovereign prince, rather than live a ſlave to a foreign nation." After he had ſpoken theſe words, he weeping, embraced Ti-ping; and, taking him on his ſhoulders, leaped with him into the ſea. Moſt of the mandarins followed this example [d].

Hong-fan took eight hundred barks. The Chineſe hiſtorians ſay that one hundred thouſand men were drowned. *with multitudes.* For ſeveral days the ſea was ſeen covered with dead bodies. Chang-ſhi-kyay diſcovered that of the emperor, and interred it with reſpect. He alſo recovered the imperial ſeal; and then joined the veſſel which had on board the princeſs, mother to Ti-ping. He found this lady in the greateſt grief, as well as danger; her ſhip being ſeparated from the reſt of the fleet. He firſt communicated to her the death of her ſon; and then exhorted her to think of inſtalling a new emperor of the family: but ſhe was ſo deeply affected by the melancholy news, that, without either ſpeaking one word, or ſhedding a ſingle tear, ſhe threw herſelf into the ſea. The ladies and maids of honour followed her example. Shi-kyay buried their bodies, with all the decency circumſtances would permit; and, with the remains of the fleet, ſailed to the coaſts of Tong-king, where he received conſiderable ſuccours. With theſe he put to ſea again for Kan-ton: but a violent ſtorm ariſing, the officers adviſed him to return into port. This advice he rejected; obſerving that ſome riſk muſt be run, in order, as ſoon as poſſible, to elevate an emperor of the Song family. However, the wind increaſing, and the tempeſt becoming more furious, Shi-kyay went upon deck; where, having invoked heaven, and burnt perfumes in honour of the Deity, he flung himſelf headlong into the ocean, near the mountain Hay-lin. After his death, all the officers and mandarins ſubmitted to the Ywens or Mungls; and the emperor Hû-pi-lay found himſelf peaceable maſter of the whole empire of China, which had been, for ſeveral ages, divided among many potentates.

Thus ended the dynaſty of the Song, whoſe family-name was Chau. The firſt emperor of this imperial houſe was Chau-quang-yu, deſcended from one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families of the empire, who made himſelf famous in the wars againſt the Kitân. He eſtabliſhed his *Song dynaſty extinct, in the year 1279.*

[d] Gaubil, p. 186, & ſeqq.

court

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court at Kay-fong-fû, capital of Honan, and nine of his ſucceſſors reigned there for the ſpace of one hundred and ſixty-eight years. The wars which they waged with the Kin emperors, obliged them to remove their court to Hang-chew Fû, capital of Che-kyang; where it remained one hundred and forty-eight years, under ſeven princes. The two laſt reigned near four years. So that, in the whole, the dynaſty of the Song continued three hundred and nineteen or three hundred and twenty years.

Pa-ſe-pa dies. Before we proceed to the next year, we ſhall mention the death of the famous lama Pa-ſe-pa, which happened in this. After his departure, the moſt extraordinary titles were conferred on him. They ſaid, he was above men; and that nothing but heaven was above him. He was called the Great Saint; the man of the higheſt virtue; the ſon of Fo of Si-tyen. The Chineſe literati loudly exclaimed againſt theſe titles, and vilified the bonzas. Indeed, ſeveral of them, over-zealous for their doctrine, treated Hû-pi-lay as a Barbarian, and ſuperſtitious prince; who ſuffered himſelf to be governed by women and the lamas, without courage, and without genius for government. There is ſtill at Pe-king a myau (or temple), built in honour of Pa-ſe-pa, in the time of the Mungl emperors.

A.D. 1280. The general Ali Haya having made a great number of ſlaves in the ſouthern provinces, the emperor Hû pi-lay ſet them all at liberty in the year 1280. In March he appointed mathematicians to ſearch for the ſource of the Whang-ho, or Yellow River; who, in four months time, arrived in the country where it riſes, and drew a map of it, which they preſented to his majeſty. Although much mention is made of this great river in the books of the Chineſe, and its courſe is particularly deſcribed in the chapter of the Shû-king, entitled Yu-kong, written at leaſt above three thouſand nine hundred and twenty years ago; yet, till the time of Hû-pi-lay, the country from whence that river comes ſeems to have been unknown to the Chineſe, who repreſent it very erroneouſly in their books [a].

The Whang-ho.

Japan ſummoned. The emperor, having long reſolved to ſubdue the kingdom of Je-pen (or Japan), or at leaſt render it tributary, ſent to ſummon the king to acknowlege him for his ſovereign; but the king paid no regard to Hû-pi-lay's letter, which was written in form of an order from a prince to his ſubject. The Mungl monarch, ſeveral years after, ſent a deputy thither, who was killed. Hû-pi-lay, being

[a] Gaubil, p. 188, & ſeqq.

enraged

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enraged at this inſult, equipped a great fleet, and this year ordered general Argan to attack Japan, with an army of one hundred thouſand men. The king of Korea had orders to favour this enterprize; which was diſapproved of generally by the Tatar and Chineſe grandees.

Jenghîz Khân gave the care of the ſcience of aſtronomy to Yelu-chu-tſay. This aſtronomer had rectified many of his notions, when he followed that conqueror into the Weſt; and, at his return, publiſhed a ſyſtem of aſtronomy. At the beginning of Hû-pi-lay's reign, the aſtronomers from the weſt publiſhed two treatiſes on this ſcience; one according to the method of the Weſt; the other according to the Chineſe method, but corrected. Ko-ſhew-king took a middle courſe; and following, in ſome degree, the method of the Weſt, preſerved as many terms as he could of the Chineſe aſtronomy; but entirely reformed it according to the aſtronomical epochas, and the method of reducing the tables to one certain meridian; as well as of applying afterwards the calculations and obſervations to other meridians. Beſides, he cauſed large braſs inſtruments to be made, ſuch as ſpheres, aſtrolabes, mariners compaſſes, levels, and gnomons, of which laſt ſort one was forty feet high. *Mungl kalendar.*

The Mungl emperors, who had at their court weſtern as well as Chineſe phyſicians and mathematicians, divided them into ſeparate bodies, who notwithſtanding lived in good harmony. The books, which gave the hiſtory of thoſe times, greatly praiſe, in general, the ability of thoſe ſtrangers; and, in particular, acknowlege, that what is beſt in Ko-ſhew-king's work was taken from them.

In March 1281, Hû-pi-lay having gone to Shang-tu, and left Ahama to govern at Ta-tû, a mandarin, named Whang-chu, went one day to the palace, and ſlew him at the great gate. As the guards and officers did not care to ſeize Whang-chu, he eaſily made his eſcape, and was ſatisfied that the prince would preſerve his life. In this confidence, he ſurrendered himſelf to the tribunal; and was condemned to death by the commiſſioners ſent by Hû-pi-lay. This monarch at laſt opened his eyes, and ſaw the crimes of Ahama. In April he ordered his palace to be plundered, his body to be taken out of the grave, cut in pieces, and then caſt to the fowls of the air. There was no ſort of extortion and oppreſſion but what Ahama was guilty of; ſo that the obſtinacy of Hû-pi-lay in ſupporting him, notwithſtanding the repreſentations of the prince his heir, A.D. 1281. *Ahama is ſlain.*

and

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and the repeated accusations of the wisest in his council, did his reputation great prejudice [f].

Losses in Gan-nan,

The expedition to Gan-nan, containing, as hath been said, the kingdoms of Kochin-china and Tong-king, had not the expected success. The king's son could never be prevailed on to submit; and, with a considerable body of troops, possessed a great part of the country. The general Sû-tû entered Gan-nan in June; and meeting at first with no opposition, advanced imprudently, and took the city of Chen-chen, which is not far from the south-west point of the island Hay-nan, on the south of China. The prince amused the Mungls with false promises to submit; and, by degrees, seizing the posts between China and Gan-nan, cut off Sûtû's retreat. The excessive heat incommoded the Ywen, accustomed to the northern climates; and their general, who was not supported by a fleet, perceiving too late his mistake, retired with equal courage and conduct; but the greater part of his army perished.

A.D. 1281.

and Japan.

The expedition against Japan had still a worse event than that to Gan-nan. General Argan being dead, Atahay commanded the fleet; but scarce had it arrived in sight of the island Ping-hu, when a violent storm arose, which dispersed the ships. Atahay was obliged to put into port; and the rest of the vessels fell into the hands of the Japanese, who made slaves of seventy thousand Chinese, and slew thirty thousand Mungls. Hû-pi-lay was almost distracted to see his designs upon Gan-nan and Japan miscarry. In February he sustained another great loss, by the death of his first wife, the princess of Hong-kila, and mother of the prince his heir. The Chinese authors represent her as an accomplished lady: she loved the people, and always disposed the emperor to clemency; she likewise took extraordinary care of the late empresses of the Song, who were prisoners at Ta-tû.

A.D. 1282.

Affairs of literature.

In 1282 the emperor ordered the learned men, from all parts of the empire, to repair to court, to examine the state of literature, and take effectual measures for the advancement of learning. He likewise caused sixty great vessels to be built, to transport by sea, from the southern provinces, into Pe-che-li, provisions of rice, and other necessaries, which before had been conveyed by rivers, with much trouble, delay, and expence. In the mean time several kings of the Indies sent deputies to pay Hû-pi-lay tribute. The most remarkable among them was the sove-

[f] Gaubil. p. 190, & seqq.

reign

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reign of Ku-long, a kingdom one hundred thouſand li (U) diſtant from China, who brought as tribute black apes and precious ſtones. Towards the end of this year, an impoſtor, who pretended to be the emperor of the Song, aſſembled above one hundred thouſand men; and, in his name, cauſed letters to be publiſhed, importing, that, on a day appointed, the houſes covered with bulruſhes would be ſet on fire; and that this would be the ſignal of the ſedition in Ta tû.[z] *A Chineſe pretender.*

Ven-tyen-ſyang having been priſoner in that capital for ſeveral years, the emperor ſent for him into his preſence, and offered to make him one of the miniſters of ſtate, if he would enter into his ſervice. Tyen-ſyang thanked his majeſty; but told him he ſhould never acknowlege two emperors; and deſired to die. Though Hû-pi-lay ſaw he was inflexible, yet he could not reſolve to put him to death: but fell a ſacrifice to the ill offices of the courtiers, who repreſented his life as dangerous to the ſtate. This ſuggeſtion wrought ſo much upon the mind of Hû-pi-lay, that he at laſt conſented to the death of this great man; who having been conducted to a public place, turned himſelf towards the ſouth, to honour and ſalute the court of the Song emperors; beat his head againſt the ground, and received the fatal blow with great courage, in the forty-ſeventh year of his age. He was born in Kyang-ſi, in the diſtrict of Ki-gan Fû. Both Chineſe and Tatars lamented his deſtiny. He was reputed learned, honeſt, and well verſed in ſtate affairs. After this execution they carried into Tartary all thoſe of the Song race, who were at Ta-tû. *Kublay's ſuperſtition.*

As Hû-pi-lay believed it for the glory of his reign to make conqueſts in Japan, he now commanded general Atahay to prepare five hundred ſhips, properly equipped for ſea. At the ſame time an order was publiſhed in the provinces, to aſſemble all the mariners that could be found. This order cauſed much confuſion in Che-kyang, Fo-kyen, and Kyang-nan; for the enterprize againſt Japan was not reliſhed by either the Chineſe or Tatar miniſters. The officers and ſoldiers murmured loudly: beſides, commerce was interrupted. The fear of going to Japan cauſed the beſt ſeamen to deſert; many turned robbers; A.D. 1283. *Japan expedition.*

z Gaubil, p. 194, & ſeqq.

(U) That is, ten thouſand leagues, a moſt extravagant reckoning; ſince Ku-long is in the Eaſt Indies. Gaubil. Perhaps Koulon in Malabar.

and

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and great numbers of sea-officers, with their crews, became pirates, and infested the coasts. The great men endeavoured to divert the emperor from his design, by representing to him all these evil consequences; but he would not hearken to their remonstrances. However, Atahay met with new difficulties: and the grandees took measures for keeping him a long time without the proper necessaries. In October a mandarin of Kyen-ning Fu, in Fo-kyen, revolted, and assumed the title of emperor; but this sedition was immediately quelled.

Myen invaded. This year prince Siantar, followed by the generals Ku-lye, Nasu-la-ting, and others from the western countries, marching out of Yun-nan, entered the country of Myen (W). In November that prince made himself master of the royal cities of Kyang-tew and Tay-kong.

Good regulations. At this period, some wholesome regulations were made in the state. The custom of selecting young maidens through the provinces, to supply the court, having been abolished in the parts of China subject to the emperor Ogotay, Hû-pi-lay ordained that the same regulation should take place in the provinces conquered from the Song. Secondly, as the salaries of the mandarins were not sufficient to support their state, so that they were obliged to take fees from the people, the emperor, to relieve his subjects after so long a war, doubled the income of those magistrates, and forbad them to receive the smallest gratuity, under severe penalties.

A.D. 1284. In 1284, Hû-pi-lay ordered the mandarins of the several provinces to secure all who could be found of the

Bonzas drowned. Song race. This order was obeyed; and the number sent to court was very great; among whom were several considerable mandarins. The emperor being informed that the sect of Fo was in high esteem in Japan, sent bonzas privately aboard the fleet destined for that country, to get information concerning it. But the sailors, discovering their design, threw them into the sea.

Shi-jong. Lu-shi-jong, a native of Ta-ming Fû, in Pe-che-li, by bribery had obtained a considerable employment in the time of Ahama, whose creature he was. This circumstance the emperor well knew: but the love of riches engaged him, by degrees, to follow the selfish views of that projector; who pretended that the people would be eased, at the same time the revenue became more con-

(W) The same with Pegu. What M. Polo calls Karâyam, Is a great part of the province of Yun-nan. Gayb.

siderable

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ſiderable. Tong-ywen-yong ſpoke loudly againſt Shi-jong, as a bad ſubject, who ruined the people; but Hû-pi-lay puniſhed Ywen-yong, and ſupported Shi-jong.

In February, Hû-pi-lay demanded of Shi-jong what methods he propoſed to take, in caſe he ſhould be appointed miniſter. The other preſented a memorial or project for increaſing the revenues of the emperor. *his ſcheme approved of.*

Kublay approved of all that was propoſed by Lu-ſhi-jung, who had full power to employ all thoſe whom he judged fit to execute his ſchemes: but was ſo imprudent as to reſtore a great many commiſſioners, who had been caſhiered, becauſe they were creatures of Ahâma. Shi-jong was ſupported by Sang-ko, brother of the lama who had ſucceded Pa-ſe-pa, in the poſt of doctor and maſter of the emperor, as well as chief of the lamas. Several mandarins ſpoke againſt Shi-jong, one of whom was baſtinadoed ſo ſeverely that he died under the hands of the executioner. As the prince, appointed ſucceſſor, was naturally an enemy to all thoſe kinds of projectors, whoſe ſchemes tended only to hinder the circulation of money, render the emperor unpopular, and fill the provinces with robbers, he ſpoke alſo againſt Shi jong, and maintained that he did no more than imitate Ahâma. At length a great mandarin, named Ching, made complaint to the emperor of the unjuſt death of a mandarin, who had been killed for having done his duty. He accuſed Shi-jong again, and made it appear, that this mandarin, during the time that he had the care of the cuſtom-houſe for cha (or tea), in Kyang-ſi, had done nothing but rob with impunity: that, to raiſe the emperor's revenue to fifteen millions, he had been guilty of a thouſand rapines, vexations, extortions, unjuſt confiſcations, ſales of places, and murders. *Accuſed of extortion;*

The accuſation of Ching put all Ta-tû in motion. The emperor was much ſurpriſed to ſee it ſupported by the prince, and moſt of the great men; ſo that neither Sang-ko, nor his brother, notwithſtanding their authority, durſt ſpeak in his favour. In ſhort, both he and Ching were cited to Shang-tû, where the chief articles of the accuſation having been proved againſt Shi-jong, ſentence of death was pronounced upon him by the judges; and the emperor having approved of their ſentence, he was executed on the ſpot. All the friends and creatures of Sang-ko and the criminal were ſtruck with conſternation: and Hû-pi-lay became aſhamed of his obſtinacy, in ſupporting a man who had miſled him by dazzling appearances. *convicted and executed.*

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Loss in Gan-nan.

The general Sûtû having made great complaints of the conduct of Chen-ye-tsven, the king of Gan-nan's son, by whose artifices such numbers of Mungls had perished, Hû-pi-lay ordered prince To-whan, his son, to enter that kingdom; and appointed general Li-heng to command under him. To-whan marched from Yun-nan to the river Fû-lang, which he crossed on rafts, and entirely defeated the army of the king of Gan-nan. Hereupon Chen-i-tsi his brother came with his ships, and submitted to the prince. However, the troops of Gan-nan rallied, and became more animated than before. As it happened to be the middle of summer, the heats and continual rains brought sickness into the Mungl army, so that they were not able to march to Chen-chen: and, for fear they should all perish, it was resolved to retire to Yun-nan. The troops of Gan-nan pursued the Ywens; and, in this retreat, Li-heng received a shot with a poisoned arrow, of which he died. The king, afterwards, got with his army between China and Sûtû, who knew nothing of the prince's retreat, although but fifteen or twenty leagues distant: but he opened a passage through his enemies, in which action a great many men were slain on both sides, and, among the rest, Sûtû himself, who fell valiantly fighting. He and Li-heng were two of the best generals in the empire; and Hu-pi-lay was greatly concerned for their death.

Prince Cheng-kin dies.

This affliction was followed by one more sensible, which was the loss of the prince his heir, who died in December, at the age of forty-three. As prince Cheng-kin, from his very infancy, discovered an inclination for virtue and decorum, his death was universally regretted. His father gave him the illustrious Yaw-shû for a preceptor; who chose young Chinese and Tatar lords, of parts and liberal education, to be about him. The prince became well skilled in military affairs, the science of government, history, mathematics, and the classical books of China. He was perfectly acquainted with the nature of the countries both of China and Tartary; the number of their inhabitants, their rivers, and their commerce. His whole study was to make the people happy. He was generally esteemed and beloved; nor was he addicted to any one vice or excess. He married the princess Koko-chin, of the Hongkila (or Kongorat) family; who was of the same character with the prince her spouse; by whom she had three sons, and some daughters. The eldest of his sons was Kanmala. The second, Talamapala, who died in the reign of Hû-pi-lay, and left some children; the eldest of whom

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whom was Hay-ſhan. The third ſon of Cheng-kin was Timûr, who ſucceeded his grandfather in the empire [h].

In 1286, the grandees, being under great apprehenſions, from the reſolution in which the emperor ſtill continued, of attacking Japan, repreſented to him the danger and inutility of that enterpriſe. They likewiſe laid before him the lamentable condition to which the armament under Atahay had reduced the ſouthern provinces. Hû-pi-lay indeed dropped his deſign; and cauſed it to be publiſhed, that he ought in that, as well as every thing elſe, to follow the counſel of his miniſters: but the true reaſon for that change was, the advice he received that all Tartary was on the point of revolting. In the courſe of this year, Pe-yen, Tûtûha, Li-ting, and other generals, in Tartary, ſent advice to the emperor, that the party of Hay-tu was grown ſtronger than ever: that this prince ſent out ſpies on all ſides; and that it was to be feared, he would gain over to his intereſt the Mungl princes who dwelt to the north-eaſt of Shan-tong, bordering on Lyau-tong. *Tartary in motion.*

Hû-pi-lay, profiting by this intelligence, made new regulations to conciliate the affections of the Chineſe, eſpecially thoſe of Kyang-nan, Fo-kyen, Che-kyang, and ſome other provinces. In March he ſent deputies into all parts of the empire, to diſcover men ſkilled in the Chineſe arts and ſciences; to whom employment was given, and ſome were brought to court. Hû-pi-lay took great pleaſure in talking to them; and it was ſtill more pleaſing to them to ſee a Mungl emperor well verſed in the Chineſe ſciences. In September advice came from the mandarins of Fo-kyen, that ſhips from more than ninety foreign kingdoms had arrived at Tſiven-chew-fu, in that province. Theſe kingdoms are all treated as tributary; but only eight of them are mentioned in the hiſtory, and thoſe by names unknown to Europeans. All the empire of China being now ſubject to one ſovereign, the bonzas of the ſect of Fo aſſembled this year, to the number of forty thouſand, and agreed upon a form of religious government: they likewiſe made ſeveral ſtatutes or decrees and regulations, for their prayers, penances, and other rites. *Affairs of China.*

Jenghîz Khân had divided Tartary into eaſtern and weſtern; whoſe limits were nearly in the meridian of Peking. That conqueror's youngeſt brother, Pye-li Kû-tay, had the country between the rivers Lyau, Toro, and Quey-ley, with part of the country between the Lyau-ton, A.D. 1287. *Nayen joins Hay-tû.*

[h] Gaubil. p. 201. & ſeqq.

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and the Lyau. Nayen, the great-grandſon and heir of Pye-li Kû-tay, who had enlarged the poſſeſſions of his anceſtor, and became very potent, was gained over to his party by Hay-tu, who perſuaded him to take arms. General Pe-yen, who had been one of the firſt to give notice of the league between thoſe two princes, was ſent towards Lyau-tong, to ſee how matters ſtood; and having narrowly eſcaped being taken by Nayen's ſpies, informed Hû-pi-lay of the great preparations which were making by that prince. The emperor hereupon ordered Pe-yen to encamp between Karâkorom and Shang-tû, in order to prevent the troops of Hay-tû, and other princes his allies, from joining Nayen. Li-ting was commanded to aſſemble a great body of Chineſe troops; and the Tatars were conducted by Yuſi Temûr, grandſon of the famous Porchû, the principal of the four intrepid captains who ſerved under Jenghîz Khân. General Tûtûha was likewiſe recalled with his forces from Kin-cha [1].

Defeated and ſlain. Hû-pi-lay having, in May, taken the field in perſon, with deſign to attack Nayen, was advanced with a few troops, when the general of that prince's army came to obſerve the emperor's camp. Hû-pi-lay, though in danger of being carried away, ſhewed no ſigns of fear; and as it was night, his forces, on notice given, haſtened to his relief, the horſe taking the foot behind them. Mean time Nayen lay quiet in his camp, his general not daring to attack the emperor, for fear of an ambuſcade. Hereupon Li-ting, with ten reſolute men, approaching the enemy's camp, ſhot a cannon (X) into it. The noiſe ſo frightened the troops of Nayen, which were beſides undiſciplined, that the general, thinking the whole imperial army was approaching, took to flight. The Chineſe and Tatar troops being now arrived, Nayen was attacked by the before mentioned commanders, at the head of their reſpective bodies, and by Hû-pi-lay at the head of his guards. The emperor's preſence rendered his troops invincible, and the army of Nayen was entirely defeated. That prince himſelf was taken, and afterwards put to death. The battle was fought near the river Lyau; after which Hû-pi-lay returned triumphant to Shang-tû.

[1] Gaubil, p. 204, & ſeq.

(X) The Chineſe ſay *hô pau*, that is, *fire pau*. This circumſtance of fire, joined to the great noiſe it made, makes me call it a *fire-cannon*. Poſſibly it was a petard. Gaubil.

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In the ſame year prince To-whan, the emperor's ſon, entered Gan-nan, and was victorious in ſeventeen engagements. He plundered the city of Chen-chen, and returned to Yun-nan with a rich booty. He had ſcarce reached the borders, when he received advice that king Chin-ye-ſven appeared again with innumerable forces. This intelligence obliged him to make a new expedition to Gan-nan, which he entered in March 1288, with a conſiderable army. The king allowed him to advance, and amuſed him with deceitful negotiations; till finding the peſtilence began to rage in his army, he came with three hundred thouſand men to attack him. The Mungls, on his approach, retired towards Yun-nan in good order; nor could the enemy ever make any impreſſion on the vanguard, although general Sitûr, who commanded it, was both ſick and wounded. But the other troops did not eſcape ſo well; ſo that the prince loſt a great number before he reached the borders. The emperor on this occaſion reproached him for his imprudence, deprived him of the government of Yun-nan, and forbad him to come to court. The king of Gan-nan however ſent Hû-pi-lay a ſtatue of gold, by way of tribute; and even wrote a very modeſt letter, in which he owned he had committed a fault in oppoſing the imperial armies.

Loſſes in Gan-nan.

A.D. 1288.

Timûr, grandſon of Hû-pi-lay, was more ſucceſsful in the war on the river Lyau. Prince Hatan (Y), ſupported by the princes Tye-ko, Arlu, and Tûlûkhân, having entered into league with Haytû and Nayen, came with a great army to that river, and threatened Lyau-tong, with the countries bordering on the great wall of China. Peyen had always made head againſt Haytû, and hindered his junction with Hatan. Hû-pi-lay ſent his grandſon Timûr, a young prince of great hopes, with orders to follow the advice of Jûſitemûr, Tûtûha, Li-ting, and Polowhan. They engaged Kin-kya-nu, one of the late prince Nayen's generals; and after engaging a whole day, with great ſlaughter on both ſides, the two armies ſeparated. Timûr being informed that Hatan and his allies were encamped near the river Quey-ley, marched againſt them with his fire-cannon, which Li-ting had taken great care to get ready. The battle laſted two days, and was exceeding bloody; in which periſhed ſeveral princes, who were Hatan's allies, the generals of Nayen, and their beſt

Succeſs in Tartary.

(Y) He was grandſon of Hache-when, third ſon of Yeſû-kay, and brother to Jenghiz Khán. Gaubil.

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troops. This victory gave great reputation to prince Timûr, and filled the emperor with joy, who designed to make him his successor: great elogies were likewise bestowed on the generals who served under him. The prince, after this battle, visited all the tribes which had before been subject to Nayen, Hatan, and others; and had the pleasure to see their lords submit to him. His affability and clemency gained him the love of the Tatars, who in great numbers encamped near the river Lyau, Tiro, Quey-ley, and in other places.

Emperor turns bonza.

In October Kong-tsong, the late emperor of the Song, was sent to Pûtala, the residence of the grand lama, in Tibet, to learn the doctrine of Fo. The Chinese historians blame Hû-pi-lay for sending one of their emperors to live among bonzas; and represent Kong-tsong as a mean-spirited prince, who ought rather to have died than dishonoured his name by going to be educated in the doctrines and customs of Barbarians.

A.D. 1289. In January, 1289, it was resolved to make the canal, called Whey-tong-ho, to extend from Tsi-ning-chew, in Shan-tong, to Lin-tsing-chew, in the same province; likewise to open a communication between the rivers Ven and Wey, in the same province. In 1287 Hû-pi-lay had built a magnificent college at Ta-tû, for teaching the Chinese sciences, and furnished it with the most able doctors in the empire. There he caused many sons of princes, lords, and great mandarins, to be brought up. This year, 1289, a second imperial college, of the same kind, was built at Ta-tû. Hû-pi-lay, who gave the direction of it to the Whey-hu, was earnest to promote this college; and in person exhorted the Tatar and Chinese grandees, as well as the princes of his own family, to send their sons thither [k].

Royal canal.

Affairs of Tartary.

Prince Hay-tû, this year, prevailed on several Tatar tribes to the north and north-west of Karakorom to revolt against Hû-pi-lay. Prince Hatan took the field again, and made incursions into Lyau-tong, and other provinces. Kinkya-nu, before mentioned, a great friend and confident of prince Nayen, at length joined Hay-tû with his troops. Pe-yen, who commanded the imperial camp formed at Karakorom, detached a great body of Kirghis to join the army commanded by Kanmala, eldest son of the late prince Cheng-kin; nevertheless Hay-tû surprised and surrounded him near the river Selinga: but Tûtûha, being in-

[k] Gaubil, p. 207, & seqq.

formed

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formed of his diſtreſs, immediately ſet forward with his troops of Kin-cha (or Kipjâk), and falling on Hay-tû, reſcued Kanmala, who was on the point of being made priſoner. Tûtûha received orders, after this incident, to join Hû-pi-lay; who, notwithſtanding his great age, in June marched from Shang-tû againſt Hay-tû: but this prince retreated, without venturing a battle. However, about the ſame time, prince Naymân-tay attacked and defeated Hatan, who was encamped near the river Toro, which falls into the Non.

In January, 1290, Hû-pi-lay publiſhed ſeveral ſage regulations, to advance arts and ſciences in the imperial colleges built at Ta-tû: he likewiſe examined into the ſtate of printing and books. In March he enquired how the orders which he had given for the cultivation of lands, ſilk-worms, and other points relating to commerce, had been executed. In April he ſent experienced perſons to the kingdom of Mapâr, in the Indies, with orders to ſpare no expence to engage men ſkilled in the ſciences, mechanics, officers both for land and ſea, and interpreters of different languages. It cannot be denied, ſays Gaubil, that Hû-pi-lay has rendered his name immortal, by what he had done for the advantage of his empire. He cauſed canals to be dug in ſeveral parts of China for the communication of rivers: he ſent mathematicians as far as 55 degrees north, and 15 or 16 ſouth, towards Kochin China, to aſcertain the latitude of the principal cities in China, the capitals of Gan-nan and Korea, and of many places in Tartary. He was at an incredible expence in procuring mathematical inſtruments; ſearching for old books; ſending able men into foreign countries; drawing artiſts from all parts of the world; tranſlating books into the Mungl language; forming libraries; raiſing public ſtructures; collecting rarities from diſtant regions, encouraging commerce; building ſhips; and executing an infinite number of uſeful works for the benefit of the public. Theſe actions are the more commendable, as during his whole reign he maintained great wars againſt potent princes of his family, who were jealous of his power and glory.

A.D. 1290.

Regulations made regarding literature.

Sang-ko, who had the care of the finances, was no leſs covetous and evil-minded than Ahâma; and his brother, who had ſucceeded to the titles and dignity of Pa-ſe-pa, diſpoſed Hû-pi-lay ſo much in his favour, that none dared ſpeak of his malverſations: however, a lord of the imperial family of the Song, named Chau-meng-fû, reſolved, at all riſks, to accuſe Sang-ko. He began by ſounding Che-li,

A rapacious miniſter.

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a lord distinguished by his probity, and acceptable to Hû-pi-lay; telling him that it was time to discover to the emperor the crimes of Sang-ko: "If we do not (says he), posterity will accuse us, and we shall pass for men without honour: the good of the empire requires that we should make known the person who ruins it." Che-li took the hint, and one day when Hû-pi-lay was hunting, spoke freely against Sang-ko. The emperor, incensed at the liberty he had taken, ordered him to be bastinadoed, till the blood gushed from his nose and mouth, and he fell fainting to the ground. However, being questioned about the matter by Hû-pi-lay's order, he had the courage and fidelity to repeat all he had declared; adding, "that the good of the state and honour of the prince alone had induced him to make the accusation, which he was ready to maintain at the expence of his life."

Detected and ruined.

Pû-hû-chû, lord of the country of Kang-li, who was one of the most steady and upright men of his time, had orders to examine into the affair. This minister was already acquainted with the knavery of Sang-ko: and, as he was a mortal enemy to those who did injustice, spoke of him as a wicked minister, who had deceived his prince, occasioned trouble and disorder in every part of the kingdom; procured many persons to be unjustly accused, and put to death; and was the true cause that robbers were so numerous. Pû-hû-chû intreated the emperor to get rid, as soon as possible, of so great an offender; and did not scruple to affirm, that, if it was delayed, a considerable revolution was to be feared. What this lord said was confirmed by many other grandees. Hû-pi-lay complained, that they had not informed him sooner of the minister's misdemeanours; and they boldly replied, that it was dangerous for any individual to tell him the truth. Che-li, become more in favour than ever, was appointed to take an inventory of Sang-ko's effects, which were of immense value. They found an infinite number of jewels and precious stones in his palace [1].

A villainous lama condemned, yet pardoned.

At this time there was a lama of Tibet, in the southern provinces, in great reputation among the Mungls; though he was no other than a hypocrite, a cheat, and impostor. He counterfeited the emperor's mandates, and granted false licences; intimidated several wealthy families, promised and procured places: in short, he used all sorts of unlawful means to become rich. His passion for money

[1] Gaubil, p. 211, & seqq.

carried

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carried him ſo far as even to take up the bodies of the Song emperors, princes, and great men, whoſe tombs were near Shau-hing-fû, in Che-kyang; where, it is ſaid, he found abundance of gold, ſilver, and jewels. Of their bones, mixed with thoſe of oxen and horſes, he raiſed a pyramid; which ſight filled the Chineſe with ſuch indignation, as to excite a general revolt. The mandarins of thoſe places impriſoned the lama, confiſcated his goods, and condemned him to death; but, being ſupported at court by ſeveral Mungl lords, and the ladies, at the inſtigation of the lamas, who had great influence over them, he was diſcharged, and great part of his treaſures reſtored. This unjuſt change of the ſentence did the emperor's character much prejudice. The Chineſe cannot forgive him this weakneſs: and their hiſtory, on this occaſion, renews its complaints againſt him, for having had ſo great an affection for the lamas; "men at leaſt very uſeleſs to the empire."

In the year 1292, the canal, called Tong-whey, which runs from Pe-king to Tong-chew, was finiſhed: and ſeveral mandarins belonging to the treaſury, attached to Sang-ko, were put to death. Prince Mengli Timûr, joined by Hay-tû, appeared alſo to the north of the great Kobi, or deſert. Pe-yen retired towards Karakorom, as if to defend that city; but it was only to watch an opportunity for attacking that prince with advantage. At length, one day in October, he drew out his army; and, without giving any orders or directions but to follow him, with his ſword drawn, advanced full-ſpeed towards the camp of Mengli Timûr; who, not able to reſiſt the attacks of Pe-yen's troops, fled with a few horſemen, and left his army to the mercy of the enemy, by whom the greater part of them were ſlain. A.D. 1292. *Victory in Tartary.*

Hû-pi-lay was very ambitious to be known and eſteemed in foreign countries. The great number of Indian ſhips which arrived in Fo-kyen, afforded him frequent opportunities to ſend mandarins to treat with the princes of India; and induce them to communicate to him the curioſities of their reſpective dominions. The Indians were great gainers by their commerce with China, from whence they brought great ſums of money: and Hû-pi-lay's deputies had often been well received by the king of Mapâr. But the emperor, having ſent a Chineſe grandee, named Meng-ki, to Qua-wa; the king, for what reaſon does not appear, cauſed him to be branded in the face with the marks which are often put on public robbers, and then diſmiſſed him. *Expedition to Qua-wa, a part of India.*

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him. The Chineſe lords, enraged to ſee a great mandarin of their nation diſhonoured by a prince whom they conſidered as a Barbarian, petitioned the emperor to revenge the affront. Hû-pi-lay denounced vengeance for this inſult upon one of his envoys; and ordered a conſiderable number of ſhips of war, and other veſſels, to be equipped, at Tſiven-chew-fû, in Fo-kyen. This province, with thoſe of Kyang-ſi and Hû-quang, furniſhed thirty thouſand reſolute ſoldiers, and the Chineſe grandees were very earneſt to have the fleet well provided. It conſiſted of one thouſand ſhips, including veſſels of burden and others, with proviſions for a year. She-pe, a native of Pau-ting Fû, in Pe-che-li, had the chief command. Kau-hing, of Juning-fû, in Honan, was general of the thirty thouſand troops; and Yehemiſhe, an Igûr, commanded the ſailors. Yehemiſhe and She-pe had been in the Indies before, and underſtood the language of Qua-wa.

The fleet ſet ſail in December, and ſteered directly for the ſouth part of Tong-king, bordering on Kochin-China; then, ſailing along a mountainous coaſt, they entered the ſea of When-tun (Z). At length, they came in ſight of certain mountains; where they cut wood to build little barks; and, in September 1293, by help of thoſe barks, landed their troops[m].

A.D. 1293.

Ta-nay-kya-lay, king of Qua-wa (A), going to war with Ha-chi-ka-fû, king of Ko-lang, was killed in battle. Tû-han-pi-tû-ye, his ſon-in-law, undertook to continue the war; but, being baffled in all his attempts, as ſoon as he heard of She-pe's arrival, and the occaſion of his coming, he ſubmitted; and offered to give up all he was poſſeſſed of. This ſtep he took, the better to deceive the Chineſe, while he deviſed ſecret meaſures to deſtroy their army. He gave the general a map of the country of Ko-lang, and perſuaded him to conquer it; promiſing to join him with his troops. She-pe, who believed all that Tû-han-pi-tû-ye told him, left officers to guard the fleet, and divided his forces into three bodies, in order to attack Ta-ſhe, the capital of Ko-lang. The Chineſe found an army of a hundred thouſand men ready to oppoſe them: but, after a battle, which continued from ſun-riſe till noon, the Kolang troops were defeated, and retired into the city. How-

[m] Gaubil. p. 214. *& ſeqq.*

(Z) That is, the *immenſe abaos*, which ſeems to be the ocean. Gaubil.

(A) Our author ſuppoſes Qua-was to be the iſland of Borneo.

ever,

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ever, the king, unwilling to undergo a ſiege, came out and ſurrendered, with his wife and children; who were all killed.

Tû-han-pi-tû-ye, after this action, aſked leave to return to his dominions; which requeſt was oppoſed by Qua-heng: but She-pe and Ye-he-mi-ſhe gave their conſent; which they in a little time repented: for, next year, that king, inſtead of obeying She-pe's orders, came with a conſiderable force to cut off his retreat towards the fleet; which was thirty leagues diſtant. She-pe, who too late ſaw he was betrayed, defended himſelf with extraordinary valour, and retired in good order to the ſea-coaſt; where, having embarked with his troops, he, in ſixty-eight days, arrived at Tſven-chew-fû. In this expedition he loſt three thouſand men; but brought off a great booty in gold and precious ſtones. The emperor puniſhed both him and Ye-he-mi-ſhe; and confiſcated two-thirds of their effects, for having diſobeyed his commands, and allowed Tû-han-pi-tû-ye to eſcape. However, being good officers, they were ſoon after pardoned; and the Chineſe grandees were ſatisfied to let the king of Qua-wa and others ſee, that, notwithſtanding their great diſtance, they would not fail to revenge the affronts offered to them.

The Mungl general duped by the king.

General Pe-yen had hitherto kept Tartary in ſubjection, in ſpite of the power and efforts of Hay-tû, and other princes of the imperial family: the emperor was fully convinced of his great ſervices, and reſolved to reward them in a ſignal manner. However, ſeveral grandees, jealous of that general's glory, inſinuated to Hû-pi-lay, that it was dangerous to let him continue ſo long at the head of the troops of Tartary; and even hinted that he was clandeſtinely in league with Hay-tû. The emperor well knew that jealouſy was the ground of their informations, although he made no reply. In June he talked of declaring Timûr hereditary prince; and ordered him immediately to prepare for going to command the army againſt Hay-tû. General Yuſi-temûr was named to ſucceed Pe-yen; who received an order to repair to Tay-tong-fû, as ſoon as Timûr ſhould arrive at Karakorom. This prince was not in a hurry to reach the imperial camp, as he loved Pe-yen, and was ſenſible he knew better than himſelf how to deal with Hay-tû: Yuſi-temûr was of the ſame opinion with Timûr. Mean time Pe-yen, though informed of theſe tranſactions, behaved as if he knew nothing of what paſſed: he decamped from Karakorom, and marched northward to meet

Pe-yen recalled out of Tartary.

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meet the army of Hay-tû, who was again defeated and obliged to retire.

In a few days after the battle, Timûr and the new general arrived at the camp: where, in presence of the officers, the prince delivered to Pe-yen the emperor's orders; and commanded him to repair to Tay-tong-fû in Shan-si, there to wait his imperial majesty's farther pleasure. The generals who served under Pe-yen, and were strongly attached to him, could not forbear expressing their surprize; but were soon appeased, when they saw that the prince made him eat at his own table, and bestowed considerable presents on him. Before Pe-yen departed, Timûr sent for him, and with tears embraced him, intreating him to give him some instructions. "Prince, (said the general), love neither women nor wine, and every thing will succeed with you." Pe-yen went to Tay-tong-fû, and there received an order to repair to court. Where being arrived, the emperor, to the confusion of the jealous grandees, received him with distinguished honour; publicly extolled his fidelity and services; declared him his prime minister, and gave him the general command, as well of the troops which composed his own guard, as of those which encamped in great numbers about Ta-tû and Shang-tû [n].

is greatly honoured.

A comet appears.

In September, Hû-pi-lay returned from Shang-tû to Ta-tû; and next month was frightened at the sight of a comet. The Chinese history carefully takes notice of these phenomena which have happened, as well as the panics which have seized the emperors on such occasions. The astrologers have likewise been assiduous to collect the events which came to pass after a comet had appeared; and pretend that such appearances are designed as warnings from Heaven to crowned heads to take care of themselves. Hû-pi-lay had given into these false ideas: when the comet first appeared, he sent for Pû-hû-chû, one of his ministers, to consult how to appease the anger of the deity. Pû-hû-chû passed the whole night in the emperor's chamber, and recited several passages of the I-king and Shi-king (A); to shew with what respect he ought to receive the advice which Heaven gives, and how much its anger ought to be dreaded. He produced instances from the ancient history, to evince that the chief business of a

[n] Gaubil. p. 218. & seqq.

(A) Two of the claffical or canonical books of the Chinese; which Confucius, and his successors, have commented on.

prince

prince ſhould be the practice of virtue; and that, on the appearance of eclipſes, comets, and earthquakes, he ought ſeriouſly to examine his own heart, and, above all, in what manner he governs his people.

The miniſter dwelt particularly on the hiſtory of Ven-ti, emperor of the weſtern Han; and ſet forth the uſe which that prince had made of the appearance of ſeveral phenomena. Hû-pi-lay was ſo well pleaſed with the inſtance of Ven-ti, that he delighted in hearing Pû-tû-chû talk on that ſubject. Mean time he fell ſick, and, in January 1294, died in his palace at Ta-tû, in the eightieth year of his age. A.D. 1294. *Kublay's death.*

The Chineſe hiſtorians charge Hû-pi-lay with being ſuperſtitious to exceſs, and ridiculouſly attached to the lamas. They likewiſe accuſe him of loving women and money; of having ſacrificed too many men in the wars of Japan and Gan-nan; and too much promoted foreigners of the weſt. On the other hand, the Tatars and foreigners have always conſidered the reign of Hû-pi-lay as one of the moſt glorious that ever hiſtory recorded; and it is certain this prince had great qualities. He was learned, courageous, and magnificent, a friend to men of letters; and if he loved money, it was with a view to execute the great deſigns which he had conceived for the glory of the empire, and the public good. *and character.*

Hû-pi-lay was the fourth ſon of prince Toley and the princeſs Sarkutna, brother to the emperor Meng-ko, and the king Hyu-la-gû, and grandſon of Jenghîz Khân. He married a great many wives, five of whom bore the title of empreſſes. By theſe he had ten ſons: 1. Turchi, who died without iſſue. 2. Cheng-kin, who had been declared heir, but died in 1285. 3. Mang-kola, governor-general of Shen-ſi, Se-chwen, and Tibet. 4. Gantan-puwha. 5. Nan-mû-han. 6. Ukoche. 7. Gayyache. 8. Gaulûche. 9. Kokochû. 10. Choan. Beſides theſe princes he had ſeveral daughters[o]. *Wives and ſons.*

Hû-pi-lay was the ſixth khân of Great Tartary, and the firſt Mungl emperor who reigned over that country and all China.

That he might pleaſe his conquered ſubjects, and without diſobliging his own countrymen, he divided his time between them, reſiding part of the year in one country, and part in the other. For which purpoſe he fixed the capital of each near the frontiers of both; and his ſucceſſors followed his example as long as they remained in poſſeſſion of China, where he founded the empire of the *Remarks on him and the Chineſe hiſtorians.*

[o] Gaubil, p. 221, & ſeqq.

Mungls;

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Mungls; for although his ancestors were possessed of the northern part of that country, yet the Chinese would not acknowlege them as their sovereigns, as long as any of the Song emperors, their natural lords, reigned in the southern provinces. After the subjugation of the whole Chinese empire, and extinction of the Song race, they were obliged to acknowlege them for their masters; but they subdued the Mungls in their turn, by giving them their manners, customs, and even their forms of government and policy. Their historians have in effect metamorphosed the Mungl emperors, from Hû-pi-lay, downwards, into Chinese: they have separated them from the line of Jenghîz Khân, made a distinct dynasty of them, and placed Hû-pi-lay as the head and founder of it, considering all his predecessors as khâns of Tartary only. The more also to naturalize this race, and make them their own, they have changed the title of the dynasty from Mungls, or Moguls, into that of Ywen.

Respecting his dynasty. The Mungl emperors, therefore, from Hû-pi-lay, are to be considered in two different respects; viz, either as they make part of the Mungl khâns of the line of Jenghîz Khân, who reigned over the Mungl empire in Tartary, China, and other countries; or only as a distinct race of emperors reigning in China, to which those other regions, and even Tartary itself, is supposed to be subject. It is in the first of these lights that we have treated of them here, because the province which we have undertaken in this place, is the history of the Mungls and Tartars. They will likewise be considered briefly hereafter in the second light, when we come to speak of China.

CHAP. XII.

The History of Jenghîz Khân's Successors in Tartary and China.

SECT. I.

The Reign of Timûr, called by the Chinese Ching-tsong.

AFTER the death of Hû-pi-lay, Pe-yen, as prime minister, and general of the army, gave the necessary commands, to prevent all disorder, and invited Timûr to come immediately, and be acknowleged emperor, pursuant

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purſuant to the laſt will of his grandfather. This appointment he alſo notified to the princes and other generals of the troops, giving them to underſtand at the ſame time, that he would not ſuffer the leaſt oppoſition to it. The aſſembly met by agreement in April 1294, where, nevertheleſs, ſeveral princes intended to declare ſome other perſon emperor. Then Yuſi Timûr ſpoke, and ſaid, that it was proper, without delay, to inſtal Timûr, according to the intention of Hû-pi-lay. Pe-yen ſeconded Yuſi Timûr, and, drawing his ſword, declared, he would never acknowlege any other emperor than Timûr. The general Ywe-chechar, great grandſon of Porgû, one of Jenghîz Khân's four heroes, was of the ſame opinion, as well as all the other generals: it was known alſo that the Chineſe great men would declare for Timûr. Hereupon Kanmala, eldeſt ſon of the late prince Cheng-kin, gave his vote for Timûr, his youngeſt brother; the other princes followed his example, and, in ſhort, all bowed before that prince, to acknowlege him for emperor. Notice was immediately given of this election to all the tribes, generals of the troops, and mandarins of the provinces of China; a general amneſty was publiſhed likewiſe according to cuſtom. A.D. 1294.

His firſt acts.

One of the firſt acts of Timûr, who is known to the Chineſe by the name of Ching-tſong was, to give the title of emperor to his father, and that of empreſs to his mother. He likewiſe erected monuments to the memory of his father Cheng-kin, grandfather Hû-pi-lay, and the princeſs his grand-mother; punctually paid what was due to the princes and princeſſes of his houſe, to the generals and mandarins; ſhewed great marks of confidence to his brother Kanmala, and declared him his lieutenant-general in Tartary. He appointed generals to oppoſe Hay-tû, and other princes of his party. He provided for the ſecurity of the provinces by a choice of good officers, giving full powers to Pe-yen, Yuſi Temûr, Ywe-chechar, Tû-tû-ha, and others, in all military matters. He cauſed the finiſhing ſtroke to be given to the hiſtory of Hû-pi-lay; made peace with the king of Gan-nan (B), and ordered the commerce with India to be renewed, which had been interrupted by the war with Qua-wa (C).

Death of Pe-yen.

In December, this year, died the famous Pe-yen, at the age of fifty-nine, with the reputation of being one of the greateſt men whom either China or Tartary ever produced.

(B) Containing Ton-king and Kochin China.

(C) Suppoſed to be near Kamboja.

The

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The emperor, the princes, the generals, and all the officers, lamented his death a long time; and the Chinese historians have bestowed on this general an elaborate elogy.

A.D.1295. At the beginning of the year 1295, lands were given, in the southern provinces, to the soldiers, on condition to keep in awe the Myau-tse, a kind of independent people, who inhabit the mountainous parts of Se-chwen, Quey-chew, Hu-quang, Quang-si, Quang-tong, and elsewhere, having languages and laws different not only from the Chinese, but from one another. In April there happened a grievous famine, on which occasion Timûr manifested his charitable disposition; he caused large alms to be distributed to the poor, and the public granaries to be examined; and from this time also he forbid the selling of civil employments [p].

A.D.1296. In 1296 the daughters and sisters of the Mungl emperors, as well as the princes and grandees their husbands, were possessed of very great privileges. By degrees they had assumed to themselves the right of judging, and putting to death their vassals and domestics. Several abuses on this occasion determined Timûr to make a law, that no person whosoever should condemn another without having the emperor's consent; which regulation is highly praised by the Chinese.

Good regulation.

A.D.1297. Timûr, when he appointed his brother Kanmala for his lieutenant-general in Tartary, and Ywe-chechar for general of the troops, ordered them to follow the counsels of Tû-tû-ha prince of Kin-cha, who had defeated prince Hay-tû in several engagements. Tû-tû-ha died in 1295, at Swen-hû-fû in Pe-che-li, as he was setting out for Tartary to command one of the armies destined to act against the same enemy. He was succeeded in his titles and honours by his son Chohangûr, who was as great a captain as his father, under whom he always served with distinction. This general being in 1297 appointed to oppose Hay-tû, who had advanced as far as the country of Parin, marched at the head of his troops to Kin-cha, and finding him encamped along the river Arû, prepared to attack him; but in October Hay-tû fled, and retired towards the north. Next year prince Tuwa, Hay-tû's brother, was defeated by Chohangûr, to the west of the mountain Altay, towards the source of the river Irtish. In August, a detachment of Hay-tû's army being intercepted by prince Ko-li-ki-tse, who had married the emperor's daughter, he re-

Hay-tû defeated.

[p] Gaubil, Hist. Gentel. p. 223, & seqq.

pulsed

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pulſed them three times; but falling from his horſe was taken, and carried to Hay-tû, whoſe great offers he refuſed, chuſing to die rather than prove unfaithful to Timûr.

In January 1299, this monarch ſent mandarins into all the provinces, to examine into the loſſes which the people had ſuffered, the damages which the troops had cauſed, the families of mandarins which had not fortune to live ſuitable to their condition, and the peaſants who could not cultivate their lands. Theſe commiſſioners afforded real relief to the poor, the diſeaſed, and the old officers who were no longer able to ſerve. This conduct loaded Timûr with the public applauſe; he refuſed continually to declare war againſt Japan, although ſeveral Mungls, who delighted in blood and ſlaughter, urged him to it. The emperor declared, that he would live in peace, and baniſh the vices which reigned in the empire. He daily enquired into the miſeries of the people, and ſeemed to be ſenſible only of the glory of making them happy.

A.D. 1299.

Timûr's charity.

The tribunal of mathematics having foretold an eclipſe of the moon for Auguſt, which did not happen, the great lords, to ſave its credit, repreſented to the emperor, that Heaven had for that time, in his majeſty's favour, cauſed a change in the motion of the ſun. Timûr did not believe what they ſaid; yet, without puniſhing the tribunal, ſent them notice to ſet the ſtars in order again.

An eclipſe miſtaken.

In the year 1300, Lyew-ſhen, a general of the troops, repreſented to the court, that the kingdom of Pa-pe-ſi-fû (D) would not receive the calendar of the empire, and prayed his majeſty to permit him to compel the inhabitants to follow the form of the Chineſe year, and reckon their months like the ſubjects of the emperor. One of his miniſters, called Wan-tſe, conſidering this as a ſerious affair, perſuaded the emperor, in December, to attack the kingdom of Pa-pe-ſi-fû. Alaaſun oppoſed that reſolution, alleging, that the people whom they wanted to attack were Barbarians; that, indeed, they might be inſtructed if his majeſty thought fit; but that it would be of no uſe, as well as dangerous to make war upon them. The emperor ſaid nothing to the miniſter Alaaſun, but, contrary to his cuſtom, he fell into a paſſion with another mandarin, who preſumed to give his advice. In effect, Lyew-ſhen was ordered, with twenty thouſand men, to attack Pa-pe-ſi-fû [q].

A.D. 1300.

Pa-pe-ſi-fû invaded.

[q] Gaubil, ubi ſupra, p. 225, & ſeq.

(D) A pretty large country between Yun-nan and Bengâl in India; but the air is very unwholſome, and the people poor; and were, at that time, cruel and barbarous. Gaubil.

But

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But it was not long before Timûr repented this unfortunate war: moſt of the troops periſhed by famine or ſickneſs, and the province of Yun-nan ſuffered ſeverely. The bordering people, who, till then, had lain quiet, took arms, and plundered ſeveral countries ſubject to the emperor. This war at length became ſerious; many excellent officers died in it; ſo that the troops of Hû-quang, Sechwen, Shen-ſi, and Yun-nan, were obliged to march; and Koko, ſon of Hû-pi-lay, had orders to ſupport thoſe troops, in caſe of need. Yeſûtar and Lyew-kû-kyay, after many difficulties and loſſes, ſubdued Pa-pe-ſi-fû, and appeaſed the troubles which the Myau-tſe, and the people of the frontiers, had excited: nor was it till the year 1303 that an end was put to the war. The emperor often hinted to Alaaſun, that he repented having not followed his advice; which occaſion a great mandarin ſeized to repreſent to his majeſty, that, for thirty years paſt, the empire had been at exorbitant expences to make war on Japan, Gan-nan, Qua-wa, and Lyew-Kyew, without the leaſt profit. He compared thoſe wars to that of Pa-pe-ſi-fû; and added, that the honour of the emperor required that he ſhould put to death the general Lyew-ſhen, as having deceived his prince. Several of that general's friends repreſented, that he ought to enjoy the amneſty; but Alaaſun made the ſame repreſentation as the mandarin; and Lyew-ſhen had his head ſtruck off.

and reduced.

Rebellion in Pegû.

A lord of the kingdom of Myen (or Pegû) having revolted againſt and ſlain his ſovereign Ti-li-pû-wa-na-na-ti-tiya, that prince's ſecond ſon eſcaped to Ta-tû, and, on his knees, implored aſſiſtance from the emperor. Timûr, by advice of his council, granted his requeſt; and Suechawr, great general in Yun-nan, was ordered to enter Myen, and attack the rebels. He obeyed his orders; but was worſted, with his lieutenants, who returned to Yun-nan, after ſpreading a report, that they had made all things quiet. However, the court had intelligence, that ſeveral great officers had been corrupted by the rebel; theſe being tried for the ſame, were found guilty, and put to death: nor did Suechawr eſcape puniſhment; for he was degraded, and his eſtate confiſcated.

The ſame year died Pû-hû-chû, one of the miniſters of ſtate, a Kangli by nation, and one of the wiſeſt men of his time. He held the chief employments in the empire, and yet died very poor. His children inherited his probity, and love for the ſciences. His wife, who had as much virtue as her

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her huſband, was continually at work with her hands to maintain her family.

Timûr had ſent his nephew Hayſhan into Tartary, to learn the art of war under the generals Ywe-chechar and Choangûr. This prince had defeated Hay-tû in ſeveral engagements; but the latter, though always worſted, was ſtill in a condition to make himſelf feared; ſo that the emperor was obliged to have great armies continually in that country, commanded by princes of his family, and his beſt generals. Hayſhan having, in 1301, joined together the five great bodies of troops which had been employed in different parts of Tartary, fought ſeveral bloody battles, between Karakorom and the river Tamir, with Hay-tû and his brother Towa, whoſe troops were, for the moſt part, cut in pieces. Hay-tû, who, for more than thirty years, had carried on hoſtilities againſt the princes of his family, on pretence that they had uſurped the empire of Ogotay, or Oktay, to his prejudice, died with vexation. His brother Towa was dangerouſly wounded, but eſcaped with a few followers. Such a ſeries of loſſes, and ill ſucceſs, at length induced moſt of the princes who were of Hay-tû's party to acknowlege Timûr for the true ſucceſſor of Jenghîz Khân.

Hayſhan's ſucceſſes.

A.D. 1301.

Death of Hay-tû;

In January 1302 died prince Kanmala, the emperor's eldeſt brother; univerſally lamented for his loyalty, courage, and other excellent qualities. In March the court was under great uneaſineſs on account of the emperor's illneſs; but he recovered his health, and learned, with a ſenſible joy, how much the people had been afflicted to hear he was ſick. He, on his part, cauſed great ſums to be diſtributed, and a general pardon to be publiſhed. In April he removed, as uſual to Shang-tû; and, in May, an eclipſe of the ſun happening, which the tribunal had neglected to calculate, the mandarins were puniſhed, by degrading ſome, expelling others, and leſſening the ſalaries of the reſt. The inſtitution of an imperial college at Tatû gave great ſatisfaction to the Chineſe literati; but they could not forbear expreſſing their concern, to ſee that a palace had not been built to honour the memory of Confucius. This particular being repreſented to Timûr by Alaaſun, that prince, who had a high eſteem for the philoſopher, and underſtood his doctrine, cauſed a magnificent palace to be erected for him, which is ſtill ſeen at Pe-king [r].

A.D. 1302.

and prince Kanmala.

Confucius honoured.

[r] Gaubil, ubi ſupra, p. 228, & ſeqq.

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Jenghîz Khân brought with him into Tartary, from Persia, Khoraſſân and Great Bukhâria, a conſiderable number of Mohammedan families, among whom there were many excellent officers; and, ever after, the Mohammedans were very powerful at the Mungl court. There were, of that religion generals, and whole bodies of troops; chiefs of merchants, and mandarins in all the tribunals, eſpecially that of the mathematics; doctors, and even miniſters of ſtate, in which number U-tû-pû-ting was included.

A.D.1303. In 1303, the emperor, in regard to the evils which had been occaſioned by the long wars with Hay-tû and Towa, appointed generals to command in the territory of Quachew and Sha-chew. There he ordered magazines to be erected for the troops, and lodgements for them in ſeveral places between Kan-chew, in China, and Sha-chew. This monarch grew daily more and more beloved; and the Tatar princes were charmed with his integrity, clemency, and liberality.

All Tartary ſubmits. Prince Towa, exhauſted with ſo long a war, aſſembled all the lords, his vaſſals, and declared he was reſolved to acknowlege Timûr, whom he highly praiſed. Chapar, eldeſt ſon of Hay-tû, took the ſame ſtep. The other princes followed their example; and, after having cauſed the emperor to be recognized in their reſpective territories, ſent deputies in their names to implore his pardon, and beg they might be numbered among his ſubjects. Timûr granted their requeſt, and ſaw all Tartary united to his empire; a deſign which his grandfather Hû-pi-lay could never compaſs. Timûr, on this occaſion, conferred great honour on the prince Choangûr. He gave him, with his own hand, a gold ſeal, jewels, and habits, in preſence of the whole court: he praiſed his merit, and beſtowed on him the principal poſts in the army. In October, the Han-lin, who were appointed to examine the Chineſe hiſtory, and write annals, preſented the emperor with the annals of Jenghîz Khân, Ogotay, Quey-yew, Toley, and Meng-ko.

A.D 1305. The Ywen, or Mungls, had by tradition, their certain rules and rites for the worſhip of Heaven; but they had neither fixed ceremonies, places, nor times, for ſacrifice. Timûr therefore employed able perſons to examine what had been the practice on that head, from the foundation of the Chineſe empire to his own time. Alaaſun, with ſome others who were Chineſe, reported to the emperor the reſult of their reſearches, and ſettled the ceremonies which

Religious ceremonies fixed.

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which were thenceforth to be obſerved in the worſhip of Heaven.

Timûr had one ſon called Te-ſhew, and one daughter by Pe-yeu, the princeſs of Hongkila. Te-ſhew was appointed heir; but died without children during the life of his father; who deceaſed himſelf in January 1307, in his forty-ſecond year, without either leaving iſſue, or naming a ſucceſſor. A.D. 1307. *Timûr dies.*

This prince paſſed, in the judgement of the Chineſe, for a perfect emperor. The wiſe conduct which he obſerved in the war againſt Hay-tû and Nayen; the judicious choice which he made of generals and miniſters; the conſtant averſion which he ſhewed to the vices which reign but too often in the courts of princes; and the extraordinary care which he took to relieve the people; give a high idea of this prince's virtue and abilities. He was ſixth khân of Tartary, and ſecond emperor of China [*]. *His character.*

SECT. II.

The Reign of Hayſhan, called by the Chineſe Vû-tſong.

WHEN the emperor Timûr died, Hayſhan, eldeſt ſon of Talamapala, the ſon of Cheng-kin, the ſon of Hûpi-lay, was lieutenant-general in Tartary, and at the head of a great army to the north of Karakorom. He was eſteemed by moſt of the princes of his family, whom he had viſited in Tartary, and had gained reputation in the war with Hay-tû. He had likewiſe a conſiderable intereſt among the grandees, many of whom expreſſed a deſire to ſee him emperor; while none ſeemed to think of ſetting any of the ſons of Kanmala, eldeſt ſon of Cheng-kin, on the throne. Mean time the empreſs Pe-ya-û, widow of Timûr, having conceived a hatred againſt a princeſs of her own houſe, the wife of Talamapala, cauſed her to be baniſhed to Whay-chew, in Honan, with her ſon Ayyulipalipata; and, fearing the reſentment of Hayſhan (who was alſo her ſon, and ſecretly enraged at her treatment), in caſe he became emperor, ſent for the miniſter A-û-tay, prince Mingli Temur, with ſeveral other princes and grandees of her court: to them ſhe propoſed the prince Honanta, eldeſt ſon of Mangkola, third ſon of Hû-pi-lay, who then governed the princes of Shen-ſi, Se-chwen, and *Seventh khân Hayſhan.*

[*] Gaubil, ubi ſupra, p. 230.

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Tibbet; and usually resided at Si-gan Fû, capital of the first of those provinces. Honanta, who readily embraced the offer of the empress, hastened to Ta-tû; while the parties above mentioned took measures to hinder Hayshan's return.

Honanta his competitor.

The first step they took, was to go to the palace, and intreat the empress to pull down the curtain (E), in order to give audiences, and govern the state, till Honanta was installed. Then A-û-tay assembled the grandees at the palace of the ancestors; and, under pretence of consulting about the succession, they began by force to perform the ceremonies which are usually observed after the recognition of a new emperor. Two great mandarins opposed this attempt; and insisted, that they ought first to see the name of the new emperor. Ho-whey, one of the prime mandarins, expressed himself to the same purpose. A-û-tay fell into a passion, and threatened with death the opposing lords; but as they stood firm to their principles, the assembly dissolved.

Alaafun's policy.

On the other side, Alaafun, as prime minister, seizing the seals of the tribunals, caused the treasury to be shut up, together with the chambers where the robes were kept, and jewels of the crown. Then acting in concert with the officer of the inner guard of the palace, he suffered nobody to enter. At the same time he feigned himself sick; and, in spite of the repeated orders and threats of the empress, remained firm; sending privately some trusty lords to Hayshan and Ayyulipalipata, to hasten to court. This latter, having received the express in February, was at a loss what course to take. Li-meng his master quoted the law of Shi-tsû (F), which excluded bastards from the succession; and represented, that, as his brother Hayshan was above a thousand leagues from the capital, he ought to set out with the princess his mother for Ta-tû; Limeng, who was but little known at court, went before; and, pretending to be a physician, as such was brought into the chamber of Alaafun. A lord, sent by the empress to know how the minister did, was with him when Li-meng entered; yet, nobody suspecting him to be other than a physician, he had opportunity enough to deliver what he had to say on the part of Ayyulipalipata. After this communication,

Li-meng's stratagem.

(E) This is in allusion to an ancient custom observed by the Chinese princesses, who governed during the minority of the princes their sons. Gaubil.

(F) The Chinese title for Hû-pi-lay.

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he took post-horses; and, while Alaasun prepared every thing necessary for the reception of that prince, Li-meng travelled day and night; so that the empress was much surprised, when soon after she was informed, that Ayyulipalipata, and his mother, had arrived in the city. They made their entrance into the palace early in the morning, followed on horseback by their retinue in deep mourning; and were introduced, by the officers of the guards, into their old apartment.

Palipata arrived.

The partisans of Honanta agreed to declare him emperor on the third of March; and chose that day, under pretence of celebrating the birth of Ayyulipalipata. Alaasun promised Honanta to assist at the ceremony; and, the same night, gave Ayyulipalipata notice; acquainted him, that it was necessary to circumvent the authors of the plot, without waiting for the arrival of Hayshan. Prince Fûla, who filled the post of great captain, undertook to head an army; and, two days before, entered Ta-tû at the head of a considerable body of troops, without declaring on what design; but the empress could easily perceive, that the prince would never suffer Honanta to be proclaimed emperor, and, from that time, was in very great fear. Ayyulipalipata, seeing himself strengthened by an army at his devotion, caused a report to be spread, that Hayshan had sent a commissioner to enquire into what had passed with respect to Honanta. Then prince Mengli Temûr, being seized, was carried in chains to Shang-tû. A-û-tay, and the other mandarins his accomplices, were condemned to death; but execution was respited till the arrival of Hayshan. Guards likewise were placed at the gates of both the palace and city; so that the empress, and prince Honanta, saw themselves entirely disabled from proceeding in their design; and, as it were, prisoners in their own palace.

The conspirators seized.

Mean-time the princes of Ayyulipalipata's party proposed to him to assume the empire; but he rejected the proposal, and declared plainly, that the crown belonged to his elder brother. He added, that the prosecutions he had ordered were in favour of Hayshan, and to punish those who had the audacity to attempt to violate the rules of the succession. Li-meng was nominated for one of the chief employments, which he declined. He had never seen Hayshan; and, as soon as he heard that prince was on the road, he disappeared: nor was the place of his re-

Li-meng's modesty.

[t] Gaubil, ubi supra, p. 233, & seqq.

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treat known, the love of ſtudy and retirement having induced him to conceal it.

Hayſhan's reſolution. As ſoon as Hayſhan received advice of his uncle Timûr's death, he repaired from the mountain Antay, or Altay, to Karakorom; where he aſſembled the princes and great men, in order to deliberate on what meaſures he ſhould embrace. The troops, who loved him, were deſirous that he ſhould be acknowleged emperor in that ancient capital; but Hayſhan would not agree to that ſcheme. He received an expreſs from the princeſs his mother, by which he found, that ſhe was inclined to have Ayyulipalipata elected; induced thereto by the words of an aſtrologer, who had promiſed the empire to that prince, at his departure from Whay-chew. On this advice, Hayſhan ſent for Toto, who had brought him intelligence of Timûr's death, and told him, that as he was older than Ayyulipalipata, the ſpeech of an aſtrologer ought not to diſturb the order of the ſucceſſion; that he knew how to puniſh thoſe who had infuſed ſuch ſentiments into his mother; and that he was reſolved to ſet out for Shang-tû, there to take poſſeſſion of the throne of Jenghîz Khân. Having thus declared himſelf, he ordered Toto, to acquaint his mother, brother, Alaaſun, as well as the other princes and faithful lords, with his reſolution.

Marches towards Ta-tû. Hayſhan choſe thirty thouſand ſoldiers out of the army at Karakorom, appointing the prince Ganwhey and Choangûr to command them. Then putting himſelf at their head, began his march in three diviſions. The princeſs, Hayſhan's mother, charmed to hear from Toto the true intentions of her ſon, ſent that lord back, requeſting him to ſpeak in her behalf to Hayſhan, and eſpecially to explain to him fully in what ſenſe ſhe ſeemed to wiſh to ſee Ayyulipalipata on the throne. Mean time this latter prince cauſed his brother's approach to be publiſhed in Ta-tû; and, after he had provided for the ſecurity of that city, ſet out with the guards, accompanied by ſeveral princes and grandees, for Shang tû, to prepare every thing for the reception of Hayſhan [u].

This prince expected with impatience the return of Toto; and, ſeeing him at a diſtance, roſe up in his chariot, and ordered him to come and ſit by him. Toto was accompanied by his brother Aſhapûwha, ſent by the princeſs. He appointed Aſhapûwha to be one of his miniſters; and being near Shang-tû, drew up his troops: he entered that

[u] Gaubil, ubi ſupra, p. 235, & ſeqq.

city

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city in May, attended by his generals, and was conducted to the palace by the imperial guard, amidſt the acclamations of the people. As ſoon as he ſaw his brother, he advanced to embrace him, both ſhedding tears; thanked him for his zeal, and praiſed his management. Then the two princes went to pay their duty to the princeſs their mother, who reckoned this the moſt glorious day of her life. Hayſhan was acknowleged emperor with much pomp: he declared his mother empreſs; and gave to his father the title of emperor: he likewiſe appointed his brother hereditary prince; which ceremonies being performed, the court ſet out for Ta-tû. *Proclaimed emperor.*

When they arrived at that city, Hayſhan, attended by the princes of his houſe, went to the palace of his anceſtors, to honour the memory of Tay-tſu or Jenghîz Khân, Ogotay, Quey-yew, Meng-ko, Toley, Shi-tſû or Hû-pilay, Timûr, Cheng-kin, and Talamapala. *Honours his anceſtors.*

After this ceremony of reſpect paid to his anceſtors, Hayſhan ordered the ſentence of death, obtained by Ayyuli-palipata againſt the mandarins of Honanta's party, to be carried into execution: he likewiſe condemned the empreſs Pe-ya-û, and prince Honanta, as well as the miniſter A-û-tay. In July he cauſed to be diſtributed through the empire the Mungl tranſlation of the book written by Confucius, intituled, Hyau king; with an exhortation to the Tartar princes and grandees to read that book, and conform to the doctrine it contained. *Conſpirators put to death.*

A.D. 1308.

The year 1308 is reckoned the firſt of the emperor Hayſhan, whom the Chineſe intitle Vû-tſong: he was warlike, equitable, generous, mild, and a patron of learned men: but he had three faults; was too much attached to the lamas, loved wine, and was fond of women [w]. *Hayſhan's character.*

Li-pi, one of the great mandarins of Shang-tû, intending to puniſh a lama, who had abuſed ſome of the commonalty, that lama, and ſeveral others, armed with ſticks, entered his tribunal, beat and confined him in a ſmall room; yet, on complaining, could not procure redreſs. At the ſame time another lama had the impudence to ſtop the chariot of a princeſs on the road, that he might get the ſtart of her in travelling; and, when her attendants attempted to ſeize him, he beat the princeſs, and proceeded. Neither could this great perſonage obtain any ſatisfaction from the emperor; on the contrary, an imperial order was publiſhed, importing, that the hand ſhould be cut off *Inſolence of the lamas.*

[w] Gaubil, ubi ſupra, p. 238, & ſeq.

which ſtruck a lama; and the tongue of him who abuſed any of them. The hiſtorians ſpeak with great vehemence againſt theſe acts of injuſtice; and add, "that the lamas ruined the empire of the Ywen; that the dynaſty of the weſtern Han was deſtroyed by the relations of the queens; that of the Eaſtern Han by the eunuchs; that of the Tang by the great mandarins; and that of the Song by bad ſubjects."

In November, Chapar, eldeſt ſon of Hay-tu, the eldeſt ſon of Ta-tû, and others, came in perſon to the court, to acknowlege Hayſhan for their ſovereign. At the end of the year Alaaſun died at Karakorom in Tartary, where he had been removed on the following occaſion.

Alaaſun diſgraced. A-u-tay, the miniſter who had propoſed inſtalling Honanta, being a perſon of ſuch great ſtrength, that no-body durſt attempt to ſeize him, it was feared he would have eſcaped: upon this, prince Tûla, deſcended from Ogotay, by Myeli, undertook the taſk; took him with a great deal of reſolution, and bound him. In conſideration of this ſervice, Hayſhan conferred on him the title of regulo of the country of Ywe. Alaaſun, on this occaſion, repreſented, that it was againſt the rules of the imperial family to give that title to a prince of ſo remote a branch as Tûla was. Tûla, in revenge, accuſed Alaaſun; and ſhewed his name among thoſe who were to have inſtalled Honanta. The emperor knew the charge to be falſe; yet, ſeeming to be angry with Alaaſun, deprived him of ſome of his titles; but appointed him governor-general and prime miniſter at Karakorom, which was one of the firſt poſts in the empire.

Death and character. Alaaſun repaired to that ancient capital of Tartary; and it was there that he diſplayed his talents in their full ſplendour: he began by putting to death a Tartar lord, the head of a gang of robbers who deſtroyed the country: he beſtowed large gifts on the poor officers and ſoldiers: procured a great number of oxen, cows, ſheep, and horſes; giving, in exchange, ſilks, linen, rice, and tea: he ſent for ſkilful fiſhermen, plowmen, labourers, and peaſants, from China; taught the Tatars, who dwelt along the lakes and rivers, to fiſh; cauſed canals to be dug for watering the lands, and rendering them fit for culture; and eſtabliſhed public granaries, poſts, and carriages. Alaaſun was of the horde of Walano (or Alano, Alans), who, Marco Polo ſays, were Chriſtians. Likiſili, his great grandfather, was an intimate friend of Jenhgîz Khân, and had ſaved his life upon a particular occaſion.

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In January 1309 prince Tûla was guilty of want of reſpect to the emperor: he was brutiſh, as well as addicted to wine; and, as very bad conſequences were to be feared from his violent temper, he was put to death. Hayſhan, about this time, examined into the ſtate of his finances; and ordered kaſhes, or copper deniers, to be caſt. New tickets were likewiſe iſſued, each bearing the value of an ounce of ſilver. A.D. 1309. *New money.*

In February a conſpiracy was diſcovered, at the head of which was Kobo, ſon of the emperor Hû-pi-lay, and the ſon of prince Tûla. Twenty-four lamas, concerned in the plot, were puniſhed with death, and the two princes baniſhed. In June the lands of the bonzas of the ſects of Fo and Tau, which had been exempt from paying tribute, were declared thenceforward liable to the tax, as well as thoſe of other people. *A plot diſcovered.*

One of the great mandarins of Ta-tû was a foreigner, named Arſlân, much beloved by the people, and eſteemed by the ſoldiers; but being accuſed, by ſome of his enemies, of a deſign to revolt, was beheaded, with his brother, and ſeventeen other perſons. The people cried out, that Arſlân was innocent; and, indeed, his innocence appeared, when it was too late. *Unjuſt execution.*

In January 1311, the emperor Hayſhan died, at the age of thirty-one: he had no children by the empreſs Chenko, princeſs of Hong-kila; but he had two by two other queens, who were both afterwards emperors; the eldeſt was named Hoſhila, the other Tûtemûr: he was the ſeventh khân of the Mungls, and third of the Chineſe dynaſty of the Ywen. A.D. 1311. *Hayſhan dies.*

SECT. VIII.

The Reign of Ayyuli-palipata, ſtyled by the Chineſe Jin-tſong.

AS ſoon as Hayſhan was dead, his brother Ayyuli-palipata, who had been early declared hereditary prince, was acknowleged emperor, and ſtyled by the Chineſe Jin-tſong. Several miniſters, during the reign of his predeceſſor, had abuſed their power, and taken advantage of that prince's inclination to pleaſure, in order to enrich themſelves, and committed a thouſand acts of injuſtice, which the emperor knew nothing of: the new monarch began his reign by making examples of theſe evil miniſters; *Eighth Khân Ayyuli-palipata.*

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sters; he put some to death, and banished others, not sparing even the princes of the blood: he then chose mandarins, remarkable for their integrity, to act at the head of affairs.

Public calamities, imputed to the bonzas.

As he loved the people, he beheld, with grief, the ravages which epidemic diseases made in his capital: with no less concern he saw, that, since his accession to the throne, the sun had been eclipsed, a comet had appeared, and there had been two earthquakes; besides, the famine, drought, and inundations of rivers had ruined several provinces. On occasion of these calamities, he assembled the grandees; some of whom suggested, that the false worship of Fo had caused so many evils. The emperor deplored the misfortunes which befel his people; and even declared they were sent by way of punishment for the faults which he had committed in government, and promised to amend: but whether it was that he believed the worship of Fo to be good, or that, in policy, he connived at it, for fear of causing a revolt in the princes of his family and his Mungl subjects, who were bigotted to the doctrine of the bonzas, he would not hear of abolishing that superstition [x].

A.D. 1314.

Learning encouraged.

In January 1314, the emperor ordered a search to be made after such men of learning and virtue, as were either unknown, or without employment; and in March, made new regulations for the imperial college at Ta-tû, and that of the Whey-hû, both of which had much declined.

A.D. 1315.

Examinations established.

In March 1315, Ayyuli-palipata instituted examinations among the doctors, who were divided into two bodies, one of Mungls, the other of Chinese; and, having assembled them, made them compose verses in his presence, upon a subject of his own choosing. The same custom is still in force; but no distinction is made between the Chinese and Tartars.

Effects of oppression;

Tye-mu-tyel, one of the principal mandarins for the finances, condemning the taxes imposed in 1314, augmenting them in the southern provinces, one of his chief commissioners, named Ni-cha-ma-ting, a Mohammedan, committed all sorts of vexations in Kyang-si; and his avarice carried him so far, as to rob the sepulchres, in hopes of enriching himself. The city of Kan-chew, in Shen-si, revolted; one of the seditious chiefs assuming the title of emperor. The great mandarins of the province stifled this rebellion in the beginning; the Mohammedan was

[x] Gaubil, p. 243, & seq.

punished,

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puniſhed, and the people were eaſed, not only in Kyang-ſi, but alſo in Che-kyang, Kyang-nan and other provinces.

In the beginning of this year, Ayyuli-palipata ſent commiſſioners into all parts of the empire, to examine into the conduct of the mandarins: he knew that the people in the ſouth had ſuffered ſeveral grievances from thoſe magiſtrates; and that the revolt of Kan-chew was the effect of their ill conduct. The emperor, who feared nothing ſo much as an inteſtine war, became very uneaſy; and his apprehenſions increaſed, on the appearances of a comet, which happened in November. The people were ſtruck with the ſight of this phænomenon, which they conſidered as a token, that Heaven deſigned to puniſh the emperor. Ayyuli palipata, as ſoon as he ſaw the comet, cauſed a general pardon to be publiſhed; and diſcharged the provinces of Kyang-ſi and Che-kyang, which had ſuffered moſt, from all kinds of taxes for two years. The other provinces were eaſed in proportion. *and a comet.*

In 1316, the prince Hoſhila, eldeſt ſon of Hayſhan the late emperor, was appointed to govern Yun-nan: at which appointment being diſcontented, he left China, and went to reſide to the north-weſt of the mountain Kin. Several great men followed him; and he was received with open arms by the princes of the imperial houſe, particularly by prince Chakotay. Mean time, Ayyuli-palipata ordered a palace to be built at Wey-whey, in Honan, to honour the memory of the celebrated Pi-kan; and another at Chang-ping-chew, a city of Pe-che-li, to honour that of Ti-jin-kyay. At the end of the year he appointed his ſon Shotepala, a hopeful prince, to be his heir [y]. A.D. 1316. *Meng-tſe honoured.*

In 1319, the emperor, who tenderly loved this prince, had an inclination to cede the empire to him; and moſt of the grandees approved of his deſign. But one of the great lords of the court having induced them to change their ſentiments, his majeſty deſiſted: however, he declared the prince lieutenant-general of the empire, and gave him the management of ſtate affairs. Shotepala had a great ſoul, as well as a true filial affection for the emperor and the empreſs. A.D. 1319.

In January 1320, Ayyuli-palipata fell ſick; and his diſeaſe being judged mortal, the young prince never left his father's chamber, day nor night, but ſeemed overwhelmed with grief: in a few days, his father died, in A.D. 1320. *The emperor dies.*

[y] Gaubil, p. 245, & ſeq.

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the thirty-fixth year of his age. History praiſes him for his averſion to hunting, and other pleaſures; his application to buſineſs; his duty to the princeſs his mother; and the protection which he gave to the ſciences, and learned men.

Ayyuli-palipata married Anoſhotheli, princeſs of Honghila, by whom he had Shotepala, the appointed heir. He had alſo another ſon, called Utûfû-pûwha, and a daughter; but it is not ſaid that he had them by the princeſs of Honghila: however that be, this emperor never was addicted to women.

Choanggûr's exploits.

In the beginning of his reign he declared war againſt a prince of his houſe, called Iſyen-pûwha, ſupported by ſeveral other princes: but their army was defeated in the country of Itchaymiſh, by Choanggûr, then one of the generals of the troops, which were very numerous about Karakorom. He afterwards defeated their general Utû Temûr, in the country of Chemeykan; and purſued the enemy as far as the country of Chayr, near the defile called the Iron Gate (G).

Ayyuli-palipata was eighth khân of the Mungl empire, and fourth emperor the Chineſe dynaſty of the Ywen [z].

SECT. IV.

The Reign of Shotepala, called by the Chineſe Ing-tſong.

Ninth khân Shotepala.

AS ſoon as Ayyuli-palipata was dead, the appointed heir was ſaluted emperor; and, to gratify the empreſs his mother, declared Tye-mû-tyel prime miniſter. This Mungl lord had been often employed in affairs under the late monarch, and underſtood the management of finances. He had, beſides, a great deal of wit and cunning, was hated by the people, as well as the great men; and although in diſgrace by the death of the late emperor, had been ſupported ſecretly by the empreſs. This wicked miniſter, grown proud with his new elevation, committed all ſorts of oppreſſion, and threw every thing into diſorder. In February, under falſe pretences,

[z] Gaubil, p. 248, & ſeq.

(G) A famous gorge of the mountains to the weſt of Samarkand, in Great Bukharia, where the war here ſpoken of was carried on. Gaubil.

he

he caused Syau-pay-chû and Yang-tûrchi, two of the most respectable lords of the court, to be put to death: they had belonged to the tribunal of ministers, and often detected his flagrant acts of injustice. He put to death several other persons; and threatened to give the wife of Yang-tûrchi to a slave. As soon as this lady, no less remarkable for her wisdom, modesty, and honour, than her beauty and high birth, had notice of his threat, she caused her hair to be cut off, disfigured her face, and took an oath to remain a widow.

The minister's violences.

Such violent proceedings incensed the grandees; but they dared not complain, either to the empress, or Shotepala, who was acknowleged emperor in March. After the installation, Tye-mû-tyel became more powerful than before; and, to revenge himself on the sage Li-meng, his enemy, lowered him a degree in the class of mandarins; and demolished a stone monument, which the emperors had raised in honour of him and his ancestors, in the place of their sepulchres. Li-meng seemed very little concerned at these indignities; and the emperor was surprised to see, that he did not so much as utter one murmur against the author. Resolving from hence to inform himself of Li-meng's actions, he repaired the monuments of stone and marble, restored him to his titles and employments, and cautioned Tye-mû-tyel to be very careful, for the future, not to accuse persons of so much virtue [a].

Pay-chû made minister.

Wicked men vested with power can never reform. This minister saw, with great uneasiness, that the emperor had much esteem for Pay-chû, general of the imperial guard. Pay-chû, descended from the famous Mû-hû-li, was a young lord, learned, brave, modest, and irreproachable in his manners. Shotepala, had always a great esteem for Pay-chû, which increased, in proportion as he became acquainted with the excellent qualities of his favourite. The emperor resolved, at last, to do nothing without the advice of Pay-chû; and, after several refusals, obliged him to take on him the charge of prime minister. This lord began his ministry, by making known the injury which Tye-mû-tyel had done his majesty, and concealed nothing of what had passed. The emperor Shotepala was equitable, and very susceptible in the point of honour. He caused an enquiry to be made after those who had been sufferers, and resolved to make them satisfaction, as far as he was able. He did not indeed think it yet convenient to

a. Gaubil, p. 250, & seq.

remove

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remove Tye-mû-tyel; but he put no manner of confidence in him, and took care that he ſhould not treat any body ill.

A.D. 1321. In April 1321, a conſpiracy was diſcovered, formed by Aſan, and ſeveral other great lords; who, by the advice of Pay-chû, and the empreſs grandmother, were condemned and executed. Tye-mû-tyel, who, by means of the empreſs, mother to Shotepala, ſtill maintained his ground, cauſed the prince Tûtemûr, ſecond ſon of the emperor Hayſhan, to be baniſhed to Kung-chew, capital of the iſland of Hay-nan [b].

Cenſors put to death. Shotepala, who was a zealous believer in the doctrine of Fo, in the beginning of the year built a magnificent temple to that falſe deity, in the mountains to the weſt of Pe-king. While the work was in hand, ſeveral cenſors of the empire made very ſatirical repreſentations upon the occaſion. The emperor, contrary to his cuſtom, burſting into a paſſion, cauſed ſome of them to be put to death, and baniſhed others. Some time after, the memory of theſe mandarins was re-eſtabliſhed; and the emperor was too wiſe not to repent having ſo imprudently followed the emotions of his anger. In April he cauſed the temple which the Whey-hû, or weſtern Mohammedans, had erected at Shang-tû, to be demoliſhed; and afterwards forbad thoſe foreigners to buy young boys and girls of the Mungls, in order to give or ſell them again for ſlaves to the Chineſe.

The court reformed. In 1322 Pay-chû had obtained leave to go into Lyautong, to raiſe a monument of marble, with an inſcription on it, in praiſe of Gantong his grandfather, who died in the reign of Hû-pi lay. Tye-mû-tyel, who, through vexation, had kept for ſome time within his palace, took the opportunity of Pay-chû's abſence to go to court; but the guards ſtopped him at the gate, and told him, they had orders not to let him enter. The anguiſh occaſioned by this diſgrace, threw him into a fit of ſickneſs, of which he

A.D. 1323. died in Auguſt univerſally deteſted. In June 1323 he was deprived of his titles; the monuments of ſtone and marble, inſcribed with his elogy, were pulled done, and his goods confiſcated. Mean time Pay-chû cauſed the taxes and annual tribute, payed by the provinces, to be remitted; and conſiderable ſums of bounty-money to be diſtributed every-where. Debauchery, avarice, luxury, and other vices were baniſhed from court; ſo that the Chineſe great

[b] Gaubil, ubi ſup. p. 261, &c. ſeqq.

men

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men could not help admiring ſuch wiſe conduct in a Tatar prince only twenty-one years of age.

While things ſeemed thus to promiſe happy times, Tye ſhe, the adopted ſon of Tye-mû-tyel, and one of the principal lords of the court, was wholly employed in contriving how to be revenged for the affront done his father, and the confiſcation of his effects. He firſt founded the inclinations of ſeveral diſcontented princes, with thoſe of the relations and friends of the mandarins who had been put to death in 1320.: he afterwards engaged ſeveral officers and ſoldiers in his intereſt. On the third of September, the emperor, being at Shang-tû, and not able to compoſe himſelf to ſleep, ordered prayers to be ſaid to Fo. Tye-ſhe, and his accomplices, were ſeized with fear. They had prevailed on the lamas to require that ſacrifices ſhould be offered to Fo, as the only means to avoid the evils which threatened the empire. Pay-chû ſent away the lamas, treating them "as men who thought of nothing but how to get money, and, in reality, protected wicked people." Theſe words being heard by the aſſociates of Tye-ſhe, who was one of the commanding officers in the guards, the lords Chinkin Temûr and Syen Temûr, formerly miniſters, prince Ganti-puwha, and others, immediately met, and conſulted how to prevent the meaſures of Pay-chû, whoſe probity, vigilance, and valour, they feared. That ſame night, Tye-ſhe, followed by ſeveral ſoldiers, ſlew that lord; and then entering the tent of the emperor, who was in bed, killed him with his own hand. The place where this aſſaſſination was committed, is called Nan-po, to the ſouth of the city Shang-tû. *Pay chû and the emperor aſſaſſinated.*

The emperor Shotepala married Sukopala, princeſs of the tribe of Ikilye, and daughter of Ilihaya, daughter of the emperor Timûr: but he had no children by her; and died without iſſue[c]. He was ninth emperor of the Mungls, and fifth of the Chineſe.

SECT. V.

The Reign of Yeſun-temûr, ſtyled by the Chineſe Tay-ting.

AT the time when the above mentioned conſpiracy was carrying on at Shang-tû, Yeſun-temûr, eldeſt ſon of prince Kanmala, brother of the emperor Timûr, com- *Tenth, Yeſun-temûr, or Tay-ting,*

[c] Gaubil. ubi ſup. p. 252, & ſeqq.

manded

manded to the north of the Great Kobi, or Sandy Desert, in Tartary, and encamped near the river Long-kû or Panchûni. This prince had in his court a lord named Taulasha, whose son Hasun was an officer in the imperial guards under the command of Pay-chû; but as he long knew that Tye-she intended to kill his general, he quitted his service. In March this year, 1323, a mandarin, called Tan-te, leaving the court, informed Taulasha that the emperor did not regard Yesun-temûr; and it was to be feared would, in a little time, put him to death. After this intelligence, the two became intimate friends. Tye-she, before he put his design in execution, sent a mandarin, named Walû-tse, to acquaint Taulasha that he, Alasan, Yesyen-temûr, and others, as soon as they had brought their plot to bear, would proclaim the young prince Yesun-temûr emperor.

promotes the conspicators;

As soon as this affair was communicated to Yesun-temûr, he caused Walû-tse to be arrested, and instantly dispatched several couriers to inform the emperor of what was plotting against him: but the messengers arrived too late. The prince Ganti-pûwha, and Yesyen Temûr, having seized the seal and imperial robes, travelled in haste across the desert; and on their arrival at the river Long-kû, Yesun-temûr caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in September. He then published a general pardon, and declared Taulasha his prime minister: he likewise appointed Tye-she and his accomplices to be his principal mandarins.

but soon after puts them to death.

As Shotepala was the delight of the people, the news of his death diffused a general sorrow among the princes, grandees, and chiefs of tribes, as well as the Chinese mandarins and literati. On the other hand, the princes and lords of the family of Muhûli, which was one of the most powerful and considerable among the Mungls, were impatient to obtain justice for a murder committed on one of the principal persons of their house, who was general of the imperial guards, and prime minister. The new emperor might have easily seen that he was in danger of suffering, for having had a hand in the assassination of the prince and his minister. Prince Maynû, descended from the grandfather of Jenghîz Khân, finding the emperor inclined to make use of Tye-she and his accomplices, and even to advance them to be great mandarins, represented that such a conduct would not only lose him the affections both of the Chinese and Tatars, but that posterity would reproach his majesty with dipping his hands in the blood of his sovereign, and that of a minister sprung from the great

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great Mûhûli, to whom the Mungls owed the empire of the Tatars. Yesun-temûr, struck with this idea, ordered Yesyun Temûr, Wanche, Tumen, and other lords, to be executed that instant, in the camp of Long-kû. He likewise dispatched officers to Ta-tû to seize Tye-she and his associates; who were all cut off on the spot, their families extirpated, and their effects confiscated. Sonan, son of Tye-mû-tyel, had only been sentenced to be banished; but on representing that he was the first who struck Pay-chû on the shoulder with his sword, the emperor ordered him also to be put to death, and his goods to be forfeited; although the latter part of the sentence was not put in execution. *but soon after puts them to death:*

The lives of Ganti-puwha, and other princes who were in some sort parties in Tye-she's treason, were spared; but they were all banished, and carried the brand of their infamy along with them. Yesun-temûr, arriving at Ta-tû in November, restored the memory of the two lords whom Tye-mû-tyel had condemned to death in January 1310. The emperor did the same justice to those impeached the year following by that minister and his son Sonan; some of whom had been put to death, and others banished, on their accusations, which were now declared to be malicious. *others banished.*

In 1324, which is the first year of Yesun-temûr, styled by the Chinese Tay-ting, one of the ministers proposed to his majesty to appoint doctors, whose business should be to expound daily, in the palace, such books as were most proper to form the princes and grandees for government. The emperor approved of this design; and ordered his son, as well as those of other princes, to attend every day to hear the lectures. The first book selected was the Chinese history, written by Tse-ma-quang; and this custom is still observed. Chang-quey, the projector of this useful institution, was one of the most steady and discerning ministers the Ywen ever had. He was the son of general Chang-hong-fan, and educated by a great mandarin of the Song empire [d]. A.D. 1324. *Lectures on government, procured by Chang-quey.*

Soon after these lectures were established, the emperor declared his son Asûkepa, his heir. Mean time the Chinese grandees and literati, who were watching for an occasion to make known to posterity their sentiments touching the treason of Tye-she, the worship of Fo, and several other abuses, met with one in April; for, during that month,

[d] Gaubil, ubi supra, p. 255, & seqq.

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wherein the emperor made a progress to Shang-tû, there happened a violent storm, an earthquake, and a total eclipse of the moon. These, they publicly declared, were sent in punishment for the murder of Shotepala and Paychu. The emperor, seized with fear, sent for the grandees, and ordered them to draw up a memorial, openly declaring their sentiments. Chang-quey was chosen to perform this task, which he executed with equal spirit and ability. In this remonstrance he proposed that all concerned in the murder of the late emperor should meet with condign punishment; that all oppressors should be cut off; and all abuses reformed. He represented that it was not by the bonzas or priests of Fo that he should seek to be happy: that since the bonzas, the lamas, and the tau-tse, made so many prayers and sacrifices to Fo, Heaven had shewed continual marks of its displeasure; and that, till such time as the people saw the worship of Fo abolished, and all the bonzas driven out, they might expect to be unhappy; that the palace of the emperor was filled with idle persons, eunuchs, astrologers, physicians, and others, whose maintenance amounted to exorbitant sums; that, as the empire was a family, of which the emperor was father, it was not fit that any of his children should die for want of care and assistance; much less was it proper that a prince should think it inconsistent with his dignity to listen to the cries of the miserable.

His famous memorial against the conspirators, religion of Fo,

and useless officers.

The emperor read this discourse of Chang-quey with pleasure; but durst not abolish the worship of Fo, for fear the Mungls should revolt.

A.D. 1326. In 1326 there was a great famine in Pe-che-li and Shantong, of which the emperor having received the particulars from Chang-quey, at his return from Pau-ting Fu, where he had been to see his relations, that prince followed his sage advice, in assisting the people of those two provinces. The lamas were all-powerful at court, especially with the princesses: they had patents to take post-horses, and travelled about with the equipage of princes; their lives and manners were often very disorderly; and the Chinese on all sides made most bitter complaints of their immorality and exorbitance.

Lamas insolence curbed.

A.D. 1327. In 1327 the grandees invited the emperor to go in person, and sacrifice to Heaven; but he declined the trouble, and cited a law of Hû-pi-lay, importing that the emperor should perform that sacrifice by a deputy. In the course of this year all sorts of evils afflicted the empire; drought, famine, inundations, an earthquake, and an eclipse of the sun.

Great calamities.

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ſun. In December died the illuſtrious Chang-quey, regretted by all the men of worth in the empire.

In the beginning of the year 1328 the emperor cauſed prints to be diſtributed through the empire, on which was delineated the art of rearing ſilk-worms, and making ſilk, with the manner of cultivating lands. Beſides theſe prints, he ordered a book to be diſtributed, conſiſting of fourteen chapters, wherein the ancient proceſs was explained. In February his imperial majeſty went from Ta-tû to Shang-tû, and left the guard of the former to Yen-temûr. In July he died, at the age of thirty-ſix, leaving the court full of intrigues and factions. A.D. 1328. *Care about ſilk.* *Emperor's death;*

This emperor married Papuhan, princeſs of Hongkila, who had the honours and title of empreſs. Beſides this princeſs, he likewiſe married his own niece, by one of his elder ſiſters, and two other ladies, of the houſe of Hongkila, near relations of the empreſs. The hiſtory ſays he left four ſons, of whom Aſukipa, the prince inheritor, was the eldeſt. *marriages, and ſons.*

Yeſun-temur was tenth khân of the Mungls, and ſixth emperor of the Chineſe Ywen[e].

SECT. VI.

The Reign of Hoſhila, known to the Chineſe by the Title of Ming-tſong.

AFTER the death of the emperor Yeſun-temur, the empreſs Papuhan, in the name of the prince her ſon, ſent the miniſter Upetûla to Ta-tû, in order to ſecure the ſeals, as well as to conciliate the affection of the people. On the other hand, Yen-temûr, as governor and commander-general in that capital, poſted troops in all the quarters, reinforced the guards at the gates both of the city and palace, and reſolved to raiſe to the throne Hoſhila and Tûtemûr, the two ſons of Hayſhan. Yen-temur, one of the greateſt generals of his time, was the third ſon of Chohangûr, prince of Kin-cha (or Kipchak). His fine perſonal qualities, joined to his birth, and the ſervices which his father and grandfather had performed, could not fail to make his fortune at court. As he had been raiſed by Hayſhan to the prime dignities, and was loved by that prince more than any other lord of his court, Yen- *Eleventh khân, Hoſhila.*

[e] Gaubil, ubi ſupra, p. 260, & ſeqq.

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temûr thought himself bound in gratitude to be attached to his family.

Yen-temûr's zeal for Hay-shan's family.

In these sentiments Yen-temur, in concert with the regulo of Gan-si, great grandson of Hû-pi-lay, by Mangkola, having selected his officers, and most resolute soldiers, on the day Kyaw of the eighth month, summoned the great mandarins to one of the halls of the palace. All the lords being assembled, Yen-temur, followed by seventeen of his party, proposed the two sons of Hayshan to be emperors; and said he would put to death on the spot any who should oppose that resolution. Having declared himself to this effect, he ordered his men to seize Upetula, and several other great mandarins, who did not concur with him, and conduct them to prison. He then appointed mandarins of his own party; and gave full power to Chau-shi-nen. The subaltern officers knew nothing of what was intended; and the generals who were in the secret, having assembled the troops, ordered them to kneel with their faces to the south, and strike the ground with their heads; by which ceremony they perceived that Yen-temur designed to proclaim Tûtemûr emperor, at that time banished into Hô-quang. For a whole month this general appeared always on horseback, and but a few persons knew where he slept at night. He had taken right measures to hasten Tutemûr to Ta-tû, and give Hoshila notice, who was in Tartary: at the same time he spread a report, that the first was advancing by great journeys; and that the latter would soon return from the north, with the princes of his family.

His great activity.

When Pe-yen, governor of Honan, a Merkit by nation, and one of the best officers of the Ywen, knew Yen-temûr's design, he entered into his views, and putting to death several officers whom he distrusted, obliged the troops to declare for Tûtemûr. Satûn, brother of Yen-temûr, seized the important post of Ku-yong-quang, and Tang-ki-shi, Yen-temûr's son, took Kû-pe-kû (H). Mean time that general used the necessary precautions for executing his design at Ta-tû; on which principle he put to death prince Koko-chû, and some other great lords, who endeavoured to supplant him; but he accomplished all he undertook, by his resolution, activity, genius, and the reputation he had gained in the opinion of the troops.

(H) A fortress and gate in the wall of China, to the north of Pe-king.

While

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While Yen-temûr thus exerted himself at Ta-tû, in favour of Tûtemûr, Taulasha caused Asûkipa, known to the Chinese by the name of Tyen-shun, to be proclaimed emperor. This party was powerful; for, besides many princes of the blood, and governors of provinces, most of the western officers and soldiers were inclined to follow it; and, according to the Chinese law, Asûkipa was the lawful emperor, he having been acknowleged heir apparent in the life-time of the emperor his father. Prince Wang-chan also had given an army to general Tashe Temûr, son of the minister Toto, prince of Kangli, in order to oppose that of Yen-temûr. *Asûkipa set up.*

At length, in August, Tûtemûr arrived at Ta-tû, and, by his presence, exceedingly strengthened his party. He made a promotion of mandarins, put Upetûla to death, and banished several other grandees whom Yen-temûr had imprisoned. This general pressed him to be proclaimed emperor. He put it off, saying, he would wait the return of his brother Hoshila, and yield the empire to him. However, at last he suffered himself to be prevailed on, and was proclaimed. Yen-temûr was immediately declared generalissimo, and Pe-yen, governor of Honan, was advanced. Manifestos were sent into all parts, and it was affirmed, that Tûtemûr was resolved to surrender the empire to his brother Hoshila. *Tûtemûr proclaimed.*

Prince Wang-chan having advanced as far as Yulin, was opposed by Satûn, brother of Yen-temûr, and sustained some loss; but taking advantage of Yen-temûr's absence, who had been sent to the frontiers to oppose prince Yesyen-temûr, he reduced Ku-yong-quan. On advice of this success, that general returned, and, in two battles, defeated that prince near the river Yu, and obliged him to retire into Tartary. Prince Koko, who declared for Asûkipa, with the troops of Shensi, seized the important post of Tong-quan. Prince Yesyen-temûr likewise entered Shen-si, and proclaimed him emperor. Tyemûko, the Tatar general, following the same party, advanced with a great army to the borders of Honan and Hu-quang, where he made great conquests. Honan was at this time full of formidable armies of both parties [f]. *Asûkipa proclaimed.*

Meanwhile Yesyen-temûr, who had marched from Shen-si into Pe-che-li, reduced Tong-chew, and being reinforced by many succours, drew near Ta-tû, in order to besiege it. On this intelligence, Yen-temûr putting *His troops defeated.*

[f] Gaubil. ubi supra, p. 162. & seqq.

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himself at the head of his troops, attacked the prince vigorously, and cut his army in pieces. The most valuable officers belonging to Asûkipa were slain in this battle; and the prince found great difficulty in retreating with the ruins of his army. Prince Ulatay, who also declared for Asûkiya, made forced marches with his troops in order to join Yesyen-temûr. He had taken Tse-kin-quan, an important post in Pe-che-li, and alarmed the whole country; but when he arrived at the bridge of Lû-kew-kyau, he there heard of the prince's total defeat, and retired.

Shang-tû taken. When Pû-wha-temûr, paternal uncle of Yen-temûr, who was great general of the Mungls in Tartary, to the west, north, and north-east, of Lyau-tong, knew that Tû-temûr had been installed at Ta-tû, he invited prince Ywelû-temûr to join him with his troops; and both went in October, to lay siege to Shang-tû. Taulasha defended the place at first with much courage, and, followed by the princes and great men of Asûkipa's party, several times attacked the besiegers, but was always repulsed, and being at length reduced to extremity, surrendered at discretion. He delivered up to Ywelû-temûr all the jewels, and precious stones, and whatever else belonged to the emperor Asûkipa. Prince Wang-chan fled; prince Toto, heretofore governor of Lyau-tong, was killed; but it was not known how Asûkipa died.

Asûkipa slain.

On the news of Asûkipa's death, and the reduction of Shang-tû, the princes and great lords who were leagued against Tûtemûr in Shen-si, Shan-si, Hu-quang, Che-kyang, Lyau-tong, and other countries, laid down their arms: and, in November, Tûtemûr, seeing himself without a rival, sent a lord to his brother Ho-shila, banished to Tong-gan-chew, the empress Papûhan, wife of Yesun-temur, and put to death the general Taulassha, with the princes Wang-chan, Ye-syen-temur, and others. He would have proceeded in the same manner with all the Tatar and Chinese grandees taken at Shang-tû, if a great mandarin had not told him such conduct was unjust, and might cause a general disaffection. Mean time Nankyatay, one of the commanders in Yun-nan, was proclaimed emperor, and appointed ministers.

Princes put to death.

A.D. 1329. Prince Hoshila, having been informed of what had passed, in January, 1329, began his march southwards, and encamping to the north of the city Ho-ning, or Karakorom, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. This installation was performed with the concurrence of Tûtemûr, and the lords of both courts made great rejoic-

Hoshila installed.

ings

ings on the occaſion. In March, Tûtemûr ſent Yentemûr to carry the ſeal of the empire, with the imperial habits and ornaments, to Hoſhila, who declared him prime miniſter, and general of the troops, and Tûtemûr was appointed prince inheritor. Nevertheleſs, Tûtemûr, in reality, was emperor, independent of his brother. Hoſhila prepared to go to Shang-tû, and being arrived in Auguſt within two days journey of that city, Tûtemûr went thither to ſalute him; but ſoon after Hoſhila was found dead in his bed. The hiſtorians accuſe Tûtemûr of having procured his brother's death. *His ſudden death.*

Hoſhila is the emperor whom the Chineſe call Ming-tſong; he gave the title of empreſs to the princeſs Papuſha, who was of the tribe of Naymanchin, by whom he had a prince named Ilinchipin, who was proclaimed emperor, as the reader will ſee hereafter. When he was in Tartary he married alſo the princeſs Maylayti [s], daughter of Nahanlûlû, deſcended from prince Arſlân, who came from the Weſt to ſubmit to Jenghîz Khân, and had large territories given him to the north of the Great Kobi, or Deſert. Hoſhila had, by the princeſs Maylayti, Towhan-temûr, who was the laſt emperor of the Mungls in China. He had likewiſe another ſon, named Han-chi-pan, who reigned before his brother about two months. *Wives and ſons.*

Hoſhila was the eleventh khan of Tartary, and ſeventh emperor of the Ywen, who reigned over the Chineſe.

SECT. VII.

The Reign of Tûtemûr, ſtyled by the Chineſe Ven-tſong.

AS ſoon as Hoſhila was dead, Tûtemûr ſent for the ſeal of the empire, and after he had performed the laſt duties to the deceaſed, returned to Shang-tû, where, on the fifteenth of the ſame month of Auguſt, he was acknowleged emperor, and appointed that the year 1329 ſhould be reckoned the ſecond of his reign. *Twelfth. Tûtemûr, or Ven-tſong.*

In March 1330, prince Tûkyen revolted in Yun-nan, and aſſumed the title of king. He committed a thouſand diſorders, took cities, ſlew the mandarins, and ſtirred up the Myau-tſe, with other people, who live independent in the neighbouring provinces, to rebel againſt the empe- A.D. 1330. *Rebellion in Yun-nan.*

[s] Gaubil, ubi ſupra, p. 265, & ſeqq.

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ror. Prince Alatenaſheli, ſon of Prince Tûla, was ordered to march with an army to oppoſe the deſigns of Tûkyen. Mean time the empreſs Pûtaſili, or Pûtaſheli, of the houſe of Hong-kila, and wife of Tûtemûr, not able to endure the empreſs dowager Papuſha, employed an eunuch to make away with her. Tûtemûr, ſay they, cauſed his brother Hoſhila to be ſent out of the world, and that wicked example induced Pûtaſili to deſtroy Papûſha.

The emperor ſacrifices.

In October the emperor went to the temple of Heaven, and there ſacrificed in perſon, honouring at the ſame time Jenghîz Khân, founder of the dynaſty. Tûtemûr was the firſt of the Ywen, or Mungl princes who in perſon had been at the temple of Heaven and made the ſolemn ſacrifice, which, before that time, had been performed by others. After this ceremony a general pardon was publiſhed, and a law made, that among the emperor's wives, only one ſhould bear the title of empreſs.

A.D. 1331.

In December the emperor declared his ſon Alatenatala prince inheritor; but, in January, 1331, this prince died, to his father's great affliction. Mean time the prince Alatenaſheli, with an army of a hundred thouſand men, carried on the war againſt prince Tû-kyen, who defended himſelf with courage; but having been worſted in above twenty battles, both Yun-nan and Se-chwen ſubmitted to the victor. Soon after their ſubmiſſion, one of the rebels, named Lû-yu, who had lain concealed for a time, excited new troubles, ſupported by the brothers and ſons of Tû-kyen; but Kyay-lye, great general of the Mungls, made a terrible ſlaughter of his followers, and entirely diſperſed them. Two brothers and three ſons of Tû-kyen were killed; and another of his brothers fled to the ſea, where he periſhed.

Yun-nan ſubmits.

A.D. 1332.

In 1332 Tûtemûr, according to cuſtom, removed in the ſpring to Shang-tû, where he fell ſick, and died, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, ordering that one of the ſons of his brother Hoſhila ſhould be proclaimed emperor[b].

Tûtemûr dies.

Tûtemûr was the twelfth khân of the Mungls, and eighth of the Ywen dynaſty in China, where he was known under the title of Ven-tſong.

[b] Gaubil, ubi ſupra, p. 267, & ſeqq.

SECT.

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SECT. VIII.

The Reign of Towhan-temûr, styled by the Chinese Shun-ti.

Thirteenth, Towhan-temur, or Shun ti.

AFTER the death of Tûtemûr, the minister Yen-temûr went to the empress Pûtasheli, and proposed to advance her son Yentye-kutse to the empire; but she rejected that motion, and, pursuant to the intention of her deceased husband, caused the prince Ilinchipin, second son of Hoshila, then no more than seven years old, to be proclaimed. This new emperor, known in China under the title of Ning-tsong, dying in November, Yen-temûr again proposed to enthrone Yentye-kûtse; but Pûtasheli would by no means consent to his elevation, declaring that the empire belonged to Towhan-temûr, son of Hoshila, by the princess Maylayti, who was at this time thirteen years of age. After the death of the empress Papûsha he had been banished into Korea, from whence he was removed to Quey-lin Fû, the capital of Quang-si.

Reports of him.

The emperor of the Song, who was carried into Tartary, and became a lama, had lands in that country, where, it is said, he married a princess, and had children by her. This princess, according to some, was Maylayti; and had by him Towhan-temûr. Prince Hoshila contracted a friendship with the deposed monarch; and having conceived an inclination for Maylayti, married her, and adopted Towhan-temûr. These reports were, without doubt, false; but they were not the less current at court and in the provinces. However this be, the president of the tribunal of mathematics being consulted about his election, declared it very dangerous to make that prince emperor. Notwithstanding all that could be said to the contrary, Pûtasheli, persisting in her resolution, sent a great lord to bring the prince from Quey-lin-fu, and declare him emperor.

A.D. 1333.

In the beginning of the year 1333, the empress, having received advice, that Towhan-temûr had arrived at Lyang-hyang, a city some leagues short of Ta-tû, sent thither the guards, the princes, and grandees, to meet him. Yen-temûr, as generalissimo and prime minister, appeared at their head, and complimented the prince in the name of the empress regent. Afterwards, placing himself by the prince's side, he spoke to him about the state of the court, and manner in which the ceremony of the installation should be performed. Towhan-temûr appeared alarmed

Afraid of Yen-temûr.

at

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at the sight of Yen-temûr; and did not speak a single word: the lords of his retinue seemed likewise to be under consternation. No wonder the prince should be suspicious of him; since many believed that he was the person who, by Tûtemûr's direction, had put his father Hoshila to death. However that be, Yen-temûr, mortified at Towhan-temûr's silence, delayed the ceremony of his inauguration; resolving, if possible, to exclude him from the throne, and place the crown on the head of Yentye-kûtse.

Marries his daughter. The discontent of Yen-temûr gave great uneasiness to the regent, and the prince. This latter, being sensible of the fault he had committed when that lord went out to meet him, endeavoured to repair it, by espousing his daughter Peyaw, and making her his principal wife. Yen-temûr had great qualities; but he was cruel, and void of decency: he became enamoured of one of the wives of the emperor Yesun-temûr, and had the rashness to marry her; a thing almost without example. In March he died of his excesses; and his death secured the empire to Towhan-temûr: who, removing with his court to Shang-tû, the empress regent published the last will of Tûtemûr; and the grandees agreed to declare the prince emperor.

Is proclaimed. Towhan-temûr, whom the Chinese name Shun-ti, at first left all the power in the hands of the empress Pûtasheli, and conferred on her the title of empress-grandmother; but, from that time, resolved to have her removed: and, in order to gain the family of Yen-temûr to his interest, he, in August, caused his wife Peyaw to be declared empress.

Neglects affairs. Towhan-temûr soon discovered his inconstant and wavering temper; his aversion to state-affairs, and his inclination to pleasure. Alûwhentemûr, the eighth in descent from the emperor Ogotay, perceiving his natural indolence, advised him to leave the toils of government to his ministers; and, by that pernicious counsel, was the first cause of the destruction of the empire of the Ywen. Towhan-temûr followed his advice, and thought of nothing but gratifying his passions. Satun, eldest brother of Yen-temûr, was honoured with the title of regulo (or vang) as well as Tangkishi, eldest son of Yen-temûr, and brother of the empress Peyaw. Satun and Pe-yen were appointed prime ministers.

A.D. 1334. The history records several presages, in 1334, of the unfortunate reign of Towhan-temûr: that, in the southern provinces, no fewer than two millions two hundred and seventy thousand families died; and that, in August, there

Calamities of his reign.

was

was an earthquake at Ta-tû. The Chinese historians, who composed the history of the Ywen, or Mungl race, lived at the beginning of the dynasty of the Ming, who ruined that of the Ywen. These authors have taken great pains to render this emperor odious on all occasions: they have exaggerated his faults; and recorded all the famines, inundations, epidemic distempers, earthquakes, falls of mountains, comets, eclipses, and other events; implying, that Towhan-temûr ought not to have been emperor; and that the Ming justly wrested the empire from the Mungls [1].

In 1335 Satun, brother of Yen-temûr, died; and that death occasioned the ruin of his illustrious and powerful family. Tangkishi, a prince naturally fiery, and apt to speak his mind, finding all his uncle's places, of which he expected a large share, given to Pe-yen, who thus became the first lord of the court, complained loudly of the injustice done him; and, on this occasion, extolled the services which his ancestors had done the empire. At the same time he depreciated Pe-yen, saying, he was too inconsiderable a person to be raised so high; and, in concert with Talyentali, his paternal uncle, took measures for settling on the throne Whang-ho-temûr, son of the rebel prince Siliki, slain in Tartary in the reign of Hû-pi-lay. Talyentali had often refused to obey the orders sent him to come to court. The plot was discovered by a prince of the blood; and Py-yen was commissioned to seize the conspirators. In June Tangkishi concealed a troop of soldiers to the east of Shang-tû, where the court then was; and on the thirtieth of the same month designed to attack the palace on all sides: but Pe-yen prevented him, and seized both him and his brother Targay, who were then in the palace. Tangkishi was killed immediately; but Targay fled, and, trembling, ran to the chamber of the empress his sister, who with tears and lamentations begged his life; but all her solicitation was ineffectual; the lords entered her chamber with their naked swords, and slew him in her presence. A.D. 1335. *Tankishi's conspiracy.*

Then Pe-yen went and informed the emperor; who, instead of severely punishing them for daring to enter the chamber of the empress with arms in their hands, consented that Pe-yen should even put her to death. Pursuant to this horrid permission, that bloody minister turned executioner, went directly to the apartment of that princess; who, perceiving that he came to seize her, uttered a loud *Empress put to death.*

[1] Gaubil, Hist. Gentchif. p. 270, & seq.

shriek,

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shriek, and fell on her knees before the emperor, intreating him to spare her life. The hard-hearted husband, after reproaching her with the revolt of her uncle and two brothers, told her he could not save her. Pe-yen dragged her away, led her to a house in a neighbouring village, and there slew her with his own hands. Talyentali defended himself with great courage; and, after several fruitless efforts with the lords of his conspiracy, took refuge with prince Whang-ho-temûr; where being taken, and killed, the prince slew himself.

A.D. 1337. *Troubles arise.*

In 1337, troubles arose in the provinces of Quang-ton, Honan, Se-chwen, and the province of Koko-nor, where the people appeared discontented with Towhan-temûr, and censured his conduct. The Chinese were forbidden to instruct the Mungls, and to keep arms. Mean time, the emperor declared a princess of Hong-kila empress. In May, a comet appeared, that was visible for sixty-three days.

Machartay, youngest brother of Pe-yen, possessed the good qualities of that minister, without his faults: he was a great general, and esteemed by the troops. The emperor would have given him the title of wang, or regulo, but he constantly declined that honour [k].

A.D. 1340. *Toto undertakes to seize his uncle.*

Toto, son of Machartay, was one of the officers of the guards; and, by his prudent behaviour, soon acquired the esteem of the emperor, as well as the great men at court, with whose intrigues he was thoroughly acquainted: he knew that Towhan-temûr was grown suspicious of his uncle Pe-yen, ever since November 1339; when that lord, under a false pretence, had put to death Che-che-tû, great grandson of Meng-ko, by Yulongtashe, his fourth son. Pe-yen was generally detested: his pride was intolerable: for some time he went abroad with the state of a king; and Toto was one day witness of his pompous train, at a time when that of the emperor was very moderate. The Mungl monarch himself observed it, and was offended. Besides, he believed that Pe-yen meditated ill designs against his person; and Toto certainly knew that To-whan-temûr intended to destroy him.

Toto, who was a lord of parts, having found a favourable opportunity to speak to the emperor, fell on his knees, and said, that he renounced his family to serve his majesty. Towhan-temûr, who believed there was dissimulation in his words, pretended not to understand his meaning.

[k] Gaubil, p. 272. & seqq.

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ing. Moſt of the lords at court were creatures of Pe-yen. Shikyay and Alû were the only perſons with whom he durſt intruſt a ſecret. Theſe he ordered to ſound the fidelity of Toto, whoſe motions they narrowly inſpected; and then acquainted his majeſty, that they would anſwer for his integrity. In conſequence of this aſſurance, Towhan-temûr ſent for Toto, and ſhed tears while he ſpoke to him of his uncle's behaviour. After this interview, Toto and Shikyay, becoming intimate friends, reſolved to ſeize Pe-yen; and executed their deſign, with the emperor's approbation, in the following manner.

Pe-yen's death.

Toto placed new guards in all the poſts, and augmented the number of them; ordering them to give him an exact account of all who either entered or went out. Pe-yen was ſurpriſed to ſee the guard reinforced, without having had notice of it; and, on that occaſion, reproved his nephew: who anſwered boldly, that too good a guard could not be kept in the palace where the emperor reſided. Pe-yen, alarmed at this declaration, thought proper to ſtrengthen his own guard; and concluded, that he could not depend on Toto. Pe-yen afterwards acquainted the guards, that he wanted to ſpeak to his majeſty: they aſked what his buſineſs was; and underſtanding that it was to invite him to a hunting, Toto diſſuaded the emperor; ſo that Pe-yen repeated his inſtances in vain. Towhan-temûr ordered Yentye-kotſe to encamp without the city: at the ſame time, Pe-yen heard, with aſtoniſhment, that Toto and Shi-kyay had cauſed the city gates to be ſhut, and kept the keys, after having poſted troops, devoted to them, in all the quarters of Tatû. At night thoſe two lords adviſed the emperor to change his apartment. They ordered Pe-yen to be watched. In February, all the titles and places, which that miniſter had at court, were taken from him; and he was ordered to ſet out for Ho-nan, there to exerciſe the office of a mandarin: he begged leave to ſalute the emperor before he ſet out, but this favour was refuſed; and, when he was on the road, a ſecond order overtook him, to inform him that he was baniſhed. He continued his journey; but fell ſick near Nan-chang-fû, capital of Kyang-ſi, where he died, univerſally hated.

Affairs at court.

Upon this change, Toto, and his father Machartay, were inveſted with new employments; but the latter ſtill refuſed the title of vang, and even that of targhan, or tarkan, which implies an exemption from impoſts and ſervice. In June, Towhan-temûr being at Shang-tû, cauſed a manifeſto to be publiſhed through the empire; wherein he

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he publiſhed all that the emperor Tûtemûr and the empreſs Pûtaſheli had done againſt Hoſhila and the empreſs Papûſha; he complained bitterly, that they had exiled him, without having committed any offence; and endeavoured to make him paſs for the ſon of another perſon than Hoſhila: he afterwards deprived Putaſheli of the title of empreſs-grandmother, and baniſhed her; which treatment ſhe did not long ſurvive. Prince Yentye-kotſe was ordered to depart for Korea; he ſet out accordingly, but was killed on the way. In Auguſt, Towhan-temûr returned to Ta-tû; and in December re-eſtabliſhed the examination of the literati [1].

A.D. 1342. In 1342, the famine was ſo great, that the people devoured human fleſh.

A.D. 1343. Hû-pi-lay, at the beginning of his reign, commanded the memoirs for the hiſtory of the Lyau and Kin to be arranged: he likewiſe, after the deſtruction of the Song dynaſty, gave directions to compile the hiſtory of the Song; but, notwithſtanding the orders of this prince, and his ſucceſſors, thoſe hiſtories were not finiſhed. In 1343, Toto, ſon of Macharty; Timûrtaſh, ſon of Toto, prince of Kangli; Ghew-yang-ſwen, hiſtorian of the empire; Chang-ki-yen, Lu-tſe-cheng, Kye-hi-tſe, and other able doctors, were appointed for this great work; which was at length completed, under Towhan-temûr, each dynaſty having its hiſtory apart.

Hiſtories finiſhed.

Anceſtors honoured. In October, the emperor Towhan-temûr went to the palace of anceſtors, to honour the princes of his family.

A.D. 1344. In May 1344, Toto was honoured with the title of regulo; and Alûtû, the fourth deſcendent from Po-eul-chû-or Porji, one of Jenghîz Khân's four heroes, propoſed by him to fill his place of miniſter.

Toto made vang.

A.D. 1346. In 1346, Perku-pûwha, ſon of the miniſter A-û-tay, ſlain by order of the emperor Hayſhan, having lodged an accuſation againſt the great general Machartay; Towhan-temûr baniſhed that officer to Si-ning, a city of Shen-ſi, at the end of the great wall; and Toto, having in vain endeavoured to avoid the blow, followed his father. The general being, by a ſecond order, exiled to Sa-ſe, in the Weſt, a lord of the country of Tûrfân, a great mandarin, exclaimed againſt thoſe who thus ill-treated a great lord of merit, innocent of the crime laid to his charge. In conſequence of his remonſtrances, Machartay was ordered to reſide at Kan-chew, in Shen-ſi, where he ſoon after

His father baniſhed.

[1] Gaubil, p. 176, & ſeqq.

died:

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died: but the world did him juſtice; every body was perſuaded of Perku-pu-wha's malice, Machartay's virtue, and the emperor's weakneſs.

In 1349, Tay-ping, a lord of great wiſdom, moderation, and integrity, was at the head of affairs; and, as he could not bear to ſee innocence oppreſſed, he, in ſpite of the difficulties which lay in the way, demanded, and obtained the recall of Toto. This prince, on his return, was reſtored to his place of miniſter; and not knowing that he owed his good fortune to Tay-ping, who made no mention to him of the ſervice he had done him, joined with that lord's enemies in an accuſation againſt him. Tay-ping was hereupon turned out of place; and his accuſers were going to puſh their malice farther, when Toto's mother threatened to renounce him if he did not deſiſt; telling him, that Tay-ping was not culpable, and that he had done him no injury. Toto, who loved his mother tenderly, and did not care to give her any uneaſineſs, ceaſed to proſecute that lord. Some time after, Toto came to know the obligations which he had to Tay-ping, and was extremely ſorry that he had done ſo much injury to his benefactor. A.D. 1349. *Remarkable caſe.*

Towhan-temûr being deſirous that his ſon ſhould learn the Chineſe characters and literature, Toto, being well ſkilled in both, was pitched on to direct the education of the young prince; and Li-hau-wen was appointed his preceptor. Some lamas were, at the ſame time, choſen to inſtruct the prince in the doctrine and books of Fo. Li-hau-wen took much pains with his pupil: he made an abridgment of the Chineſe hiſtory to his own time, and of the claſſic books; with reflections on the cauſes of the ruin of dynaſties, and other remarks, in the Chineſe taſte, proper to form a prince for government. But his ſcholar had no inclination for the ſciences, and was much taken with the worſhip of Fo. *The prince averſe to Chineſe learning.*

Ama and Swe-ſwe, two brothers, natives of the country of Kangli, were at this time very powerful at court; and though remarkable for their irregular life, had free acceſs to the palace of the empreſs Ki, which they greatly frequented. The cenſors of the empire, and the Chineſe grandees, exclaimed againſt ſuch liberties; and two of them made their complaints to the emperor. Ama, upon this occaſion, by artful ſtories, excited the reſentment of the empreſs; who complained to Towhan-temûr, requiring that he would puniſh the two mandarins as calumniators, who endeavoured to ſtain her reputation. The emperor, *Arbitrary proceeding.*

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emperor, enraged at what he had heard, banished the mandarins, one of whom died in the place of his exile. This conduct appeared tyrannical to the Chinese, since the mandarins had done no more than their duty. Ama, who, besides many other bad qualities, was excessively lewd, appeared to be the person who contributed most to corrupt the emperor, whom they saw devoted to the most enormous debaucheries, entirely neglecting affairs of government, and placing all his confidence in men of dissolute morals, without either honour or capacity.

A.D. 1351. In 1351, the resolutions taken with regard to a new course proposed to be given the Whang-ho, or Yellow River, considerably augmented the troubles of the empire. Kya-lû, supported by Toto, had persuaded the emperor to make that river flow, as formerly, through the country of Tay-ming-fû, in Pe-che-li, and fall into the sea of Tyen-tsin-wey. Mean time Cheng-tsun, president of the tribunal of public works, with the mathematicians of Kay-fong-fû, in Honan, went to Tay-ming-fû, and other places in Pe-che-li, to examine the ground; and after having taken the level of it, affirmed, that to clear the old channel was impracticable; that it would require too great an expence; and that Shan-tong would be ruined. All sorts of means were tried to prevail with the president to change his opinion; but he answered, that he would rather die than speak contrary to his judgment in a matter of so much importance to the public. Cheng-tsun was hereupon dismissed, and his place given to Kya-lû, whose advice was followed; and to the titles of his patron[m] Toto, was added that of targhan.

The Whang-ho project causes insurrections.

The works which were made for turning the Whang-ho ruined an infinite number of people, and caused new taxes to be imposed; while the peasants could not bear to see their lands taken away, and themselves transplanted into other parts. The discontent becoming general, different chiefs of parties in every province inflamed the people; so that the mandarins were greatly embarassed.

Han-shan-tong and Lyew-fû-tong rebel.

Han-shan-tong, who had been banished into Shan-tong, taking advantage of the people's discontent, prevailed on great numbers to rebel, in Shan-tong, Honan, and Kyang-nan. His followers asserted that he was a descendent of Whey-tsong, eighth emperor of the Song; and took an oath to obey him, sacrificing a horse and a black ox. The mandarins found means to seize Han-shan-tong; but his

[m] Gaubil, p. 284, & seqq.

wife

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wife and children eſcaped. Lyew-ſû-tong alſo, a man of an enterprizing genius, who ſupported Han-ſhan-tong, appeared in the field, near Fong-yang-fû, in Kyang-nan. He was preſently joined by one hundred thouſand men, and fortified himſelf in the diſtricts of Nan-yang-fû and Ju-ning-fû, in Honan. At the ſame juncture a pirate, named Fang-que-chen, ſcoured the coaſts of Che-kyang and Kyang-nan, with a great fleet, entered the rivers, plundered the towns and villages, and ruined trade. The armies ſent firſt againſt Fang-que-chen were deſtroyed, and their generals taken priſoners.

The emperor having, on his return from Ta-tû in Auguſt, ordered Yeſyen-temûr, brother of Toto, to aſſemble the troops, and march againſt Lyew-ſû-tong, that general retook ſeveral places in Honan, and put to death ſome rebels; but in reality Lyew-ſû-tong's party grew in ſtrength. In October Tſû-chew-whey took arms in Hu-quang, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor at Ki-ſhu-i, in the diſtrict of Hong-chew-fu. In November a comet appeared, whoſe tail pointed towards the weſt; on which occaſion it was induſtriouſly reported throughout the empire, that heaven, by ſeveral viſible marks, made known, that it would take the empire from Towhan-temûr.

Tſû-chew-whey proclaimed emperor.

In 1352 Tſu-chew-whey took Han-yang and Vu-chang in Hu-quang. Having ſeized other poſts of importance, he cauſed a fleet to be fitted out, and undertook the ſiege of Kyew-kyang-fu, on the Grand Kyang. Whether through treachery, cowardice, or diſguſt with Towhan-temûr's ſervice, a great number of Tatar mandarins in Hu-quang and Kyang-ſi fled at the approach of the Chineſe; and Polotemûr, general of a great body of troops which encamped along the Kyang, abandoned his poſt, with his Mungls, who diſperſed merely for fear of Tſu-chew-whey. On this occaſion Li-fu, a Chineſe grandee of Fong-yang-fu in Kyang-nan, ſet the Mungls a noble example of fidelity to their ſovereign: he ſent couriers to all the neighbouring villages, to cut off the retreat of Polotemûr's forces, and oblige them to do their duty. Yeſyen-temûr, a Tatar officer, ſeconded Li-fu; and having joined their troops, defeated a detachment of Tſu-chew-whey's army, conſiſting of twenty-thouſand men. Li-fu afterwards ordered a great number of trees to be cut down, and to be thrown, tied together, into the Kyang, to hinder the paſſage of the rebel fleet; which, coming down the river ſoon after in full ſail, met with this unexpected obſtacle;

A.D. 1352.

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so that they could neither approach Kyew-kyang-fu, nor escape the fiery arrows, which, shot by Li-fu's troops, burnt several barks [n].

Glorious behaviour. While Li-fu was so zealously employed to serve Towhan-temûr, the general Tukyen-puwha fled out of the city by the north gate. Most of the Tatar officers followed his pernicious example; and the army of Tsu-chew-whey were preparing to enter Kyew-kyang-fu. In this emergency, Li-fu assembling what troops remained faithful, with one of his nephews, who was always near him, mounted the ramparts, to prevent any surprize. The enemy first burnt the west gate; then came to attack the eastern; and in spite of all Li-fu's efforts, entered the city. That brave man still defended himself in the streets on horseback; but wanting forces, he called out aloud, "Kill me, but spare the inhabitants!" at these words he and his nephew were cut to pieces. The citizens lamented his death; and Towhan-temûr conferred great titles of honour on him. Li-fu was one of the principal mandarins of Kyew-kyang-fu, and the annals of that city have ranked him among the most illustrious of its governors.

Public calamities. At the beginning of the year nine hundred thousand souls perished by famine and sickness; and in the course of it the shocks of an earthquake were felt at Long-si, for one hundred days successively. *Rebels successful.* His majesty, about the same time, heard with great concern of the death of general Tay-puwha, who was slain by the troops of Fanque-chen, on the coast of Che-kyang. Having being led by a relation of that pirate into the snare without suspicion; when he perceived that he was betrayed, he slew the traitor, with others whom he distrusted; and then being surrounded on all sides, was killed himself, after a brave resistance. Mean time the army of the rebel Lyew-fû-tong dispersed that of Yesyen-temûr, brother of Toto; who abandoned the open country to the enemy, and shamefully fled to Kay-fong-fu, capital of Honan.

The emperor sent another general in his stead; and was heard to say, that Tesyen-temûr did not understand the business of war: but several great mandarins accused him of having destroyed an army, and, by his cowardice, dishonoured the empire of the Mungls. *Toto's injustice* Towha-temûr, instead of making an example of this delinquent, intrusted the examination of the affair to Toto, who behaved very ill on this occasion; for he not only defended his brother, but

[n] Gaubil, ubi supra, p. 285, & seqq.

even

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even ſtigmatized and diſplaced ſeveral mandarins who had accuſed Yeſyen-temûr.

The court was greatly alarmed at the reduction of Hang-chew-Fû, capital of Che-kyang, in July, by the troops of Tſu-chew-whey. Towhan-temûr, fearing the loſs of the ſouthern provinces, ſent a great army under the command of Kyau-wha and Tong-po-ſyau. This commander having croſſed the great Kyang, demanded the advice of the other general officers. Tong-po-ſyau ſaid, that, as the rebels were deeply plunged in all ſorts of debaucheries in ſo rich and delightful a city, they could not be in a condition to reſiſt; from whence he concluded, that they ought to go and attack Hang-chew Fû. After much debate, this advice was followed, and the city was aſſaulted with great reſolution. On the other hand, the rebels often ſallied, and fought ſeven bloody battles: but, after a cruel ſlaughter of them, the city was taken. This great check much weakened the party of Tſu-chew-whey, who loſt many excellent officers, and above forty thouſand men. In the enemy's army they found many magicians, bonzas of the ſect of Tau, whom they put to death, and burned their books of magic*. *The rebels worſted on two occaſions.*

In Auguſt, Toto obtained leave to go in perſon and beſiege Tſu-chew, poſſeſſed by the troops of Lyew-fû-tong. He attacked the city by the weſt gate; and the beſieged made a furious ſally; but, being repulſed, Tſu-chew was taken and ruined. The miniſter was hereupon rewarded, and ordered to return to court immediately. *Defeat the Mungls;*

General Arſlân, who commanded the Mungls in Kyang-ſi, being much beloved by the Myau-tſe (K), hearing of Tſu-chew-whey's revolt, enliſted fifty thouſand of thoſe mountaineers, and marched with them to Lû-chew, a city of Kyang-nan: but this being an odious meaſure, they were diſmiſſed, upon the remonſtrance of Yu-que, who had orders to command the troops in that province. This mandarin fortified Gan-king on the Kyang; and maintained his ground in the midſt of the rebels: for at that time moſt of the province of Kyang-ſi was in the hands of Tſu-chew-whey's party. On the other hand, the general Sing-ki, having re-aſſembled the troops, reduced Kyew-kyang and Hû-kew. He then marched to attack

* Gaubil, ubi ſup. p. 288, & ſeq.

(K) A ſort of wild and independent people, who poſſeſs the mountainous parts of ſeveral provinces of China to the ſouth-weſt.

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the rebels, who plundered all the places along the rivers; but, being surrounded, and mortally wounded by an arrow, he was taken.

take their general.

A.D. 1353. Toto, who was under obligations to Ama, being become prime minister, brought that lord into the management of affairs, and procured his being appointed one of the ministers of state. Ama, supported by the empress Ki, by degrees made himself independent of Toto, and entirely corrupted Towhan-temûr. He brought into the palace several young debauchees, and lamas of Tibet, whose hearts were corrupt, and whose minds were poisoned with superstition. They persuaded the emperor, that he should be loaded with happiness, if he would but practise their art of sorcery, which is called by them Yensher and Pimi. This unfortunate prince, insensible to the evils of the state, and ruin of his dynasty, thought of nothing but perfecting himself in the art which the lamas taught him. It grieved all the Tartars and Chinese, who had any zeal for the empire, to see that all sorts of debaucheries were committed by him in the palace, in company with Ama, and his brother Swe-swe, Tolo-temûr, his brother-in-law, and several other lords, besides the lamas. Ayyewshilitata, son of the emperor, and empress Ki, never would give into the debauches of his father, and did all in his power to drive the lamas from the court; but his attempts were fruitless.

Ama made minister; debauches the court;

A.D. 1354. In December 1354, Ama impeached Toto of having mismanaged the war, and converted the revenues of the empire to his own use. His brother Yesyen-temûr was at the same time accused of being a debauchee. At this juncture Ama was absolute master of the emperor's will; so that, to destroy a man, it was sufficient that this minister should accuse him, without proving the charge. They began by depriving Toto of his titles; then he and his brother were removed at a distance from court.

who is banished.

The emperor's effeminacy.

Mean while the emperor employed himself in nothing but entertainments, parties of pleasure, and new ways of gratifying his passions. Sixteen young girls, called the sixteen celestial spirits, were appointed for the dance; other persons were continually employed in prayers and sacrifices to Fo; others, to discover future events, by sorcery; others, to sing, and play on music: such were the affairs of importance that engrossed the time and attention of To-whan-temûr.

A.D. 1355. At the beginning of the year 1355, a body of rebels, from Honan, crossed the Whang-ho; and, in February, Lycw-

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Lyew-fû-tong cauſed Han-lin-eul, ſon of the rebel Han-ſhan-tong, to be proclaimed emperor. This new uſurper appointed miniſters and generals: he gave to his dynaſty the title of Song, and fixed his court at Po-chew, a city in Honan. *Han-lin-eul proclaimed.*

Toto, upon his diſgrace, was firſt appointed one of the mandarins of Whay-ngan Fû in Kyang-nan, and afterwards of Etſina (L): but this being repreſented as too ſlight a puniſhment for his crimes, his goods were confiſcated, and he was baniſhed to Yun-nan. Ama, not content with this humiliation, counterfeited an order from the emperor, for killing him as ſoon as he arrived in that province. This order was ſent to an officer of the army, who, inſtead of killing the baniſhed miniſter, treated him with honour and diſtinction: but this indulgence did not continue long; for the officer, having propoſed one of his daughters in marriage, and Toto refuſing the offer, he cauſed him to be ſlain, in the forty-ſecond year of his age. *Toto ſlain.* This unhappy great man was a Merkit by nation, and well verſed in the Chineſe literature, as well as affairs of government: but the love of glory, and his affection for his brother Yeſyen-temûr, made him commit many faults. His conduct, particularly with regard to Tor-chipan, had rendered him odious to the Mungl princes and grandees.

To return to the civil wars. The general Taſhepa-tû, arriving, in October, at Huy-chew in Honan, obtained a great victory over Lyew-fû-tong: but although this rebel was defeated a ſecond time by another Tatar, yet he always retrieved his loſſes; and ſtill found himſelf in a condition to undertake new deſigns. The emperor, having ordered a great council of war to be held in July, to conſider of means for ſecurity of the provinces attacked by the rebels, a great mandarin ſeized the occaſion to admoniſh him: he ſaid, that thoſe meaſures were unavailing, while his majeſty continued to live in diſorder, and without attending to the affairs of government; adding, that he ought to begin by looking into the ſtate of the court, and of the empire, with his own eyes. "In the provinces (ſaid he), the officers and mandarins think of nothing but pleaſure, money, and good cheer; and, after the example of the prince, appear inſenſible to the loſs of cities and provinces." The diſcourſe of the mandarin was commend- *The emperor admoniſhed; but in vain.*

(L) A city of Tartary, now in ruins, to the north of Kan-chew, in Shen-ſi.

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ed: but Towhan-temûr never thought of mending his conduct; and left to others the care of reforming the mandarins.

Rise of Chû. It was in the year 1355 that Tay-tsu (M) raised troops in the city of Hau (N): his intention was, to give peace to the world, and relief to the people. With this view, he selected men of virtue and courage: at the head of whom he reduced Tû-chew, a city of Kyang-na; and, the next year, took Ho-chew, where he gave evident marks of his love for the people, his greatness of soul, and his knowlege in the art of government. He was entirely at a loss how to pass the Great Kyang, for want of barks, when an unexpected succour of ten thousand men, and a thousand vessels, came to his assistance. On board of these Chû embarked, with his best officers; and, marching eastward, reduced Nyew-chû-ki and Tay-ping.

A.D. 1356. Ama, who, since the banishment of Toto, was prime minister, was shocked at the melancholy state to which the empire was reduced; and ashamed to see that he himself had been the principal cause of it, by debauching the emperor's mind, and diverting him from affairs of government. Night and day he was harassed by uneasy reflections; and he thought seriously how to remove the evils which he had introduced. He judged that the best way would be, to oblige Towhan-temûr to resign the throne to the prince appointed heir; by whom, and the empress Ki his mother, he was sure to be supported in his design: but, as he stood in need of other helps, he consulted his father; and, praising the talents of the prince, assured him, that the emperor was become stupid, and incapable of governing [p].

Ama's plot discovered.

Banished, and slain. This discourse happened to be overheard by Ama's sister, who was married to Tolo Temûr, a companion of the emperor in his debauches; and she informed her husband of what passed. This lord was sensible that he was hated by the prince, who did not love debauchery; and, judging that he had reason to fear his displeasure, in case he should become emperor, discovered to To-wan-temûr, the design

[p] Gaubil. ubi sup. p. 293. & seqq.

(M) This is the famous Chinese who afterwards assumed the name of Hong-vû, and founded the dynasty of the Ming, or Tayming; to whom the Chinese give the title of Tay-tsû.

(N) Now Fong-yong-fû in Kyang-nan; of whose district was Chû, or Hong-vû, and most of the generals who at first associated with him. Gaubil.

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of his miniſter. The emperor, piqued with what Ama had ſaid of his ſtupidity, was inclined to put both him and his brother Swe-ſwe to death that inſtant: but, as both had been companions in his debauches, and their mother had nurſed the emperor Ilinchipan, he changed his reſolution, and was content to forbid them the palace. Shoſe-kyon, one of the miniſters, was afterwards ordered to proſecute them; and, on the repeated accuſations of the great men, they were ſentenced to be baniſhed. They ſet out accordingly, but were killed on the road. Every body believed that Ama had been deſtroyed for putting Toto to death; and few people knew the real cauſe of his misfortune.

Chû takes Nan-king.

In March, Chû defeated the Mungls near Nan-king capital of Kyang-nan, and took that city, into which he made his entry: but he hurt no individual. He continued the mandarins in their employments, and relieved the diſtreſſes of the poor. With regard to the other chiefs who were in arms, the rebels had been now five years beſieging the city of Whay-gan-fû in Kyang-nan, defended by Chû-puwha the governor, with equal courage and perſeverance.

Whay-gan yields.

After the inhabitants and garriſon had eaten all the animals, vermin, and leather, to be found in the city, they were reduced to kill thoſe wretches, who fell down through weakneſs in the ſtreets, and feed on their own fleſh. At length Whay-gan-fû, which, before the ſiege was very populous, ſurrendered, for want of inhabitants to defend it. Chû-puwha was taken, with his ſon Pan-ko, fighting to ſecure the weſtern gate, and both were cut to pieces.

Mean time Chû made great advances in Kyang-nan, and, among other cities, took Chang-chew-fû and Yang-chew-fû; while the rebels of Tſu-chew-whey's party ſeized, this year, the capital of Se-chwen, and became very powerful in that province.

Gang king taken by Yew-lyang.

The general Yû-que was exceeding ſtrongly fortified in Gang-king; and had placed good troops in the poſts which are on the two banks of the Great Kyang, in the part where that river paſſes between the mountains Sya-kû, in the diſtrict of Syew-fong-hyen in Kyang-nan. However, Chen-yew-lyang, the general of Tſu-chew-whey, attacked theſe important poſts; and, fighting four days continually both by land and water, made himſelf maſter of them, in ſpite of the vigorous reſiſtance of the commander. The paſſage of the Kyang being thus opened, the rebel general laid ſiege to Gang-king. Yû-que repulſed him at firſt; but the rebels, who were encamped at Jau-

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chew-fû in Kyang-si, attached the west gate, while Yew-lyang assaulted that of the east; and both parties had actually scaled the walls, when Yû-que, at the head of the townsmen, who were willing to hazard their lives, charged them furiously, slew a great number of them, and obliged the rest to give way. Nevertheless, the rebels returned to the charge with more fury than before; so that there was a great slaughter on both sides.

A.D.1358. In January 1358 the body of rebels which was at Chi-chew-fû in Kyang-nan attacked the east gate; that of the south was undertaken by the troops come from Jau-chow-fû, and Yew-lyang assaulted that of the west; while the enemies fleet covered the Great Kyang. Yû-que, invested thus on all sides, after placing officers in their respective posts, at the head of his bravest soldiers, attacked the enemy, of whom he made a great slaughter: but, while he fought with incredible ardour, the rebels forced the three gates, and took the city. Yû-que, perceiving this misfortune by the fires which were lighted on the occasion, and having already received ten wounds, fell on his own sword. His wife, sons, and daughters, threw themselves headlong into a well: the officers of the garrison likewise slew themselves, rather than surrender; and a considerable part of the inhabitants chose rather to cast themselves into the fire, than be subject to the rebels. Yû-que was highly esteemed and beloved: his tomb is still be seen at Gang-kin. He was born at Lu-chew in Kyang-nan; but was originally of the country of Tan-gu [q].

Rebels plunder Shang-tong. In March one of the generals of the Song rebels spread a great alarm, by the reduction of Tsi-nan-fû, capital of Shan-tong. The Tatar commander of Tong-chang-fû in the same province abandoned both the city and country. About the same time Mau-quey, one of the best Song officers, came from Ho-kyen-fû; and, joining with him who had taken Tsi-nan-chew and Tsi-nan-fu, the rebels plundered Shan-tong, and the country about Ta-tû. The first detachment of the Song attacked an important post near that imperial city, whose commander was slain; and, the rest of the Song troops arriving, the court was in great apprehensions. Several of the grandees advised the emperor to retire. The minister Tay-ping opposed that advice, and called in troops on all sides. Lyew Kara-puwha attacked the enemy some few leagues from the

Take the capital.

[q] Gaubil, Hist. Gentel. p. 296, & seqq.

city;

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city; and, defeating them, constrained Mau-quey, who commanded them, to retire back to Tſi-nan-fû.

Mean time Chû made great progreſs in the ſouthern provinces. In December, at the head one hundred thouſand men, he took U-chew; and, aſſembling his generals, it was determined to abſtain from ſlaughter and pillage. While this adventurer took the wiſeſt meaſures to maintain his footing in the ſouth, Quan-ſyen-ſeng, one of the Song generals, penetrated into Lyau-tong, plundered Lyau-yang, and then marched into Korea. On his return from that country, he attacked Shang-tû, which he took, and burnt that beautiful city, with the magnificent palace which the emperor Hû-pi-lay had built.

Chû's ſucceſſes.

Shang-tû burnt.

Peyen-puwha Tekîn, an Igûr prince, deſcended from Itûgû (or Idikût) ſpoken of in the reign of Jenghiz Khân, in the year 1358, commanded at Ku-chew-fu, a conſiderable city of Che-kyang. When this prince, who was brave and experienced, knew that Sin-chew in Kyang-ſi, was beſieged, he advanced to ſuccour that place. At his approach, Ta-ſhing-nû, a prince of the blood, and general Hay-lû-ting, a foreigner from the weſt, ſurrendered to him the command. He then entered the city with his troops, in ſpite of Chen-yew-lyang, who lay before it; and, having viſited all the poſts, took an oath to defend it to the laſt extremity. Without entering into a detail of the aſſaults that were ſuſtained, and the ſallies which were made, ſuffice it to ſay, the adverſe parties were continually fighting; and Puwha Tekîn, with the other officers, exhibited repeated proofs of extraordinary valour. At length, proviſions failing, the inhabitants fed on human fleſh: at the ſame time one of the rebels made his way into the city by a ſubterranean paſſage. Ten days together both parties fought with great obſtinacy; but for want of ſoldiers and proviſions, the place was taken in June 1359; when the commanders and officers, choſe rather to die than ſurrender [r].

The Song dwindle.

A.D. 1359.

Sin-chew taken by Yew-lyang.

Mean time Peyen Temûr, preſident of the tribunal of war, and Taſhe Temûr, general in Che-kyang, arrived at Hang-chew-fû, capital of that province; and, having provided great quantities of rice, ſent it up the Whang-ho into Ho-nan, where it was conveyed by land to the river Wey: by which it arrived ſafely at Tong-chew, and from thence at Tatû. As the ſcarcity of proviſions had, for

[r] Gaubil, ubi ſup. p. 299, & ſeqq.

ſeveral

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several years before, occasioned great famines in the imperial city, this relief came very opportunely.

Yew-kyang's success

However, the joy which this supply produced was damped by the loss of Nan-chang-fû, capital of Kyang-si, taken by Chen-yew-kyang. As soon as the news reached Tsû-chew-whey, the rebel emperor of the Song, he embarked on the Great Kyang for that city, where he resolved to keep his court. But his general, who had other designs in view, being determined to prevent him, hasted to Kyew-kyang-fû in the same province; and, having ordered the gates to be shut, slew those who were about Tsu-chew-whey, whom he afterwards kept as a prisoner leaving him nothing but the title of emperor.

Distractions at court, caused by the prince.

The ambition of Ayyewshilitata, the prince appointed heir, caused great disquiets this year at the court of the emperor Towhan-temûr. The prince took a great deal of pains to prevail upon his father to renounce the empire; and this was the view also of his mother the empress Ki, who left no stone unturned to gain the minister Tay-ping, without whose concurrence this aim could not be accomplished. But all her efforts were ineffectual. The minister kept aloof. The prince incensed at this reserve, endeavoured to ruin Tay-ping and other lords, by the way of accusation: but the grandees interested themselves so warmly in defence of the minister, that he found it impossible to remove him from his office.

The minister retires.

One of the principal ministers was Nyew-ti-hay, descended from Porchû, and who had governed both the eastern and western Tartary. He was Tay-ping's intimate friend; and it was he who supported that minister against the attacks of the prince, and the empress Ki. Niew-ti-hay fell sick; and, finding himself near his end, at the
A.D. 1360. beginning of the year 1360, spoke in praise of Tay-ping; and told his friends, that ministers could not continue long at court. He died much regretted by the emperor, and the grandees who had at heart the honour of their sovereign. Tay-ping, seeing himself now without a prop, and every day exposed to the intrigues of his enemies, retired to his own house. Thus Towhan-temûr lost his best servants; and all the authority fell into the hands of two miscreants: one an eunuch named Pû-pûwha; the other a great lord of Que-lye, called Sho-se-kyen. They never thought of retrieving what was lost; but kept the emperor in ignorance of every thing that passed, and employed their whole attention in amassing riches.

Two miscreants succeed.

Chen-

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Chen-yew-lyang, general of the rebel emperor Tſû-chew-whey, having deprived his maſter of all his authority, cauſed him to be killed, and aſſumed the title of emperor; giving the name of Hân to his new dynaſty. Mean time freſh feuds daily aroſe among the Mungls. Chahan-temûr, governor of Honan, having recovered from the rebels a conſiderable part of Shen-ſi, pretended that thoſe conqueſts ought to conſtitute a part of his government: on the other hand, Polo-temûr, general of the troops at Tay-tong-fû in Shan-ſi, alledged that Shen-ſi was in his department. Theſe were the only two generals capable of re-eſtabliſhing the affairs of the empire; but their diſputes produced an irreconcilable hatred between their families. The emperor undertook to ſettle the limits of their juriſdictions: but Polo-temûr thought himſelf injured, and took up arms againſt Chahan: his majeſty afterwards ſatisfied Polo, and diſobliged Chahan, who, in his turn, made war upon Polo: ſo that both parties had armies in the field to oppoſe each other. The prince inheritor at length brought about an accommodation; but it was far from being ſincere.

Han dynaſty.

New diſtractions.

In Auguſt 1361, Chahan-temû retook Tſi-nan-fû, capital of Shan-tong, with the greater part of that country. At the ſame time Chû wreſted Kyew-kyang-fû, and Nan-chang-fû, in Kyang-ſi, out of the hands of Chen-yew-lyang. A D. 1361.

The emperor Towhan-temûr having often ſent officers into Tartary, to deſire the princes of his family to ſend their troops to his aſſiſtance Alûwen-temûr, eighth grandſon of Ogotay, by Myeli, came at length with a formidable army. When this prince was ſome days march from the great wall, he ſent a meſſenger to let Towhan-temûr know, that he came to recover the empire, which he (the emperor) held by uſurpation; and required that he would ſurrender to him all his right and title. Thus, Towhan-temûr, inſtead of receiving aid againſt his old enemies, found himſelf obliged to ſend an army againſt this new adverſary; but his forces were defeated, and forced to retire to Shang-tû. Alûwen-temûr, encouraged by this ſucceſs, propoſed to enter Pe-che-li; and was already in the neighbourhood of Shang-tû, when the prince inheritor marched to meet him. The officers of Alûwen-temûr, who certainly imagined they came to ſuccour the emperor, delivered their general to the prince, by whoſe order he was ſlain in September [s].

A Mungl rebel.

delivered up.

[s] Gaubil, ubi ſup. p. 301, & ſeqq.

Ming-

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Now rebel emperor. Ming-yu-chen, general of Tsû-chew-whey, who had subdued the province of Yun-nan, being informed that Chen-yew-lyang was proclaimed emperor, was resolved also to be independent; and, proceeding to make conquests on his own account, took several places in Se-chwen, and the western parts of Shen-si.

Chahan-temûr slain. In June, while Chahan-temûr was besieging I-tû in Shan-tong, Tyen-fong proposed that he should visit the imperial camp. Chahan followed his advice; but when he had entered the traitor's tent, an officer ran him through with his sword. Koko-temûr, his nephew, but son by adoption, having succeeded him in his titles and dignities, swore to revenge his father's death. By a passage which he caused to be made under-ground, he entered I-tû; then seizing the principal rebels, particularly Tyen-fong, and the assassin who had murdered his father, he sacrificed them to his manes. The emperor, by the death of that illustrious general, suffered a very great loss, for he was the best officer in the whole empire.

Affairs of Korea. It has been observed before, that the empress Ki, mother of the prince inheritor, was a Korean, and had a great ascendant over the mind of Towhan-temûr. This emperor degraded Peyen-temûr, king of Korea, named another, and declared a lord of Ki's family prince inheritor of that monarchy; but the Koreans gave Towhan-temûr to understand, that they could neither suffer these new impositions, nor the memory of the old king to be defamed. The empress Ki caused their memorial to be rejected, and a general to march into Korea with forces to execute the emperor's orders. The general, being arrived with ten thousand Mungls near the river Ya-lû, within the borders of that country, was surrounded by an army of Koreans, who cut them all to pieces, excepting seventeen horse, who rode full speed to carry home intelligence of this misfortune.

A.D. 1363. *The Hya dynasty.* In January, 1363, Ming-yu-chen took the name of emperor at Ching-tû-fû, capital of Se-chwen, and gave his dynasty the title of Hya. Mean time Lyew-fû-tong, who had made so great a noise, and was the soul of the Song, was killed in Kyang-nan. The animosities between Koko-temûr and Polo-temûr every day increased: each party raised troops to oppose the other; and these domestic quarrels did more hurt to Towhan-temûr than the revolt of the Chinese.

The most formidable enemy Chû had to deal with in the south was Chen-yew-lyang, styled emperor of the Han;

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Han; who being ſenſibly grieved for the loſs of Nan-chang-fu in Kyang-ſi, exhauſted his coffers to raiſe new forces, and equip a fleet, with a reſolution to beſiege that city, which was furniſhed with a good garriſon, commanded by Chû-ven-cheng, one of the beſt generals belonging to Chû. He cauſed bucklers to be made for the defence of his ſoldiers againſt arrows and ſtones. Then he undertook the ſiege, when he commanded in perſon, and, having given ſeveral aſſaults, at length mounted the walls, from whence he ſhouted for joy, concluding that he was already maſter of the city; but he was much ſurpriſed to ſee new entrenchments within, very ſtrongly fortified, and conſequently that he had new fatigues to undergo.

Yew-lyang defeated by Chû.

Mean time Chau-te-ſheng, one of Chû-ven-cheng's lieutenants, found a conveniency of ſending expreſſes to inform Chû of the danger they were in. On this notice Chû, without delay, cauſed a fleet to be fitted out at Nanking, in which he embarked two hundred thouſand ſoldiers, commanded by his beſt officers, and put himſelf at their head. Then ſetting ſail, ſoon arrived with his forces at Hû-kew. As ſoon as Chen-yew-lyang was informed of his enemy's approach, he raiſed the ſiege of Nan-chang-fû, which for eighty-five days he had cloſely inveſted; and gave orders to go and attack Chû, whoſe armament he encountered in the lake Po-yang, near the mountain Kan-lan, on the 14th of September. Chû, having divided his naval force into twelve ſquadrons, Su-ta, Chang-yu-chun, and other of his commanders, attacked and routed the firſt troops of Chen-yew-lyang, who began to fear the conſequences of this firſt defeat. Next day all the ſquadrons united, in order to come to a general engagement. During the battle, Chû took advantage of a high north-eaſt wind, and burnt one hundred of the enemy's ſhips, in which ſeveral of Yew-lyang's brothers periſhed.

Routed and ſlain.

On the 17th Yew-lyang attacked Chû with freſh fury; but after the fight had continued from ſeven in the morning to eleven o'clock, he was defeated; and his loſs was ſo great, that his inſupportable pride was confounded at the ſight of his army. One of his generals attempted to ſeize the poſt of the mountain Hyay; but Chû ordered him to be ſurrounded, ſo that he could not retire. The ſame night his fleet caſt anchor at Tſo-li, and continued three days facing that of Yew-lyang, who, on the 18th of October, reſolving to break through his enemies at any riſque, made an attempt; but Chû prevented his deſign, and

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and attacked him on all sides from five to seven in the evening. The battle was fought with equal obstinacy on both sides; at length, Yew-lyang having been killed with an arrow, his fleet dispersed. The son, whom he had appointed his heir, was taken prisoner, and his generals, with their troops, their horses, and barks, surrendered to the victor. However, Chang-ting-pyen, one of his generals, escaped by night in a small bark, with the corpse of Yew-lyang, and one of his sons, named Chen-li. This famous victory did great honour to Chû, who not only gained a rich booty, but became considerably more powerful by the accession of so many forces.

New troubles arise.

Yew-lyang was one of the greatest captains of his time, and forty-four years old when he died; but his death was of small advantage to the Mungls, whose affairs grew daily worse. A Chinese grandee, abusing the weakness of their power in the south, assumed the sovereignty in Sû-chew-fû, a great and rich city of Kyang-nan, refusing to let the imperial commissioners have the provisions which they wanted to send from thence to the court. On the other hand Polotemûr, notwithstanding the emperor's commands, entered with his troops into the district of Koko-temûr; but his army was routed, and two of his best generals were taken prisoners. Mean time the prince inheritor, who could never forgive Tay-ping for having dissuaded his father from resigning the empire, instigated Shô-se-kyen to accuse him. That minister, who was void of honour, undertook the iniquitous task in November, and Tay-ping was banished into Tibet; but the prince caused him to be slain on the road [t].

A.D. 1364.

Chû proclaimed king.

In January, 1364, the generals of Chû proposed to proclaim him emperor; but he declined this step, and at first was content with the title of king of U. In this quality he appointed Li-shen-chong and Suta his prime ministers and generals: he afterwards named other officers; and, having assembled the grandees, spoke to this effect: "You ought to consider, that I have not accepted the title of king, but on condition to endeavour to make the Chinese happy; and that it was necessary, in the beginning of my reign, to agree upon good laws, in which point the Mungls had been wanting. With regard to the rites and ceremonies used in religion, I am of opinion, that, in the first place, each of us ought to think seriously

[t] Gaubil. ubi supra, p. 304. & seqq.

of

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of reforming his own heart." He added, "As you have been my dear companions, aſſiſt me; have nothing elſe in view; think only of beginning well."

In February that prince began his march, in order to continue in perſon the ſiege of Vû-chang-fû, capital of Hû-quang. The city was taken, and Chen-li, who had ſucceeded his father Chen-yew-lyang, ſurrendered, with the officers of his party. Chû gave orders to relieve the diſtreſſed, encourage merit, and abſtain from plunder and bloodſhed. This wiſe conduct procured him an eaſy conqueſt both of Kyang-ſi and Hû-quang. The Chineſe ſubmitted to him in crouds, and were proud to ſee a prince ſo generous, and moderate in his paſſions, a friend to men of letters, affable, and ſtudious to govern the nation according to ancient laws and cuſtoms. *Takes Vû-chang-fu.*

Mean time the court of Towhan-temûr was divided into powerful parties, who thought of nothing but how to ſupplant and deſtroy each other. The prince inheritor, inſtead of ſeriouſly endeavouring to gain the love and eſteem of the officers, in order to engage them to ſupport the throne, gratified his private hatred againſt ſeveral lords. He employed the eunuch Pû-pûwha, and the miniſter Sho-ſe-kyen, to accuſe thoſe whom he marked for deſtruction. *Cruelty of the prince, and his injuſtice.*

Koko-temûr was an inveterate enemy to Polo-temûr, and each had his friends and agents at court. In April the prince cauſed the general Tûkyen-temûr to be accuſed; and when Polo-temûr, his intimate friend, pleaded his innocence, inſtead of being heard, he himſelf was deprived of the dignity of general at Tay-ting-fû. As Polo-temûr knew that this order had been given without the emperor's knowlege, by the intrigues of Pû-pûwha and Sho-ſe-kyen, he did not obey it, and having conferred with the accuſed lords, took up arms, with a reſolution to oblige the emperor to drive thoſe from about him who gave him ſuch evil counſel. Tûkyen-temûr being detached to poſſeſs the poſt of Ku-yong-quan, the prince marched from Ta-tû to oppoſe that general, but was repulſed, and obliged to retire into Tartary. Upon his retreat Tûkyen appeared before the imperial city; a circumſtance which threw every thing into confuſion. The emperor, on this occaſion, enquired into the affair, and having thoroughly informed himſelf, ſent for Tûkyen, reſtored Polo-temûr, and delivered up to him both Pû-pûwha and Sho-ſe-kyen. Then the army under Tûkyen was ſent back to Tay-tong-fû, *Checked by Polo;*

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fû, and the prince inheritor returned to court by his father's order *.

who becomes minister,

The prince, who determined to be revenged on Polo-temûr, made choice of Koko-temûr to execute his design. He raised an army of a hundred thousand men, divided into three bodies; and sent a general, with forty thousand men, to attack Tay-tong-fû. Polo-temûr, who had friends and troops every-where, left officers to guard that city, and took measures with Lau-ti-sha and Tûkyen-temûr to make himself master of the emperor's palace. He put himself at the head of his troops, and ordered Ku-yon-quang to be taken. In September the prince marched to oppose him, but his army was routed, and not thinking himself safe at Ta-tû, whither Polo-temûr followed him with expedition, he left it again with a body of troops, and retired to Ta-ywen-fû, capital of Shan-si. Polo-temûr having arrived at the city, left his forces without the gates, and entering the palace, followed by several lords, presented himself before the emperor on his knees, and assured him, that, with regard to what had passed, the fault was none of his. Towhan-temûr, who on this occasion shed tears, declared him generalissimo and prime minister. Lau-ti-sha and Tûkyen had posts under him, and all the tribunals were supplied with men of their own party.

A.D. 1366.

and master at court.

Polo-temûr began his ministry by causing Tolo-temûr, the principal companion and instrument of the emperor's debauches, to be killed; he drove the lamas from court, and forbad the exercise of their religion. Had he stopped here, things might have gone well; but he passed the bounds of prudence, and, without the advice of his best friends, attempted to get the prince inheritor set aside, and Koko-temûr degraded: besides, he gave himself up to all kinds of debauchery. In March, 1366, the prince took the field, with a resolution either to perish or destroy his enemy; his army was numerous, and commanded by Koko-temûr, a general of consummate experience. As soon as Polo-temûr was informed of Ayyewthilitata's march, he caused the empress Ki to come out of the palace, and compelled her to sign an order for the prince to appear before her; but he did not think fit to obey it.

While Tûkyen-temûr was on his march to Shang-tû, to oppose the prince's party, Yesû was detached to make head against Koko-temûr; but when he arrived at Lyang-hyang, he consulted with the officers, in which it was re-

* Gaubil, ubi supra, p. 307, & seqq.

solved

ſolved not to obey Polo-temûr, who was a rebel. Yeſû proceeded to Yong-ping-fû, in Pe-che-li, from whence he ſent an expreſs to Koko-temûr, and then marched into Lyau-tong, to confer with ſeveral princes of the blood who were in thoſe parts. The miniſter, incenſed at this deſertion of Yeſû, ſent an army to attack him: but he having defeated it, and ſlain the general, Polo-temûr marched in perſon, yet was obliged to return, by a heavy rain, which continued three days and nights ſucceſſively. Mean time the empreſs Ki, knowing the foible of Polo, procured him ſeveral young maidens of extraordinary beauty, by whoſe means ſhe obtained her liberty, and returned to the palace, where ſhe ſecretly effected the deſtruction of that miniſter, by amuſing and enſnaring him with the gratification of his paſſions. *Enſnared by pleaſures.*

Things being in this ſituation, Ho-ſhang, one of the principal lords of the court, obtained ſecret orders from the emperor to kill Polo-temûr; in which enterprize Shang-tû-ma, Kin-nay-hay, and Petar, three young lords of reſolution, engaged to aſſiſt him. They took the opportunity one day in September, when that miniſter came to acquaint his majeſty with the reduction of Shang-tû, in Tartary, by the general Tûkyen-temûr. The emperor being at this time in a great hall, with many courtiers about him, Petar ſeparated himſelf from the reſt; and, placing himſelf at the door, ſlew Polo-temûr as he entered. Lauti-ſha fled towards the north; but, a proclamation being iſſued to kill him, he was taken, and put to death. Tukyen-temûr, who was then at Shang-tû, and did not hear of what had happened at Ta-tû till ſeveral days after, would alſo have made his eſcape with ſeveral cuiraſſiers; but was taken and ſlain. The gates of Ta-tû were ſhut for three days, on account of theſe troubles; but, in the mean time, ſeveral detachments of the prince's army arriving in the neighbourhood, ſcaled the walls, forced one of the gates, and plundered great part of the city. *Is ſlain.*

Towhan-Temûr, having thus deſtroyed his new miniſter, ſent his head to the prince his ſon, with orders to repair to court. He came eſcorted by Koko-temûr, who was appointed miniſter. In the tenth month he was declared regulo, and generaliſſimo of the armies. He appeared at court with a train and equipage almoſt equal to that of the emperor. The prince earneſtly deſired that he might be permitted to carry on the war in the ſouthern provinces; but his motion was not complied with. About this time the true empreſs, who was of the Hongkila family, dying *Koko made miniſter.*

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without iſſue, Ki, who before was only nominally empreſs, in the twelfth month ſucceeded to the rank and honours of the deceaſed.

Cauſes new broils. At the beginning of this year Koko-temûr, going into Honan, had great diſputes with the generals of the province of Shen-ſi, who would never acknowlege his authority; ſo that at length they came to hoſtilities. Thus the empire of the Ywen was attacked in all parts: the great men lived independent; the emperor regarded nothing but pleaſure; and the prince, beſides other great faults, had not talents to reunite the minds of the people, and bring them to labour in concert for the good of the public [w].

Affairs of the rebels. At the beginning of the ſame year alſo the Whang-ho, by its precipitate courſe northward, made great ravages in Shan-tong and Pe-che-li. Ming-yu-chen, pretended emperor of Hya, died in the third month; and was ſucceeded by one of his ſons, not more than ten years of age. Han-lin-eul, who called himſelf emperor of the Song, died alſo in the thirteenth month. With regard to the proceedings of Chû, he took Whay-gan-fû in the fourth month. In the ninth month he ſent two generals, with two hundred thouſand men, to make war upon Chang-ſhi-cheng, who had declared himſelf independent in one part of Che-kyang and Kyang-nan: they defeated his troops four times, and took Hû-chew-fû, one of the moſt beautiful and rich cities of Che-kyang. At the ſame time Chû made himſelf maſter of Hang-chew-fû, capital of that province, Shau-hing-fû, Kya-hing-fû, and other important places. In the twelfth month he cauſed one palace to be built for his court, and another in honour of his anceſtors.

A.D. 1367. But to return to the affairs of the Mungl court. The prince being near Ta-tû, in the year 1367, the empreſs Ki, his mother, ſent a truſty lord to compliment him, and tell him, that ſhe preſſed Towhan-temûr to reſign the empire. The emperor, being informed of the differences which ſubſiſted between Koko and the generals of Shan-ſi, ſent an officer to decide them; but that miniſter ſlew the officer, and ſeemed inclined to throw off his allegiance. Towhan-temûr was, on the other hand, ſolicited to abdicate the empire; but, although he ſtill refuſed to part with the title, yet he ſurrendered to the prince the whole power, declaring him generaliſſimo of the armies, and lieutenant-general of the ſtate. This new promotion made

The prince in power.

[w] Gaubil, ubi ſupra, p. 309, & ſeqq.

Koko-

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Koko-temûr take new meaſures: he oppoſed the emperor's orders in favour of Ayyewſhilitata; but, at the ſame time, was accuſed by one of his diſcontented officers. Hereupon Towhan-temûr caſhiered Koko, diſpoſed of his employments to others, and appointed officers to command the troops of that general. The diſcarded miniſter retired to Che-ſhû, a ſtrong place in Shan-ſi, fully reſolved to be revenged on the firſt occaſion.

Koko caſhiered.

While Towhan-temûr loſt all by his want of conduct, every thing ſucceeded with the prudent Chû. This prince, though of an obſcure birth, and brought up from his infancy among mean people (O), yet diſcovered moſt of thoſe qualities which have rendered immortal the memory of the greateſt princes. He publiſhed the form of the Chineſe government which he propoſed to introduce; and took for a model that which the literati boaſt of ſo much in Yau, Shun, and the three families (or dynaſties) of Hya, Shang, and Chû: he inſtituted the examinations for men of letters, and military officers; nor did he forget what concerned the tribunal of mathematics. He cauſed diligent ſearch to be made for men of merit; rewarding, like a true king, both the perſon found, and the perſon finding. All thoſe were acceptable to him who had any talent for military affairs, or navigation, for arts, ſciences, or mathematics. He was at no idle expence to indulge in pleaſure; and had an averſion to every thing which could render princes effeminate. In the palace, which he built at Nan-king, he forbad laying out too much in coſtly furniture, and foreign curioſities; eſpecially prohibiting, under ſevere penalties, immodeſt pictures and ſtatues. He won the hearts of the mechanics, huſbandmen, and other claſſes of the people, to whom he diſdained not to talk and diſcourſe about matters relating to their different employments. Beſides theſe excellent qualities, he was endowed with an extraordinary genius; ſo that by the conferences which he had with the literati, he ſoon became maſter of all that is eſſential in the Chineſe ſciences. His valour, military ſkill, and greatneſs of ſoul, joined to his equity in the diſtribution of favours and employments,

Chû's ſucceſs, and great qualities.

(O) He had been a ſervant in a monaſtery of bonzas; ſome ſay, in ſo mean a quality as that of ſcullion, under the cook; in which ſtation he continued for many years, till, in the time of the troubles, he quitted the kitchen for the army.

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acquired him the esteem and attachment of his officers, as well as the affection of his people [x].

Reduces the South. In the ninth month his generals Suta and Chang-yu-chun reduced Sû-chew-fû, and the whole province of Kyang-nan. They likewise took prisoners Chang-shi-cheng, and all those of his party, with nine princes of the blood; who were all conducted to Nan-king, where Chang-shi-cheng died. Chû ordered the princes to be treated with honour; and sent them, under the care of a mandarin, to the court of Towhan-temûr. After this expedition, troops were transported by sea into the province of Quang-tong, which, with that of Quang-si, and Fo-kyen, voluntarily submitted.

Generals sent northward. The south being thus reduced, Chû commanded Suta and Chang-yu-chun to march into the north, at the head of two hundred and fifty thousand men, almost all horse. These two generals penetrating into Shan-tong, published a manifesto, well calculated to excite the Chinese in favour of Chû, and render Towhan-temûr odious. They set forth, that it belonged to the Chinese to govern the Barbarians, and not to the Barbarians to govern the Chinese. They expatiated on the crimes of the Mungl emperors, and the faults of their government since the time of Timûr, who succeeded Hû-pi-lay. They asserted that the time was come to drive foreigners out of the empire. They launched out in praise of Chû, whom they declared to be the person chosen by Heaven for the master of China; and specified what the people might promise themselves from the government of so great a prince.

Their manifesto.

Subdue Shan-tong. This manifesto, distributed throughout the provinces, had a very great effect. Suta and his colleague reduced the whole province of Shan-tong, without any trouble. During this time the distractions continued in those of Shen-si, Shan-si, and Honan; occasioned by the dispute between Koko-temûr and the generals of Shen-si, concerning their respective jurisdictions; nor had the emperor authority enough to put an end to the contests.

A.D. 1368. On the first day of the year 1368, Chû was declared emperor of China. He went to the Temple of Heaven, to make a solemn sacrifice; declared his eldest son prince inheritor, and made several wise regulations. After this ceremony, his troops entered Honan, and presently reduced that province. In the second month, Towhan-temûr, instead of endeavouring to stop the rapid progress of

Chû proclaimed emperor.

[x] Gaubil. ubi supra, p. 312, & seqq.

Chû,

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Chû, ſent troops againſt Koko-temûr. This general retired to Ping-yang-fû, in the ſouth part of Shan-ſi; and the other generals of the Ywen (or Mungls) withdrew into other cities; rather to defend themſelves againſt one another, than againſt the troops of Chû; whom we muſt now call Hong-vû, or Ta-tſû, the title given by the Chineſe to this founder of the Tay-ming dynaſty.

In the third month the troops of Hong-vû reduced the fortreſs and gorge of the mountains of Tong-quan; and, in the ſeventh intercalary month, Koko-temûr and Ye-ſû were placed by Towhan-temûr at the head of affairs: in conſequence of which meaſure, the generals of Shen-ſi, the moſt illuſtrious of whom was Li-tſo-tſi, retired towards the weſt. Mean time the forces of Hong-vû entered Pe-che-li, from Honan on one ſide, and Shan-tong on the other. In the ſame month Suta and Chang-yu-chun defeated Poyen-temûr, one of the Mungl generals, who was ſlain in the battle, fighting valiantly. After this action they took the city of Tong-chew, only twelve miles to the eaſt of Ta-tû; and then prepared to attack the capital of the Mungl empire. Hereupon Shelyemen, one of the miniſters, went to the Temple of Anceſtors, and, taking the tablets from that edifice, retired with the prince towards the north. *Approaches the capital.*

On the 25th of Auguſt, Towhan-temûr nominated prince Temûr-puwha regent of the empire of China; and King-tong was appointed for defence of the imperial city. Next morning, aſſembling the great men, princes, and princeſſes, he declared to them, that he would retire into Tartary. Temûr-puwha, and others, fell on their knees, and, weeping, offered to march out of Ta-tû, and attack the enemy; adding, that it was better to die, than diſhonour by flight the imperial family. The emperor was inflexible; and, the night following, in the midſt of his guards, attended by his wives, and thoſe of the prince, as well as by other princes and princeſſes, took his way towards the north. Chang-yu-chun, informed of Towhan-temûr's flight, purſued the imperial family as far as the river Pe; and took priſoner Maytilipala, eldeſt ſon of the prince inheritor. On the 19th of October Hong-vû's army entered Ta-tû, after ſome ſmall reſiſtance. *The Ywen withdraw.*

Thus ended the empire of the Mungls in China, after it had continued one hundred and ſixty-two years, reckoning from the firſt of Jenghiz Khân in 1206, to 1368; when Towhan-temûr withdrew out of China, and Hong-fû finiſhed his conqueſt, by reducing the imperial city. *Their dynaſty ends.*

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Towhan-temûr dies. Towhan-temûr, though deprived of the most valuable part of his dominions, still continued great khân or emperor of the Mungls, and reigned over Tartary. This prince retired, with his court, to Ing-chang, a city then considerable, twenty-five or thirty leagues to the north-east of Shang-tû; where he lived only two years, dying in the fourth month of the year 1370, in the fifty-first of his age, after he had reigned thirty-five years as emperor of China and Tartary, and thirty-seven as khân of Tartary [y].

Ayyewshilitata succeeds. After the death of Towhan-temûr, his son Ayyewshilitata ascended the throne of the Mungls, and removed his court to Karakorom; where, according to the Chinese history, he founded a new dynasty, called the Ywen of the north: but here, for want of materials, we must break off the history of the successors of Jenghîz Khân in Tartary; our author Gaubil having carried it down no lower than the death of Towhan-temûr.

In short, for want of a continued history of the successors of Jenghîz Khân in the east parts of Tartary, we must content ourselves with such fragments as are to be found, and those relating to affairs only near our own times.

CHAP. XIII.

History of the Mungls, after their Expulsion from China.

The Mungls driven beyond the desert; AYYEWSHILITATA succeeded his father Towhan-temûr in the empire of Tartary, as has been already mentioned: but we meet with nothing concerning the reign of either him or his successors, for above two hundred years after; excepting that he, and the other princes of his family, had great wars to maintain against Hong-vû, and several of his successors in China. Sû-ta, Chang-yu-chun, Li-ven-chong, and other generals of that nation, passed the great wall, and harassed the Tartars with frequent invasions [z]. Nor were the latter backward, when any opportunity offered, to repay the injury, and endeavour to recover their footing in China; the loss of whose rich and fruitful provinces they greatly regretted. As the

[y] Gaubil, p. 315, & seqq.

[z] Gaubil, Hist. de Gentch. p. 317.

extracts

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extracts relating to the Ming dynaſty, given by Couplet and Du Halde, ſpeak of the wars which the Chineſe had with the Tatars, during the reigns of thoſe princes, it may not be amiſs to collect, in this place, what little thoſe authors ſay concerning them.

After the death of Hong-vû, who drove the Mungls out of China, and proſecuted the war againſt them in Tartary, Ching-tſu, or Yong-lo, his fourth ſon, and third emperor, purſuing vigorouſly what his father had begun, puſhed them beyond the great Kobi, or deſert, above two hundred leagues north of the great wall, with a deſign to extirpate them: but on his return from his third expedition (P), he was prevented, by death, which happened in 1425 [a]. The Mungls, taking courage after Yong-lo's deceaſe, in order to be revenged for the damages that prince had done them, invaded the empire, in the reign of Swen-tſong, the fifth emperor: but this monarch, at the head of his army, marched againſt, and defeated them. Swen-tſong died in 1435, and was ſucceeded by Ing-tſong, only nine years old. The Mungls (Q), taking advantage of this emperor's youth, made continual irruptions into the provinces of China which lay neareſt their country, and committed all ſorts of rapine. At length Ing-tſong, in the year 1449, and fourteenth of his reign, marched beyond the great wall, at the head of a numerous army; but his troops, weakened for want of proviſions, were entirely defeated, and himſelf, being taken priſoner, was carried into the remoteſt part of Tartary. A.D. 1449. *Take the emperor priſoner,*

At the news of this ſurpriſing event, the empreſs ſent a great quantity of gold, ſilver, and ſilks, for her huſband's ranſom; which the Mungl king received: but after he had brought the captive emperor to the borders of China, he carried him back again, not thinking the ranſom large enough. Nevertheleſs, a new agreement taking place, ſome of the great lords were ſent to receive Ing-tſong: but the khân was diſpleaſed, thinking all the chief men of the empire ought to have come to meet ſo great a monarch, with the greateſt pomp. He was conducted, by a numerous retinue, to the frontiers of China; and, when *who is ranſomed.*

[a] Du Halde's China, vol. ii. p. 255.

(P) Theſe expeditions againſt the Mungls are not mentioned in the reign of Hong-vu, by either Couplet, or his tranſlator Du Halde.

(Q) Called all along Tartars in our authors; but we uſe the name Mungls for ſake of uniformity, as well as propriety and diſtinction.

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near the mountain Tang-kya-lin, sent to acquaint the court, that he renounced the empire to his brother King-ti, who had usurped the crown from the son of Ing-tsong, who afterwards ascended the throne a second time. In the reign of his son and successor Hyen-tsong, ninth emperor of the Ming, the Mungls, from time to time, plundered the provinces; but, in 1465, the second year of his empire, he cut in pieces their army. We hear nothing more of their depredations till the year 1504, which was remarkable for their irruptions, and the great booty they carried away.

A.D. 1509. *The Mungls ravage the Chinese provinces.*

In 1509, the Mungls renewed their ravages, the year before the death of Hyau-tsong, the tenth emperor; whose successor, Vû-tsong, in 1518, wanted to march against them incognito, in quality of generalissimo; from which design he was, with much difficulty, dissuaded by his ministers. Next year he prepared to retire into either Kyang-nan or Che-kyang. Hereupon his ministers presented fresh memorials; representing, that as the Tatars (or Mungls) must consider this journey as a shameful flight, they would grow more insolent; and that his absence might expose the northern provinces to their irruptions: but he was no less obstinate this time than the former, till at last he was diverted from his design by an inundation, which he thought a bad omen. His successor, Shi-tsong, or Kya-tsing, repaired the great wall which separates China from

A.D. 1550. Tartary. Nevertheless, in 1550, the twenty-ninth of his reign, the Mungls approached Pe-king, with an army of sixty thousand men; but it was entirely cut to pieces, and above two hundred officers were taken prisoners. Next year the Tatar king sent an ambassador, to ask the emperor's pardon, and leave for his subjects to sell horses in his dominions. Shi-tsong readily consented; but finding afterwards, that this permission was the ground of continual quarrels between the mandarins and the merchants, and often occasioned revolts, he absolutely prohibited that trade.

A.D. 1560. *Cease their attempt.*

About the year 1560, Lyew-han, general of the Chinese army, marching beyond the great wall, the Mungls, on intelligence of his arrival in their territories, fled, and hid themselves in their forests; so that there were no more than twenty-eight of them killed in this expedition, and the whole booty taken consisted of a hundred and seventy dromedaries. In 1574, the second year of Shin-tsong, or Van-lye, eleventh emperor of the Ming, the Mungls made an irruption into Lyau-tong, but were entirely routed; and,

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and, in 1582, they received a total defeat, by the general Li-chin loſing ten thouſand men. Next year the rivers were frozen, which froſt facilitating their irruptions into the empire, they came in ſwarms; but were cut to pieces by the Chineſe troops. After this event, we are told, that the Mungls, called Weſtern Tatars, and Tan-yu by the Chineſe, left off diſturbing the empire, and lived quietly within their own territories; while the Manchews (named in the Chineſe hiſtories Eaſtern Tatars, and Nyuche, or Nu-che) began to grow formidable, and at length ſubdued both the Mungls and Chineſe [b]. A.D. 1582.

Submit to the Manchews.

Had the ſucceſſors of Yong-lo vigorouſly proſecuted what he had begun, they might have entirely reduced the Mungls to a ſtate of ſubjection; but as they neglected that affair, or purſued it but remiſsly, thoſe enemies of China began, by degrees, to extend themſelves. The princes of the houſe of Jenghîz Khân ſeizing each a territory, formed different hords, which grew into little ſovereignties. The title of emperor of the Mungls remained to the chief of theſe princes, called Chahar Khân, or Hân; who was deſcended from the emperor Kublay, or Hû-pilay, by the elder branch; and to this khân the other Mungl ſtates, including doubtleſs the Kalkas, and the Elûths themſelves, were tributary; till, about the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, he having made his government inſupportable by his cruelties and debaucheries, his ſubjects called in the founder of the Manchew monarchy. Thus the Mungl prince became a vaſſal to the Manchew empire; and was obliged to quit the title of khân for that of vang, or wang, given him by the great-grandfather of the late emperor Kang-hi, who ſubdued entirely the Mungls about the great wall.

Revolt, but ſubdued.

This prince, called by the Chineſe Tyen-tſong, who began his reign in 1627, on the death of his father Tyen-ming [c], taking advantage of the inteſtine diviſions which at that time reigned among the Mungl princes, found means to reduce them, one after another, not excepting the chief of the family, who retained the name of emperor; and was forced, by his own ſubjects, to ſubmit like the reſt, in the year 1630. After the conqueſt of China, the title of king (vang) was beſtowed on him, and ſeveral other of the moſt potent princes of the Mungl family: but in the minority of the emperor Kang-hi, the vaſſal khân re-

[b] Couplet, Mon. Sinic. Tabl. p. 81. Du Halde, ubi ſup. p. 220, & ſeq. [c] Du Halde, ubi ſup. p. 225,

ſolved

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ſolved to attempt not only to throw off his new yoke, but even, if poſſible, to recover the empire of China. With this view he began to unite the other princes in his intereſt, by a league; which coming to Kang-hi's knowlege, before the deſign took effect, he immediately ſent a ſmall body of troops from Lyau-tong, againſt the revolter Chahar Khân. The Mungl prince ſeeing himſelf attacked, before he was prepared for his defence, was obliged, with what forces he could aſſemble in haſte, to fight the emperor's army: he was entirely defeated, and in the purſuit taken priſoner, with his brother and children [d].

Remain ſubject.

From this time, the Mungls remained obedient to the power of the Manchews, who at preſent reign in China: although we are told, that the head of the Mungl princes, who are deſcended from Towhan-temûr, the laſt Mungl emperor of China, and very numerous in Tartary, ſtill preſerves a great ſuperiority over the princes of the other branches deſcended from Jenghîz Khân, and his brothers; who are at preſent chiefs of the Tatar tribes, known under the denominations of Mungls and Kalkas [e]. On this occaſion, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that as both theſe nations are the ſame people, under different names, the Mungls are thoſe who always remained in Tartary, and the Kalkas ſuch as were driven out of China; who, by way of diſtinction, perhaps, took that name from the river Kalka, on whoſe banks they ſettled; as a third branch or nation of Mungls go, at preſent, by the name of Elûths, or Alûths, known commonly in Europe by the denomination of Kâlmûks.

Kalkas independent under three khâns.

The nation of Kalkas, Khalkhas, or Halhas, for ſo the word is variouſly pronounced, or written, which is the moſt numerous as well as celebrated of all the Mungl branches, preſerved their independency for fifty or ſixty years after the Mungls had loſt their's. The princes of this branch had at firſt a monarch, under the title of khân, or king, although tributary, as the other Kalkas were, to the Mungl prince Chahar Khân, before mentioned; but the Kalkas increaſing greatly, and thoſe deſcendents of Kublay, who had only the title of tayki, growing numerous, the more powerful among them became, by degrees, independent of one another, and of the khân himſelf, to whom they paid only a ſlight homage. Before the war broke out between them and the Elûths, towards the end of the laſt century,

[d] Bouvet, Hiſt. of Kang-hi, p. 18, & ſeq. [e] Gaubil, ubi ſupra, p. 317.

they

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they were divided into ſeven ſtandards, with each its chief; three of whom received, of the great lama of Tibet, the title of khân; although moſt of the taykis, who were under them, acted as ſovereigns in their reſpective territories, and paid their khâns no farther deference than to allow them the firſt place in their aſſemblies, held to determine differences and conſult about public affairs.

The eldeſt of theſe three khâns was named Shaſſaktû, and poſſeſſed the country to the eaſt of the Elûths, extending from Mount Altay to the rivers Selinga, Orkhon, and Tûla. The ſecond, Tûſhetû, or Tûſhektû Khân, was the moſt powerful of the Kalka princes: his territories reached from the three laſt mentioned rivers to Mount Kentey, whence the Kerlon and Tûla derive their ſources. The third, Cheching Khân, reſided towards the ſource of the Kerlon, along which river his people ſpread themſelves, to its fall into the lake Dalay, or Kûlon, and alſo beyond, as far as the province of Solon. Theſe two laſt princes took the title of khân about the year 1650; but the firſt long before. Theſe Kalkas were ſo powerful before the wars, as to give uneaſineſs to the emperor of China himſelf. They were no fewer than ſix hundred thouſand families, and very rich in flocks and horſes; but they were almoſt ruined and deſtroyed by that calamity, the occaſion of which is as follows.

Troubles ariſe.

A tayki, or Kalka prince, called Lopzang-hum Tayki, whom our author Gerbillon ſaw at the aſſembly of the ſtates of Tartary, attacked Shaſſaktû Khân; and having taken him priſoner, not only put him to death, but ſeized his eſtate, with part of his ſervants. The reſt, with his children, fled to Tûſhetû Khân, who ſending an account of what had happened to all the heads of ſtandards and principal taykis, invited them to join againſt the uſurper. They immediately aſſembled their forces, attacked Lopzang-hum, took and ſent him to the great lama, to be puniſhed; requeſting that pontiff to inveſt the eldeſt ſon of Shaſſaktû Khân with his father's dignity. Their requeſt was granted, and the ſon re-eſtabliſhed in his father's territories; but neither his flocks nor ſubjects were reſtored; for Tûſhetû had ſeized them for his own uſe, by advice of his brother, who was one of thoſe Ho-fos, or living Fos, ſo numerous in Tartary.

Khûtûktu's pride.

This lama, called Tſing-chung-tumba Khûtûktû, had been eight years a diſciple of the great lama at Tibet; where he had acquired ſuch a reputation in the ſchool, that he pretended to be a living Fo as well as his maſter. He played

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played his part so well, that those Kalkas adored him as a divinity; and his brother went regularly, on particular days, to worship him, gave him the upper-hand on all occasions, and was entirely governed by him. This pretended immortal, by his pride and misconduct, occasioned the destruction of his family, and the empire of the Kalkas. Shassaktû Khân being thus deprived of his effects, contrary to a decree of the assembly, sent ambassadors to the grand lama, entreating him to interpose his authority with Tûshetû Khân, and his brother the lama, for a restitution. The dalay lama accordingly dispatched a lama envoy, who, being corrupted with presents, contented himself with fair promises. Shassaktû Khân, despairing of justice from that quarter, sent his second son to beseech the emperor of China to espouse his interest. At this time the Kalka princes paid a dromedary and nine white horses, by way of tribute, to Kang-hi, for a free trade to China; although they were not very regular in the payment. Hereupon his majesty dispatched an ambassador to the great lama, to engage him to send, by a time appointed, a person of consideration into the country of the Kalkas; in order to meet a grandee of his court, to dispose those princes to an accommodation, and to prevent a war [f].

China interposes.

Commissioners meet.

Mean time, Shassaktû Khân dying, his eldest son, who was in alliance with Kaldan, khân of the Elûths, his neighbour on the west, succeeded him as khân. The envoy of China, and that of the dalay lama, being arrived at the court of Tûshetû Khân, they convened a second time the states of the Kalka princes. The imperial envoy, named Arghi, sat as president of the tribunal. The envoy of the great lama, represented his master, and therefore, every one yielded him the first place, excepting the brother of Tûshetû Khân, who being also a lama, and professing himself a living Fo, pretended to be equal to the high-priest himself, and insisted upon being treated with the same distinction. The envoys of Kaldan exclaimed against the pretensions of the Kalka lama, which they resented as an incroachment on the respect due to their common pontiff; and, as he would make no concession, retired in great discontent. In short, to avoid a greater quartel than that which they came to determine, the envoy of the dalay lama was obliged to consent, that the king of Kalka's brother should sit opposite to him. After this agreement, affairs being soon regulated in the assembly, Tûshetû

[f] Gerbillon ap. Du Halde, ubi supra, vol. ii. p. 259.

Khân

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Khan, and the khûtûktû his brother, ſolemnly promiſed, that they would faithfully execute what had been there agreed upon. But, when the eſtates were ſeparated, they delayed performing their engagement, under divers pretences.

Kaldan offended.

Mean time, the Elûth king, offended at the little regard paid to his envoys, and the affront offered the dalay lama, in the perſon of his legate, being preſſed alſo by Shaſſaktû Khân, to haſten the reſtitution of his effects, ſent an ambaſſador to Tûſhetû Khân, and the lama his brother, to exhort them to perform their promiſe; and eſpecially to complain of the latter's diſputing precedence with the legate of the dalay lama, who had been their common maſter. The khûtûktû could not reſtrain his rage, but loaded the ambaſſador with chains; and having ſent a threatening letter to Kaldan, put himſelf, with the khân his brother, at the head of a great body of troops, to ſurpriſe Shaſſaktû Khân. That prince, who expected this attack, falling into the lama's hands, was drowned by his order: he alſo put to death one of the moſt conſiderable taykis, and ſeized his effects. Not content with theſe meaſures of vengeance, he invaded the territories of the Elûth Khân, and ſurpriſing a brother of his, cut off his head: then fixing in on a ſpear, expoſed it to public view; at the ſame time ſending a domeſtic of that unfortunate prince with a moſt abuſive letter to Kaldan.

A.D. 1688.

Invades the Kalkas.

The khân, although thoroughly enraged, yet ſtifled his reſentment, till he was in a condition to ſhew it effectually. Mean time, he aſſembled his people, and next ſpring, 1688, approached the territories of Tûſhetû Khân. The khûtûktû, who expected this event, had demanded ſuccours of the other Kalka princes; alleging that he had put to death Shaſſaktû Khân, for having entered into a league with Kaldan, to make war on all the other Kalkas. Accordingly, moſt of thoſe princes came, with conſiderable forces, to the rendezvous. The khân of the Elûths being advanced, and finding the enemy's army much ſuperior to his own, thought it beſt to encamp, in hopes that diviſions would ſoon ariſe in the army of the Kalkas. Juſt as he had conjectured, the chief of one of the moſt numerous ſtandards decamped firſt, by night, with all his people. Che-ching Khân ſoon followed his example; and all the reſt one after another, marched off, leaving Tûſhetû Khân, and the khûtuktû his brother, with none but the troops of their own ſtandard.

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Makes great havoch.

As ſoon as Kaldan underſtood theſe particulars, he fell upon the enemy, who, making no reſiſtance, were eaſily routed; the two brother chiefs and their families eſcaping with great difficulty, and the loſs of almoſt all their baggage, beſides the greater part of their army and flocks. All the Kalkas of Tûſhetû Khân's family, wherever found, were put to the ſword. He himſelf was obliged to abandon his camp, and the khûtûktû forſook his reſidence, where every thing was plundered or burned; and two fine temples, which the latter had erected at his own expence, were entirely demoliſhed. Kaldan, afterwards, ſent troops, with orders to deſtroy the country with fire and ſword; but eſpecially to kill all the Kalkas, who now fled on every ſide (R). Tûſhetû Khân, and his brother, having retreated to the ſouthern part of the deſert, near China, ſent to beſeech the emperor Kang-hi to take them under his protection, and defend them from an enemy, whoſe ambition and cruelty they highly exaggerated. His majeſty thus ſolicited, ſent an officer to enquire of Kaldan his reaſon for carrying on the war. The khân anſwered, with reſpect, that he had undertaken it to revenge the death of his brother; and reſolved to continue it: that he thought no prince would give refuge to ſo wicked a man as the Kalka lama, who being the principal anthor of ſo many barbarities, he was determined to purſue him wherever he retreated: that his puniſhment equally concerned the emperor, ſince he had ſo notoriouſly violated the oath made before his majeſty's ambaſſador, at the aſſembly of the ſtates, and ſhewn ſo little regard to his mediation.

Purſues the khûtûktû.

The khûtûktû knowing, that if Kang-hi abandoned him, he muſt infallibly fall into the hands of his enemy, as the dalay lama was his inveterate adverſary, in order to ſecure himſelf, offered to become the emperor's perpetual vaſſal, with his brother, family, and ſubjects: likewiſe to engage all the other Kalka princes; ſeveral of whom, during this negotiation, followed his example. Cheching Khân dying the ſame year, his widow alſo beſought his majeſty to receive her ſon as his vaſſal, and inveſt him with the title of khân, which was not to deſcend to his family. Kang-hi, on theſe conſiderations, ex-

(R) According to Bentink, he ſent to the place of his reſidence nine camels loads of ears and locks of hair; whence he judges a horrible ſlaughter was made: and then, with thirty thouſand men, drove his enemy within the wall of China.

horted

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horted the Elûth Khân to be content with the deplorable condition to which he had reduced his enemies, and deſiſt: but Kaldan remonſtrated, that the emperor was equally concerned to puniſh the violation of a treaty guarantied by himſelf and the dalay lama. However, he offered to retreat, provided the Kalka lama was delivered up, to be judged by the ſovereign pontiff. But the Chineſe monarch thinking it unworthy his dignity to abandon princes applying to him for refuge, and, beſides, having nothing to fear from the Ruſſians, ſince the late treaty of Nipochew (or Nerchinſkoy), took the Kalka princes under his protection, and granted them part of his lands in Tartary; which indulgence gave occaſion to the war between him and the khân of the Elûths [g].

This prince, towards the end of July 1690, advanced, at the head of a ſmall but well diſciplined army, to the frontiers of the empire. He ſlew or enſlaved all the Kalkas encamped along the Kerlon, whoſe courſe he had followed for the conveniency of forage, and purſued the murderers of his brother to the very retreat which the emperor had aſſigned them. On the firſt report of Kaldan's march, his majeſty aſſembled all the Mungl forces which had been his ſubjects from the beginning of the Manchew monarchy; and being encamped without the great wall, are in ſome ſort the out-guards of the empire. Theſe, reinforced by ſome Manchew troops, who ſerved as convoys to the preſidents of the militia, and the Mungl officers, were ordered to the frontiers, to obſerve the motions of the Elûths. The two preſidents, with a deſign to ſurpriſe the khân in his camp, amuſed him with a treaty of peace; and when he was leaſt on his guard, attacked him in the night: but they were vigorouſly repulſed, and purſued within their own territories, where they ſecured themſelves by taking poſt on the mountains. *Invades the empire;*

On this advice Kang-hi ſent a great army from Pe-king, which he deſigned at firſt to command in perſon; but on being diſſuaded by his council, appointed his next brother generaliſſimo, and ordered his eldeſt ſon to accompany him. Kaldan was poſted to advantage about eighty leagues from Pe-king; where, although he wanted artillery, and had but very few troops, he reſolutely waited for the enemy. At firſt his van-guard ſuffered much from the Chineſe cannon, which obliged him to change his diſpoſition: but as he had a great marſh before him, which *fights the Chineſe;*

[g] Gerbillon ap. Du Halde, p. 260.

prevented

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prevented his being ſurrounded, he defended himſelf with great bravery till night, when both parties retired to their camps. The general of the ordnance, who was the emperor's maternal uncle, was killed towards the end of the action by a muſket-ſhot, as he was drawing off the artillery.

comes to a treaty; Next day produced a treaty, of which the reſult was, that Kaldan ſhould have leave to retire with his army; firſt taking an oath, before his Fo, never to return into the territories of the emperor or his allies. In his retreat part of his troops periſhed for want; and his nephew Tſe-vang Raptan, whom he had left regent, withdrew into a remote country, with all who were diſpoſed to follow him. This was ſuch a terrible blow to Kaldan, that three or four years elapſed before he could recruit his army. The imperial generals, at their return to Pe-king, were impeached, although they had the advantage in the engagement; for it is a law among the Manchews that, if a general gives battle, and does not obtain a complete victory, he ought to be puniſhed. The emperor's brother, with ſome other general officers, were ſentenced to loſe three years of their revenue, and the reſt to be degraded five degrees. Next year Kang-hi held an aſſembly of the ſtates of Tartary, wherein all the Kalka princes, with one conſent, paid him ſolemn homage.

renews hoſtilities; The khân of the Elûths continued in the territories formerly belonging to Shaſſaktû Khân and Tuſhetû Khân, till 1694; when, being recruited with freſh troops, he ſcoured the banks of the Kerlon, and cut to pieces all the Kalkas who fell into his hands. Thence advancing into the borders of Korchin, he ſent propoſals to the chief prince to join with him againſt the Manchews. The king of Korchin, as a proof of the fidelity which he had ſworn to the emperor, ſent him the letter, which not a little diſturbed his imperial majeſty; for although he knew the Elûths were too weak to venture to attack him, yet he did not like a confederacy of the Mungl princes, ſupported by the dalay lama; he therefore reſolved either to extirpate the Elûths, or compel them to acquieſce in a firm and laſting peace.

is entirely routed. With this view, in 1696 he invaded Tartary with three armies, in order to ſurround them on all ſides (S). One

(S) Bentink ſays his army conſiſted of three hundred thouſand men, accompanied with three hundred pieces of cannon.

of

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of theſe armies obtained a complete victory; while that under the emperor ſtruck every place with terror. In ſhort, this year, or the next, all thoſe Tatars were either deſtroyed, ſubdued, or diſperſed. The deſtruction of the Elûths was ſo great in this laſt war, that in all thoſe vaſt countries there remained no more than ten or twelve thouſand families; and the death of Kaldan in 1697, while the emperor was marching to ſeek him out in his retreat, completed their ruin: the remains of theſe unfortunate Elûths being obliged to implore his majeſty's clemency, or take ſhelter with Tſe-vang Raptan, the only ſurviving prince of that people. The war thus ended, we are told that Kang-hi became abſolute maſter of all the empire of the Kalkas and Elûths; and extended his dominions in Tartary as far as the great deſerts and foreſts which form the frontiers of Ruſſia [h].

The Eluths hiſtory.

Having brought down the hiſtory of the two firſt Mungl branches, the Mungls properly called, and the Kalkas, to the preſent time, it remains to conſider that of the Elûths: but here our memoirs are ſtill more ſcanty and imperfect. It does not appear from any authors yet publiſhed, either when, or on what occaſion, the Mungl tribes, who go under the denomination of Elûths, threw off their dependency on the Mungl khâns reigning at Karakorom (or in the eaſtern parts of Tartary), and aſſumed that name; or by what ſteps they arrived at ſo great a power, as to become ſuperior to the other two branches of the Mungls.

Onchon's miſfortune.

We find nothing conſiderable of the Elûths till about the year 1655, at which time we are told all the Elûth branches were united under one chief or king, called Ochirtu-chechin Khân. Prince Ablay, his brother, having rebelled, was defeated, and forced to retire a great way towards Siberia. The khan had under him ſeveral petty princes of his family called Tayki, who were abſolute in their reſpective territories, and paid him what homage and tribute they pleaſed. One of them, Patûrû Hûm, was very rich, and had been highly honoured for his exploits in the wars of Tibet. He left ſeveral children, of whom Onchon, the eldeſt, ſucceeded him. This prince, during the wars with the Haſſak Pûrûks or Uſbek Tartars, falling ſick of the ſmall-pox in his camp, was, according to the cuſtom of the Mungls in that diſtemper, left alone in his tent; which the Mohammedan Tatars, poſted oppoſite to

[h] Gerbillon, ap. Du Halde, p. 257. 261.

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the Eluths, took poſſeſſion of, and with proper care recovered the ſick prince.

Slain by Sengha. Onchon, not thinking it prudent to diſcover his quality, ſerved three years as a common ſlave; during which the ſecond brother Sengha, not doubting of his death, married his wife. At length the prince diſcovered himſelf to the Haſſaks; and promiſing upon oath, in caſe they releaſed him, never to renew the war, they ſet him at liberty, and gave him a guard of one hundred men to eſcort him into his own territories. Being arrived on the borders, he diſpatched a courier to acquaint his brother with his adventure and return. Sengha, greatly ſurpriſed, conſulted his wife, to know whom ſhe would chuſe in ſuch a conjuncture. The lady anſwered, that ſhe had married him on a preſumption that her firſt huſband was dead; but ſince he was living, ſhe was indiſpenſably obliged to return to him. Sengha, whoſe love was equal to his ambition, under pretence of honouring him, ſent aſſaſſins to maſſacre the prince and all his retinue. The crime being committed, he pretended that he had defeated a party of Haſſak Pûrûks, without mentioning any thing of his brother; but the murder being ſoon diſcovered, one of the brothers, by the ſame mother as Onchon, aſſembled forces to revenge his death; and having killed Sengha, reſtored the ſon of Onchon to his father's poſſeſſions.

Kaldan's revenge. Kaldan, third ſon of Patûrû-hum Tayki, by Sengha's mother, had been educated by the grand lama of Tibet, as one of his principal diſciples; he ſettled at the court of Ochirtû-cheching Khân, who treated him with great marks of diſtinction. This prince, having had notice of the foregoing tranſactions, aſked leave of the high pontiff to quit the profeſſion, in order to revenge the death of his brother. Permiſſion being granted, he immediately formed an army of Sengha's old domeſtics, and ſome troops lent him by Ochirtû; with which he took vengeance on the murderers, and ſeized on all the effects of his brother, as well as the eſtates of Sengha. He then married the prince's chief wife, the daughter of Ochirtû Khân; and his forces increaſing daily, he found himſelf in a condition at laſt to diſpute the kingdom with his father-in-law, to whom he owed his preſent fortune.

Created khân. A quarrel between their ſubjects was a pretence for declaring war; and he marched with his army into the country of Ochirtû, who received him at the head of his troops. The battle was near the great lake Kizalpû, where Kaldan obtained

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obtained the victory; and having taken his father-in-law prisoner, caused his throat to be cut, the better to secure the conquest of his dominions: thus he became the head of all the Elûths. The great lama, to reward his perfidy and cruelty, gave him the title of khân, that is, king or emperor. From that time Kaldan enjoyed his conquests, and had no wars but with the Hassak Pûrûks till 1688, when he invaded and subdued the Kalkas; but carrying his resentment too far, he was ruined in his turn by the emperor of China[i].

According to Betink, the loss of the last battle did not so much afflict the Elûth prince as did the death of his wife Guni or Ani, who was slain in the rout. Her body having been found among the dead, the emperor caused the head to be cut off, and carried it along with him to adorn his triumph. Provisions and forage beginning to fail in the neighbouring mountains, to which he had with difficulty escaped, most of his followers and horses died of hunger; so that he returned almost alone into his own dominions, where he spent two years in great affliction, exposed to the reproaches of his subjects. At length he sent his son Septenbaldius to the dalay lama, to desire his mediation, which he before slighted: but Abd'ollah Beg, governor of the city of Khamul, although dependent on the khân, caused him and his small retinue to be seized in passing through his government, and sent them to the emperor; who ordered their heads to be struck off, and confirmed the traitor in his post. *Totally defeated.*

The news of this disaster threw the khân into despair. He assembled all his subjects, exhorted them to live in peace and unity; then giving them liberty to retire every one where he pleased, he took poison, and died. This was the end of Bosto Khân, a prince of great genius and valour, who by a series of successes, had made himself formidable to all his enemies. *Poisons himself.*

Kaldan was succeeded by his nephew, eldest son of Senghu, called Tse-vang Raptan (T). This Raptan is said to have left his uncle's court, while he was absent in the war; and, by carrying away the greater part of his forces, greatly distressed him in his affairs[k]. Bentink says, that his flight happened a little before the war in 1688, on the *Succeeded by Raptan his nephew.*

[i] Gerbillon apud Du Halde, p. 257.

[k] Bentink apud Abulgh. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 252. & seq.

(T) Bentink calls him Zigan Araptan, which is the name used by the Russians.

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following occaſion. The khân, who bred up at his court three of his brother's ſons, conceived an averſion to the eldeſt; and, finding no pretence to put him to death, he had recourſe to a man of great ſtrength, who, under pretence of wreſtling with the young prince, handled him ſo roughly, that, in a few days, he died. Zigan Araptan, the youngeſt of the three, alarmed at this event, fled with his friends and domeſtics: nor could his other brother Dankhînambû, whom the khân ſent after him, prevail with him to return.

His inſtallment. But when he heard of his uncle's death, he preſented himſelf to the Kalmûks, and demanded the ſucceſſion; which they could not deny him, he being next heir. The Bûkhars, whom Kaldan had conquered ſome time before, followed their example; and the other provinces, which refuſed to ſubmit, were compelled to it by force of arms. When things were thus ſettled, the Bûkhars conducted him one day to an agreeable grove; where they ſolemnly inveſted him with the title of Kontaiſh, which ſignifies a *Grand Monarch*; forbidding, under pain of death, to call him by his former name. This prince well deſerved that diſtinction, as being remarkable for his genius and mildneſs, courage and piety [l].

Conquers Tibet. The new khân at firſt lived quietly in his territories, with all but the Uſbeks, and encouraged agriculture: but his actions afterwards proved, that he was no leſs enterpriſing than his uncle Kaldan. Not long after his advancement to the throne, Yarkian, capital of Kâſhgar, revolting, he reduced it by force, and ſeverely puniſhed the rebels. About the year 1703, Ayuka, one of his couſins, flying from his court, under pretence that he was in fear of his life, paſſed the river Jaîk, with the tribe of Torgaüts, and put himſelf under the protection of Ruſſia [m]. About 1716, Kontaiſh conquered Tibet [o]: but, four years after, the provinces of Khamil and Turfân, in Little Bukhâria, were taken from him by the Chineſe, on the following occaſion. Kontaiſh having been informed, that there was, to the eaſt of the Great Gobi, or Deſert, at the foot of the mountains which ſeparate his lands from thoſe of China, a gold mine, ſo rich, that it might be worked without much trouble, he ſent one of his murſas or princes, with ten thouſand men, to take poſſeſſion of it; but the Chineſe and Mungls, af-

[l] Bentink apud Abulgh. Hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 253. Gerbillon ap. Du Halde, p. 257. [m] Idem ibid. p. 257. Bentink, ubi ſupra, p. 539. [o] Gerbil. ubi ſup. p. 384. 386.

failing

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ſailing them in great numbers, routed, and purſued them to the deſert. This the Kalmûks repaſſed by favour of ſome very fertile vallies, hidden by the high mountains which croſs the Gobi on that ſide from weſt to eaſt, and were till then unknown to the Chineſe.

Loſſes in Bukhâria.

The late emperor Kang-hi, to try if any advantage could be made of this diſcovery, ſent a powerful army that way, with a good train of artillery, under his third ſon Yong-ching, who having paſſed the deſerts by the ſame road which the Kalmûks followed in their retreat, entered the provinces of Khamil and Turfân: but finding that Kontaiſh advanced to meet him with a fine and numerous cavalry, againſt whom he durſt not venture his army in the vaſt plains of thoſe provinces, he reſolved to build forts at proper diſtances, which he took care to furniſh very well with cannon and infantry. By favour of thoſe forts he advanced continually in the lands of Kontaiſh, and made himſelf at length entire maſter of the aforeſaid provinces; the Kalmûks not being able to bring him to a battle.

Offers to Ruſſia.

Kontaiſh, who ſaw it was impoſſible for him to repel the Chineſe without infantry and ordnance, the uſe of which had been till then unknown to the Kalmûks, in the year 1720 ſent ambaſſadors to Peter I. emperor of Ruſſia, then at St. Peterſburg, offering to become tributary to him, provided he would ſend ten thouſand regular troops, with cannon, to his aſſiſtance: but the war with Sweden, joined to the views which the emperor Peter had upon Perſia, hindered him from accepting of theſe advantageous propoſals. Mean time the Chineſe ſeized all that belonged to Kontaiſh, lying to the eaſt of the deſerts, towards the frontiers of China, where they have ſettled colonies of Mungls; but did not moleſt the territories of the dalay lama *.

* Bentink, ubi ſupra, p. 546. & ſeq.

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CHAP. XIV.

The History of Juji, or Tushi Khân, and his Descendents, who reigned over the Kipjaks, with that of the Khâns of Krim Tartary.

Kipjâks, their country.

THE Kipjâks, or Kipchâks, inhabit the western part of Tartary; and formerly their country was of very great extent, comprising the vast plains reaching in breadth from the Caspian sea to the borders of Russia, which then was contained within narrow bounds; and extending from the Nieper, or Boristhenes, westward, a considerable way in Tartary, to the east of the Caspian sea: so that not only the kingdom of Astrakhân and Kassan, belonging at present to the Russian empire, but likewise all Little Tartary, and some other neighbouring provinces of Europe, were included in it, forming, in the whole, a large empire.

First. Juji Khân.

We have already mentioned the exploits of Juji or Tushi, who accompanied his father Jenghîz Khân in the war against Mohammed Karasm Shâh. The khân was so pleased with his conduct, that he soon after gave him the sovereignty of Kipjâk, the country of the Jetah or Getes, and Turkestân. This prince resided in Kipjâk; where he died in the year 1226, six months before his father, much regretted both by the Mungls and his new subjects. We have but few materials to enable us to give our readers a satisfactory history of the successors of Juji Khân, in this part of the Mungl empire: for we are indebted chiefly to two scanty funds, little else than lists or catalogues of the khâns; one communicated by Abûlghâzi Khân, of Karazm, in his history of the Turks, Moguls, and Tatars; the other by De la Croix, at the end of his history of Jenghîz Khân. These catalogues disagree likewise considerably with each other, as to the names and number of the khâns, as well as the dates of actions. For instance, De la Croix reckons forty-one khâns to Haji Keray, or Gheray Khân; and Abûlghâzi Khân only seventeen: but we chuse to follow the latter, as he was a descendent of Juji, and reigned in a country not far from Kipjâk.

A.D. 1226.

Second. Batû Khân.

Upon the death of Juji Khân, his father sent immediately his brother Belgatay Utezkim into Dasht Kipjâk, in order to create Batû khân in the room of his father. That

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That prince went to meet his great uncle, and conducted him to the usual place of his residence, where he was put in possession of the throne; but the solemnity was scarce over, when news arrived of the death of Jenghîz Khân. In consequence of this event, Utezkim returned immediately to Karakorom, and was followed by Batû, called also Saghin Khân, accompanied by his brothers, excepting Togay Timûr, the youngest; who, on this occasion, was left as regent during his absence. At court, they assisted at the instalment of Ugaday, or Oktay Khân, whom afterwards they accompanied in his expedition to Kitay.

The grand khân, pleased with the conduct and bravery which he had observed in Batû Saghin Khân, at his return gave him a numerous army to subdue the Uras or Russians, Cherkassians, Bulgars, and other neighbouring nations. He likewise ordered his son Kayuk, who succeeded him, Mangu, son of Tolèy, and Baydar, son of Jagatay Khân, to accompany him in this western expedition.

On his return to Kipjâk, Togay Timûr feasted him and all the princes splendidly for three days. Batû gave, in his turn, a feast, which lasted forty days, at the end of which he proceeded on his intended conquests. His expedition was crowned with success, and the khân having filled all the West with the glory of his great exploits, at length returned to Dasht Kipjâk, where he died some time after in the capital of the country, called Kok-Orda [p]. De la Croix places this event of his death in 1256; and says, he conquered the Alans, Assites, Russians or Muscovites, Bulgars, and several other nations: that crossing through Russia, he even ravaged Poland, Moravia, and Dalmatia; then marched into Hungary, with a design to besiege Constantinople, but was prevented by death; a circumstance which contradicts Abu'lghâzi Khân's account, who says he died in Kipchâk. De la Croix adds, that Batû performed several other considerable exploits, and was said to have been the most liberal and generous prince in the world [q].

His conquests.

Batû Saghin Khân was succeeded by his brother Burgha; who, on that occasion, gave a very magnificent feast to all his vassal lords, and distributed several considerable presents among the chief of them. Nor did he forget to send some of great value to Hû-pi-lay Khân, in order to

Third. Burgha Khân.

[p] Abulghazi Khan, Hist. Turks, p. 193, & seq. [q] De la Croix, Hist. Gengh. p. 387.

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obtain his confirmation of the choice which his subjects had made of him in the room of Batû. Burgha Khân reigned with great glory, and was much dreaded by all his neighbours. One day, being on the road to visit Koplay Khân, he met with merchants of Great Bukhâria, and discoursing with some of them about the Mohammedan worship, was so affected with the account they gave of it, that he immediately embraced that religion. He also in time converted his younger brother Togay Timûr, who accompanied him, and at his return published an order for all his subjects to embrace Mohammedism; but he died, says our author, before he could complete so salutary a work, after he had reigned twenty-five years. De la Croix says he reigned but ten, and that he died in 1266; but, by Abu'lghâzi Khân's account, which we prefer, his death must have happened in 1281. The first of these authors, besides taking notice that Bereke, as he calls Burgha, turned Mohammedan, adds, that he was engaged in a very bloody war with Hûlakû, khân of Persia; and that afterwards, being desirous to execute part of Batû's design, he marched as far as Constantinople, ravaging all the country in his passage[r].

Fourth. Mengû Timûr Khân.

Burgha Khân had for his successor his brother Mengû Timûr, who was a prince of wonderful courage and conduct. Some time after his advancement to the crown, he gave a tribe, subject to him, called Ak Orda, or the White Orda, to Behadr Khân, son of Sheybani Khân; and the cities of Kaffa and Krim to Orân Timûr, son of Togay Timûr. He afterwards took the field against the Bulgars; and having, in two years, made considerable conquests on that side, returned to his own dominions. From thence he marched towards the country of Irân, or Persia, against Abka Khân, who came to an amicable agreement with him, which continued with such friendship, that every year they sent each other presents; but his successor Ahmed, son of Hûlakû Khân, having been slain by Abka's son Argûn, as soon as the news reached the court of Mengû Timûr Khân, he sent Tarkay and Turkuchay, two of his generals, with eighty thousand men, towards the frontiers of Irân. On advice of this invasion, Argûn Khân detached Amîr Togâtur, one of his best officers, with a large body of troops, to meet them, and followed in person with all his forces. The two armies coming to an engagement at

[r] Abulgh. ubi supra, p. 195.

a place

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a place called Karabakh, in Armenia, that of Mengû Timûr was defeated, and he himſelf died of grief [s].

Fifth. Tuda Mengû Khân.

Upon his deceaſe Tuda Mangû, ſon of Batû Khân, aſcended the throne of Kipjâk; but as he oppreſſed his ſubjects with taxes, Tokhtagû, ſon of Mengû Timûr Khân, thought himſelf obliged to remonſtrate againſt the injuſtice of his conduct. This freedom was taken ſo ill by the khân, that he was conſtrained to leave the country: however, he found means to return not long after, at the head of a powerful army, and having gained a battle, in which Tuda Mangû was ſlain, ſucceeded him in the ſovereignty.

Sixth. Tokhtagu Khân.

Tokhtagu Khân reigned with univerſal applauſe, and ſubdued a great number of neighbouring cities; but he was carried off by death in the midſt of his conqueſts, after a reign of ſix years, and was buried in the city of Shari Sarayjik (U) purſuant to his laſt directions.

Seventh. Uzbek Khân.

Uzbek ſucceeded his father Tokhtagû, and though but thirteen years old, reigned with much prudence and reſolution. He introduced the Mohammedan worſhip through all the provinces of his dominions, and conciliated the affection of his ſubjects to ſuch a degree, that they aſſumed the name of Uzbeks, which they have ever ſince retained. After this event Uzbek Khân tried his fortune twice againſt Abu Saïd Khân, who reigned in Irân, but without reaping any advantage by thoſe expeditions, and died at his return from the laſt [t].

Eighth. Jani Bek Khân.

Uzbek Khân had for his ſucceſſor on the throne of the Kipjâks, his ſon Jani Bek, who acquired the reputation of a very virtuous and devout Mohammedan. He uſually reſided in the city of Shari Sarayjik, and continually employed himſelf in deſigns for the good of his ſubjects. During his reign Mâlek Aſhrâf, ſon of Timûr Tâſh, had ſeized the kingdom of Azerbejân in Irân, and the neighbouring provinces; but as he was a great tyrant, and led a ſcandalous life, many of his ſubjects left the country, and joined Janibek Khân. Among the reſt was Mohûzo'ddîn, a chief man of the law; who, one day expounding the Koran in the moſque before the khân, took an occaſion to

[s] Abulgh. ubi ſupra, p. 195, & ſeq. [t] Idem ibid. p. 197, & ſeq.

(U) This ſeems to be the ſame place with Shari Saray; the ruins of which are on the eaſt ſide of the Wolga, a little to the north of Zariza, or Zaraygrood, a Ruſſian city, on the weſt ſide, in the part where that river and the Don approach each other.

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touch on the scandalous life of Mâlek Ashrâf; then addressing himself to Jani Bek, he declared, that in case he did not do his utmost to restrain the infamous conduct of that tyrant, both he (the preacher) and his subjects would accuse him, before the throne of God, of all the evil which might accrue from his tyranny.

Conquers Azerbejân. This menace made such an impression on the mind of Jani Bek Khân, that he, without delay, assembled all his forces, and marched into Irân; where, having defeated and slain Mâlek Ashrâf, he seized all his dominions, with his treasures, which he divided among his subjects, amounting to four hundred camels load, in stuffs and jewels, besides other valuable effects. Then leaving his son Birdi Bek to govern the conquered provinces, he returned to his own dominions. There falling sick immediately on his arrival, he dispatched couriers to his son, that he might see him before he died; but finding death not willing to allow him so much time, he enjoined the lords of his court to acknowlege Birdi Bek for their sovereign. Having thus settled the succession, he expired, and was buried in Shari Sarayjik, in the year of the Hejra 758 (of Christ 1356), after he had reigned seven years [u].

Ninth. Birdi Bek Khân. Birdi Bek being detained by affairs of importance in the provinces of Irân, two years after his father's death, at length arrived; and having spent three days in lamenting that loss, caused himself to be publicly acknowleged khân. He afterwards abandoned himself entirely to tyranny and a brutish life. As he imagined he had a long time to live, he put to death all his relations, for fear any of them should attempt to expel him from the throne, which he possessed so unworthily; but his debaucheries soon put a period to his life; and as, with this khân, the Hejra 762. A.D. 1360. posterity of Mengû Timûr Khân became extinct, the sceptre of the countries of Kipjâk was conferred on the other descendents of Juji Khân.

Tenth. Urus Khân. After the death of Birdi Bek Khân, Urûs Khân, son of Badakul Oglân, son of Khoja, son of Avas Timûr, son of Togay Timûr, youngest son of Juji Khân, seized the sceptre of the Kipjâks, and reigned for some years very peaceably; till at length Toktamish, or Tokatmish, descended from Togay Timûr, by another branch, attempted to dethrone him; but his troops having been defeated by Urûs Khân, he was obliged to fly for refuge to Amîr Timûr,

[u] Abulgh. ubi supra, p. 198, & seq.

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mûr, or Tamerlan, who resided at Samerkand in Great Bukhâria. A few days after, Idighi Mangap, who had engaged in the service of Tokatmish, followed him, with intelligence, that Urûs Khân, and all his forces, might easily be surprised, because he marched at a great rate towards Great Bukhâria. Idighi Mangap was the son of Kutluk Kaba, a man of distinction among the tribe of Ak Mungls, whose daughter Timûr had been given in marriage to one of his sons, of which marriage Timur Kutluk was the issue. Upon this advice Amir Timûr sent Tokatmish with a numerous army against Urûs Khân; whom having defeated and slain in battle, he found no difficulty to ascend the throne. Hejra 777. A.D. 1375.

We meet with a more particular account of this war between Tokatmish and Urûs Khân in the life of Timûr Beck, written by Sharîfo'ddîn Ali, a Persian author, which shall be produced in its proper place.

Eleventh. Tokatmish Khân established by Timûr.

Although Tokatmish seemed to be now securely established on the throne of Kipjâk, yet he did not possess it long in quiet; for Tukta Kaya, eldest son of Urûs Khân, dying soon after his father, his brother Timûr Mâlek Aglen ascended the throne; and, marching with a powerful army against Tokatmish, after several skirmishes, once more entirely defeated him: but, by means of a very fleet horse, he escaped. The generous Timûr again supplied his losses, and sent him back with several commanders, who had orders to replace him on the throne of Kipjâk; a service which they performed accordingly, in the city of Saganak; and, pursuant to custom, sprinkled on him gold and precious stones. Mean time Orki-timûr, taken prisoner in the late battle, made his escape, and informed Timûr Bek, that Timûr Mâlek spent both night and day in debauches; that he slept till ten in the morning; and that all the people of Kipjâk desired Tokatmish for their sovereign. On this intelligence, the emperor advised that prince to march with all expedition to attack his rival, who had passed the winter at Karatal (X). Tokatmish Aglen immediately departed from Saganak; and, coming up with the enemy, defeated them; by which victory he recovered the throne. Timûr Bek was so rejoiced at this event, that he spent several days in feasting, and released many prisoners. Tokatmish Khân returned to pass the winter at Saganak; and, raising a great army in the spring, recon-

(X) Karatal, a place in Kipjâk.

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quered the kingdom of Saray (Y) and Memak, with the rest of the empire of Tushi Khân [w].

Invades his dominions. When Timûr Kutluk grew up, he went to dwell in the country of the Kipjâks, and Idighi Mangap put himself under his protection. This circumstance greatly displeased Tokatmish Khân; who, having besides entertained a suspicion that Timûr Kutluk sought to supplant him, endeavoured, without noise, to get rid of so dangerous a rival: but Timûr Kutluk, having discovered the khân's design, fled for refuge to Great Bukhâria, whither he was followed six months after by Idighi Mangap. While Amîr Timûr invaded Irân with all his forces, Tokatmish Khân entered Great Bukhâria, then destitute of troops, with a great army; and, having taken Samarkand, put to the sword a great number of the inhabitants. After this exploit, he set out for his own dominions; but Amîr Timûr, who, on intelligence of that prince's march, had returned homewards, followed him with so much diligence, that he overtook him on the banks of the Atel or Wolga. Tokatmish Khân, finding there was no way to avoid a battle, engaged with uncommon resolution; but the good fortune of Timûr having prevailed over all the conduct of the khân, he was obliged to escape by flight, after having lost most of his army in the engagement.

Timûr Kutluk retires. After the battle, Timûr Kutluk, who was in the action, with Amîr Timûr's consent, went to seek for his subjects, whom he had abandoned, for fear of Toktamish Khân; and, having met with a great number of them on the banks of the Atel, prepared to march with them to Samarkand: but Idighi Mangap advised him not to put it in Amîr Timûr's power to deprive him of his subjects, by distributing them in the cities belonging to his dominions; he told him, that step would necessarily reduce him to a state of absolute dependence on Timûr; he therefore counselled him to go and settle elsewhere with his people; an advice which the other followed so secretly, that it is not known whither he retired [x].

Twelfth. Kaverchik Khân. Tokatmish Khân, at his death, left eight sons; but Kaverchick, son of Urûs Khân, seized the sovereignty, and reigned after him.

Thirteenth. Barak Khân. He was succeeded by his son Barak Khân:

[w] Hist. Tim. Bek. lib. ii. cap. 24, 25. p. 187—190. [x] Abulgh. ubi supra, p. 201, & seq.

(Y) Of which Shari Sarayjik, or Saray, above mentioned was the capital.

Upon

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Upon whoſe demiſe, Mahmat, deſcended from Togay Timûr, uſurped the ſceptre of the country of the Kipjâks. *Fourteenth. Mahmat Khân.*

Mahmat Khân was ſucceeded by Abûſaïd, ſurnamed Jani Bek Khân, ſon of Barak Khân, who left nine ſons; Iraji, Mohammed, Kaſim, who gave battle to Mohammed Khân Shebani, in which the latter loſt his life; Aytik, Janiſh, Kamber, Tamiſh, Awſſak, and Jayik. The Uzbeks affirm, that the khâns of Turkeſtân are deſcended from Janiſh ſoltân, fifth ſon of Jani Bek Khân. *Fifteenth. Jani Bek Khân.*

After the death of Jani Bek, Ghiazo'ddîn, ſon of Timûrtaſh, ſon of Mahmat Khân, poſſeſſed himſelf of the throne of Kipjâk, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Haji Garay [y]. *Sixteenth. Ghiazo'ddîn Khân.*

Haji Garay, or Keray Khân, left eight ſons; who, after their father's death, divided his dominions among them; but their deſcendents did not long enjoy their reſpective poſſeſſions; for the Urus, or Ruſſians, ſeized the whole country of Kipjâk in the year of Chriſt 1553; and, ſince that time, we hear no more of the poſterity of Haji Garay Khân. All we know for certain is, that the khâns of Krîm are ſprung from one of his ſons; but we cannot determine which of them it is [z]. *Seventeenth. Haji Garay Khân.*

This is all the account given by Abû'lghâzi Khân of the khâns who have reigned in Kipjâk; to which ſome particulars may be added to La Croix, relating to Haji Keray Khân, and his ſucceſſors in Krîm Tartary. According to this author, Haji Keray Khân died in 1475, and left twelve ſons; which great number of princes was the cauſe that the empire of Kipjâk fell into confuſion, for three of them reigned as khâns at the ſame time. This diviſion occaſioned a war which ruined ſeveral provinces, of which the Ruſſians got poſſeſſion; in ſhort, the great empire of Kipjâk would have been utterly ruined, if ſoltân Mohammed II. who ſubdued Conſtantinople, touched with the misfortunes of thoſe princes, had not taken care to ſuccour them. For this purpoſe, he ſent Ghedîk Ahmed Paſha, who took the city of Kaffa from the Genoeſe, and then that of Mankûp.

Here he found Mengheli or Menkeli Keray, ſon of Haji Keray Khân, who loſt his liberty with the reſt of the inhabitants. He had been khân of Kipjâk for a few days; but, having been vanquiſhed by his brothers, fled for refuge to the Chriſtians, and waited an opportunity to remount the throne; on which Mohammed ſoon after re- *Khâns of Krîm.*

[y] Abulgh. ubi ſupra, p. 203. [z] Idem ibid. & ſeq.

placed

placed him [a]. The ſoltan not only appointed this prince khân of the Krîm, on certain conditions, but alſo ſent him with an army of Othmâns into Kapchâk, or Kipjâk; which he ſoon recovered by their aſſiſtance, after having defeated and killed his brother. This was the firſt khân of Tartary appointed by the Turks; and the firſt who, in the Krîm, ordered the kotba, in the name of the Othmân emperor, to be uſed in the prayers [b]. Theſe khâns aſſume the title of Padîſhâh, or *Emperor*.

Khâns of Krîm Tatary.

Eighteenth. Mengheli Keray Khân.

1. MENGHELI KERAY, or Ghyeray Khân, ſucceeded his father. La Croix makes him the forty-ſecond khân of Kipjâk; but he was no more than the eighteenth, according to Abûlghâzi Khân; whoſe numbering thus far, being more exact, we ſhall follow in the margin, to carry on the ſucceſſion of the khâns of Kipjâk.

Nineteenth. Mehemed Keray Khan.

2. Mehemed Keray Khân ſucceeded his father Mengheli Keray Khân, in the dominion of Kipjâk, as well as that of the Krîm. Here it may be proper to obſerve, that all the khâns, who ſucceeded Mengheli Keray, took or retained the name of Keray, Geray, or Khyeray.

Twentieth. Gâzi Keray Khân.

3. Mehemed was ſucceeded by his ſon Gâzi Keray Khân, who was depoſed, after a reign of ſix months.

Twenty-firſt. Saadet Keray Khân.

4. Saadet Keray Khân, who gave his brother Sahhib Keray Khân in hoſtage to ſoltân Selim I. emperor of the Othmâns. From this time the Turks gave one thouſand and fifty aſpers per day as a penſion to the khâns of Krîm Tartary, and other penſions to the lords of the Tatar court, as appears from the book Kunho'l Akhbar.

Twenty-ſecond. Iſlâm Keray Khân.

5. Iſlam Keray Khân, ſon of Mehemed Keray. In his reign the kingdom was divided between two factions; one adhered to Saadet Keray Khân, the other to Iſlam Keray Khân. At length, in 1517, the two parties came to hoſtilities on the banks of the Nieper, or Boriſthenes; and, thoſe of Iſlam Keray's ſide gaining the advantage, Saadet Keray was obliged to fly to Conſtantinople, where the Othmân emperor gave him a penſion to ſubſiſt on. After this, Iſlâm was killed by,

Twenty-third. Sahhib Keray Khân.

6. Sahhib Keray Khân, who ſeized the throne; but was himſelf, after having reigned a long time, depoſed by Solymân II. ſoltân of the Turks. The Ruſſians, who had been vaſſals to the Tatars till the reign of the czar or tſar

[a] La Croix, ubi ſupra, p. 390.

[b] Cantemir, Hiſt. Othm. p. 112, & ſeq.

Ivan

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Ivan Baſiliwitz, took the city of Kazan, or Kaſân, ſituate on the river Kaſânkâ, a little to the eaſt of the Wolga, from this khân, on the 9th of July 1552 [c]; and, in a year or two more, conquered the kingdom of Aſtrakhân, to the ſouth of that of Kazân, with the reſt of Kipjâk to the weſt of the river Jaïk; ſo that Sahhib Keray Khân may properly ſaid to be the laſt khân of the race of Juji Khân who reigned in Kipjâk; excepting that part called Little Tartary, which became a part rather by conqueſt than original occupation. After the conqueſt of this large country, the ſeveral tribes of Kipjâks and Tatars ſubmitted to the Ruſſians, and ſtill remain in their ancient territories.

7. Sahhib Keray was ſucceeded by Dolet (or Dawlat) Keray Khân, ſon of Mobarek, ſon of Mengheli Keray Khân, and died in 1577. *Twenty-fourth. Dolet Keray Khân.*

8. Dolet Keray had for his ſucceſſor Mehemed Keray Khân, who was depoſed for having diſobeyed the Othmân ſoltân. *Twenty-fifth. Mehemet Keray Khân.*

9. Iſlam Keray Khân (Z), who had been impriſoned at Rhodes, was reſtored: he died in 1588. *Twenty-ſixth. Sahhib reſtored.*

10. Gazi Keray Khân ſucceeded: he was a learned prince, an excellent poet, and able muſician. The Othmân ſoltân increaſed his penſion to about five pounds Engliſh per day; having done great ſervices to the Turkiſh empire, in the war with Perſia, where he diſplayed all the qualifications requiſite in a great officer; yet he was depoſed for ſome time, but was afterwards reſtored; and died in 1607. *Twenty-ſeventh. Gâzi Keray Khân.*

11. Fateh Keray Khân, who was depoſed almoſt as ſoon as he was advanced to that dignity. *Twenty-eighth.*

12. He was ſucceeded by Selâmet Keray Khân (ſon of Dolet Keray Khân), who died in 1610. *Fateh Keray Khân. Twenty-ninth. Selamet Keray Khân.*

13. Jani Bek Keray Khân ſucceeded Selâmet Keray; and, in 1617, marched into Perſia by order of the Port. He likewiſe went to beſiege Kaffa, at the head of forty thouſand Tatars; nevertheleſs he was depoſed in 1621; but re-eſtabliſhed in 1627. *Thirtieth. Jani Bek Keray Khân.*

14. Jani Bek had for his ſucceſſor Mehemet Keray Khân, who was killed in the courſe of the ſame year. *Thirty-firſt. Mehemet Keray Khân.*

15. Anayet Keray Khân, ſon of Gâzi Keray Khân, depoſed in 1637; and afterwards put to death in the ſame

[c] La Croix, ubi ſupra, p. 391.

(Z) This muſt be a miſtake for Sahhib Keray, who was impriſoned at Rhodes: Iſlâm Keray was killed.

year

Thirty-second. Anayet Keray Khân.

year at Constantinople [d]. According to other accounts, he was slain this year by a nephew of his competitor Kantemîr; which latter was put to death at Constantinople, for killing a Tatar. As Anâyet had shaken off much of his respect for the Othmân emperor, his murder was applauded at the Port; who set up his brother, then at Jamboli in Rum-ili, or Thrace, in his room.

Thirty-third. Behadr Keray Khân.

16. Behadr Keray Khân, son of Selâmet Keray Khân, succeeded Anâyet, and died in 1641. This khân is called Bekhir Gheray by others.

Thirty-fourth. Mehemed Keray Khân.

17. Mehemed Keray Khân, another son of Selâmet Keray. He was deposed in 1644, and restored: in 1664 he was deposed a second time.

Thirty-fifth. Islâm Keray Khân.

18. Islam Keray Khân, a son also of Selâmet Keray. He carried on a war with Poland for fourteen years, and died in 1653.

Thirty-sixth. Adel Keray Khân.

19. Adel Keray Khân, son of Chûbân Keray Khân. He was deposed in 1671; and sent back prisoner to Rhodes, from whence he had been taken.

Thirty-seventh. Selim Keray Khân.

20. Selim Keray Khân, who reigned in 1673. We are informed by prince Cantemîr, that the Turks, distrusting the fidelity of Selîm, after the battle of Vienna, advanced Kior Gyeray, of the Chûbân Gyeray family, to the dignity of khân; but that in a few months he was deposed, and the ancient race of Gyeray replaced on the throne. That author adds, that it is thought the Chûban Gyeray will never rise to the same honour again, although they may enjoy the office of galga soltân; nor nûro'ddîn, which are in the power of their relations [e]. The reason assigned for the supposition, that none of the Chûbân Gyeray family will be advanced for the future, is, that they are of a spurious race; which reflection they retort, in their turn, on the Gyerays of Krîm. However, they are allowed, by the Othmân emperors, to live at Jamboli (formerly Janopoli), which is the destined seat of the Tatar princes [f]. He was famous in war; for, in one campaign, he defeated the Russians, Poles, and Germans. After he had been twice khân, he abdicated, on his return from Mecca; but being made khân the third time by the Port, instead of his son, the latter revolted; yet was reduced by his brother soltân Gazi Keray, in 1702, when the khân was about forty. He was succeeded by soltân Gazi, named

[d] La Croix, ubi supra, p. 391, & seq. Othm. not. p. 113.

[e] Cantem. Hist.

[f] Idem ibid.

21. Dolet

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21. Dolet Keray Khân, ſon of Selîm Keray Khân. This prince was much beloved by his ſubjects, and accounted a great ſoldier; but he was depoſed by the Port, and ſent firſt to Rhodes, and then to Khio. *Thirty-eighth. Dolet Keray Khân.*

22. Kaplan Keray Khân. This prince having been defeated in Chirkaſſia, by ſome rebels, whom he went to reduce, the ſoltân depoſed him, in 1708; and re-eſtabliſhed in his room Dolet Keray Khân [g], who had been depoſed before him, and is, according to La Croix, the ſixty-fourth khân of Kipjâk. *Thirty-ninth. Kaplan Keray Khan.*

23. Dolet Keray Khân, who began his ſecond reign in 1708. *Fortieth. Dolet Keray Khân.*

CHAP. XV.

The Hiſtory of the Princes of the Race of Jenghîz Khân, who have reigned in the Great and Little Bukhâria, with Part of Karazm.

SECT. I.

A Deſcription of Great Bukhâria.

BUKHARIA, Bokhâria, Bokâria, Bogâria, or Bohâria, is the name given at preſent to all that region or tract of land lying between Karazm and the Great Kobi, or Sandy Deſert, bordering on China. It ſignifies the country of the Bukhârs; *Bukhâr*, as Abû'lghâzi Khân informs us, being a Mungl word, importing, *a learned man*; becauſe all thoſe formerly who wiſhed to be inſtructed in the languages and ſciences, went, for that purpoſe, into Bukhâria [h]. Hence it appears, that this name was given originally by the Mungls, who conquered this country in the time of Jenghîz Khân. This great region is divided into two parts, the Great and the Little Bukhâria. *Bukhâria in general.*

The country of Great Bukhâria is nearly the ſame with that called by the Arabs *Mawara'lnahr*, which ſignifies, *Its ſeveral names.*

[g] La Croix, ubi ſupra, p. 393. [h] Abu'lgh. Hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 108.

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what lies beyond the river, meaning the Jihûn, or Amû, the Oxus of the ancient Greeks, and is little other than a translation of Transoxana, the name given formerly to those provinces. Under this denomination was comprised all the extent of country possessed by those powers, the Greeks and Arabs, beyond the above mentioned river; which country, at different times, had different dimensions.

Turan. Great Bukhâria is also comprised under the name of Turân, or the country of the Turks; which is likewise given, by the Arabs and Persians, to the country situated to the north of the river Amû, in opposition to Irân, or Persia at large, lying to the south of that river; and includes a considerable part of what fell to the share of Jagatay Khân, second son of Jenghîz Khân, from whose descendents, the Uzbeks, of the race of Juji, or Tûshi Khân, conquered it.

Jagatay Uzbek. After the conquest of this country by the Mungls, and its grant to Jagatay Khân, it took the name of Jagatay, or Zagatay, in honour of the new proprietor. This name continued as long as the khâns descended from him reigned in those parts. Upon their expulsion by the Uzbeks, the Persians gave it the name of the country of Uzbek[1].

Situation and extent. Great Bukhâria is situated between the 34th and 46th deg. of latitude, and between the 76th and 92d deg. of longitude. It is bounded on the north by the river Sîr, which separates it from the dominions of the Elûths, or Kalmûks; the kingdom of Kâshgar, in Little Bukhâria, on the east; by the dominions of the Great Mogul, and Persia, on the south; and by the country of Karazm on the west; being about seven hundred and seventy miles long, from west to east; and seven hundred and thirty miles broad, from south to north.

Soil and produce. According to Bentink, nature has been very bountiful to this agreeable country; the mountains abound with the richest mines; the vallies are of an astonishing fertility in all sorts of fruits and pulse; the rivers swarm with excellent fish; and wood, which is scarce all over Grand Tartary, is found here in great plenty: in short, it is the best cultivated, and best inhabited, of all the northern Asia: but all these blessings are of very little use to the Tatar inhabitants, who are naturally so lazy, that they would rather go rob and murder their neighbours, than

[1] Teixeira, Hist. Pers. p. 319.

apply

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apply themselves to the cultivation and improvement of these natural benefits [k].

Great Bukhâria is divided into three large provinces, namely, Proper Bukhâria, Samarkant, and Bâlk; and each of them has commonly its particular khân. *Division into provinces.*

1. *Province of Proper Bukhâria.*

THE province of Proper Bukhâria or Bokhâria is the most western of the three; having on the west, Karazm; on the north, a desert called by the Arabs Gaznah; on the east, the province of Samarkand; and on the south, the river Amû. It extends about three hundred and ninety miles in length; and the breadth in some places amounts to three hundred and twenty. The towns are chiefly Bokhâra, Zam, Wardanfi, Karakul, Siunjbala, Kaefhi, Zarjui, Nerfem, and Karmina. *Proper Bukhâria.*

The city of Bokhâra, situated in the lowest part of all the country, in 39 degrees 10 minutes of latitude; twenty days journey from Urkenj, the capital of Karazm. It was, in 1559, of great extent, and fortified with a high wall of earth, divided into three parts, whereof the castle of the khân, who resides here, made one; the murfas, officers of the court, and those belonging to the khân's retinue, took up the second part; the third and largest being possessed by the burghers, merchants, and other inhabitants. In this last division, every trade or profession has its particular quarter. The houses are generally of earth; but the temples and many other structures, as well publick as private, are of stone, sumptuously built, and gilded; especially the baths, which are very artfully contrived. *Bokhâra city.*

A litter river runs through the city: but its water breeds in the legs of those that drink it worms an ell long, between the flesh and the skin; which, working out about an inch every day, are rolled up, and thus extracted. Notwithstanding this inconvenience, it is forbidden to drink any other liquor than water and mares milk; and such as break that law, are scourged through the markets. *Water unwholesome.*

The king (or khân) has neither great power nor wealth. As his revenues are but small, he is maintained chiefly by the city: for he takes the tythe of all things sold in it, to the great impoverishment of the people; and when he wants money to pay his debts, sends his officers to take goods from the shop-keeper, upon credit.

[k] Abû'lgh. ubi supra, p. 109.

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Language, As the country of Boghâr was formerly subject to the Persians, the Persian language is still spoken there: but the Boghârians are continually at war with the Persians their neighbours, on account of religion, although both nations are Mohammedans, but of different sects. They likewise quarrel with them, because they do not shave the upper lip; for this reason, they call them kafrs, or *unbelievers.* *coin,* They have no gold coin in Bukhâria; and only one silver coin, worth twelve pence English, which the king raises and lowers occasionally. Their copper money is called puli.

and trade. As to the trade of Bokhâra, Jenkinson observes, that, in his time, there was a great resort of karawâns, from India, Persia, Balk, Russia, and other countries: but he adds, that the merchants are poor, and the articles inconsiderable. The Indians brought nothing but white calicoes; and carried back wrought silks, red hides, slaves, and horses [l].

Karmina city. Bentink gives an account of three or four more of the cities belonging to Propria Bukhâria. First, Karmina, situated in a province of the same name, towards the borders of Karazm, to the north-west of Bokhâra; poor and inconsiderable at present.

Wardansi. Wardansi, to the west of Karmina, near the borders of the same country, is a pretty large straggling town, inhabited by the Bukhârs, who traffic to Persia and Karazm.

Karshi. Karshi stands to the north of the river Amû, and is, at present, one of the best cities of Great Bukhâria, being large, populous, and better built than any other in that country. The neighbouring lands are exceeding fertile, in all sorts of fruits and pulse; and its inhabitants drive a great trade in the north parts of the Indies.

Zamin, or Zam. Zamin is a small town on the right (or north side) of the Amû, towards the borders of Persia, remarkable for nothing but its ferry over that river; which is of great advantage to the Uzbeks of Great Bukhâria, in their expeditions on that side [m].

2. *The Province of Samarkand.*

Bounds and extent. THIS province, called Mawara'lnahr by Bentink, lies to the east of Proper Bukhâria, and north of Bâlk. It extends as far as the borders of Kâshgar, in Little Bukhâria;

[l] Jenkinson's Voyage to Boghar. in Purch. Pilgr. Vol. iii. p. 239. & seq. [m] Abu'lgh. Hist. Turks, p. 464, & seq.

being

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being about five hundred and forty miles long, from weſt to eaſt; and five hundred broad, from ſouth to north.

This country was formerly full of flouriſhing cities; but moſt of them are, at preſent, either entirely ruined, or much fallen to decay. The capital of the province, and indeed of all Great Bukhâria, taken in the largeſt ſenſe, is Samarkant or Samarkand, ſituated on a river, and in a valley, both of which bear the name of Sogd; from whence the Sogdiana of the ancients had its denomination. It is ſeven days journey to the north-eaſt of Bukhâria; and, according to the obſervation of Ulug Beg (grandſon of Timûr Beg or Tamerlan), who reigned here in 1447, lies in 39 degrees 37 minutes 23 ſeconds of latitude. Although it falls ſhort, at preſent, of being ſo ſplendid as in times paſt, yet Bentink ſays, it is ſtill very large, and well peopled. It is fortified with ſtrong bulwarks of earth; and its buildings are much in the ſame condition with thoſe of Bokhâra: ſome of the private houſes are of ſtone, dug out of quarries which are near the town [n]. *Smarkand city.*

The academy of ſciences in this city is one of the moſt eminent among the Mohammedans, who reſort thither to ſtudy, from all the neighbouring countries. The ſilk-paper made here is ſaid to be the moſt beautiful in all Aſia, and therefore in great requeſt throughout the Eaſt. The ſoil produces pears, apples, raiſins, and melons, of an exquiſite taſte; and in ſuch plenty, that the empire of the Great Mogul, and part of Perſia, are ſupplied from hence. The little river Sogd, which glides by the town, would be of great uſe to the place, by opening a communication with the neighbouring dominions, if the inhabitants had the art and induſtry to make it navigable. *Its advantages.*

The other remarkable cities in this province were, Otrâr, Zarnuk, Taſhkunt, Kojand, Kaſh, Saghanian, Waſhjerd, and Termed: but of theſe we meet with ſcarce any account in modern travellers. Otrâr, called by the Arabs Farâb, is the moſt diſtant city from the capital, and lies almoſt due north. It ſtands in the north-weſt part of the province, on a ſmall river, which falls into the Sîr. This place is famous for the death of Timûr Beg, in 1405°; and, though not conſiderable at preſent, was the capital city of Turkeſtân, when that kingdom or empire was in its flouriſhing ſtate, under Kavar Khân. *Other cities.* *Otrâr.*

[n] Abu'lgh. Hiſt. Turks, p. 462.

[o] Abu'lgh. ubi ſupra, p. 462. & ſeqq.

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Tashkunt, at present, belongs to Turkestân; four days journey to the south of which, and seven north-east of Samarkand stands Kojand or Kojend, and Khojend, on the Sîr, being a famous passage over that river, as Termed is over the Amû. Saghanian and Washjerd are seated on the river Saghanian, which falls into the Amû. Kash or Kesh lies not far to the east of Karshi, and south of Samarkand. Timûr Beg was prince of this city, before he rose to his future greatness.

Kojand.

Termed.

Kash.

To these places may be added Anghien, which is the most eastern town of consequence in all Great Bukhâria; standing near its borders, towards Kashgar, and not far from the source of the Sîr, on whose northern side it is situated; in the latitude of 40 degrees, according to the Jesuit's map of Tibet, drawn from the journals of Chinese and Tatar travellers.

3. *The Province of Balk.*

Bounds and extent.

THE province of Bâlk or Bâlkh lies to the south of the province of Samarkand, and east of Proper Bukhâria, about three hundred and sixty miles long, and two hundred and fifty broad.

Bentink observes, that although this province is the smallest of the three, yet, being extremely fertile, and thoroughly cultivated, the prince draws a competent revenue out of it. The country particularly abounds with silk, of which the inhabitants make very pretty manufactures.

The Uzbeks subject to the khân of Bâlk, are the most civilized of all the Tartars inhabiting Great Bukhâria; a circumstance owing, in all likelihood, to their commerce with the Persians.

The country of Bâlk is divided into several provinces; the most remarkable whereof are, Khotlân or Katlân, Tukharestân, and Badâgshân. Its chief cities are, Bâlk, Fariyab, Talkhân, Badâgshân, and Anderâb.

City of Balk.

The city of Bâlk is situate towards the borders of Persia, about fifty miles to the south of Termed, and on the river Dehask; which, about forty miles from thence, to the north-west, falls into the Amû. Bentink informs us, that Bâlk is, at present, the most considerable of all the towns possessed by the Mohammedan Tartars, being large, handsome, and well peopled. Most of its buildings are of stone or brick; and its fortifications consist of earthen bulwarks, lined on the outside with a strong wall. The khân's castle is

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is a great structure, after the eastern fashion, built almost wholly of marble, dug out of the neighbouring mountains. The chief cause to which this prince owes his preservation, is the jealousy which reigns among the neighbouring powers; so that he is always sure of being assisted by one, when attacked by another.

As foreigners have free liberty to trade in this city, it is become the resort of all the business carried on between Great Bukhâria and the Indies. To this the fine river, which passes through its suburbs, greatly contributes.

Anderab is the most southern city, possessed, at present, by the Uzbeks; situated at the foot of the mountains, which divide the dominions of the great Mogul and Persia from Great Bukhâria. As there is no other way of crossing these mountains towards India, with beasts of carriage, but by the road through this city; all travellers, and goods, from Great Bukhâria, designed for that country, must pass this way, paying four per cent. On this account, the khân of Bâlk maintains a considerable number of soldiers in the place, which otherwise is of no great strength. In other respects, Anderâb is very rich and populous, considering it is but small. The neighbouring mountains yield noble quarries of lapis lazuli, in which the Bukhârs drive a great trade with Persia and India. *Anderâb.*

Badagshân or Badakshân is a very ancient city, exceeding strong, by its situation, at the foot of those high mountains which separate Hindûstân from Great Tartary. It belongs to the khân of Proper Bukhâria, and serves him for a kind of state-prison. Although the town is not very large, yet it is well enough built, and very well peopled. The inhabitants are enriched by the mines of gold, silver, and rubies, which are in the neighbourhood. They who live at the foot of the mountains gather a great quantity of gold and silver dust in spring, brought down by the torrents, when the snow melts [p]. *Badagshân.*

Those heights are called, in the Mungl language, Belur Tâg, or *the Dark Mountains*; in which rises the river Amû, there called Harrat. Badagshân stands on the north side of it, above a hundred miles from its source, two hundred and thirty from Bâlk, and two hundred and ten from Anghien, in the province of Samarkand. It is a great thoroughfare for the karawâns going to Little Bukhâria, which take the same road. *Its situation.*

[p] Bent. ap. Abu'lgh. ubi supra, p. 466. & seq.

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Of the Inhabitants of Great Bukhâria, their Manners and Customs.

Inhabitants. THE inhabitants of Great Bukhâria are of three sorts, 1. The Bukhârs, who are the ancient inhabitants. 2. The Jagatays or Mungls, who settled there under Jagatay Khân, second son of Jenghîz Khân. And, 3. The Uzbek Tatars, who are the present possessors.

The Bukhârs persons, 1. All the great towns, both of Great and Little Bukhâria, from the borders of Karazm, as far as China, are inhabited by the Bukhârs; who, being the ancient people of those provinces, have that name given them throughout the East: but the Tatars commonly call them Tajiks; which word, in their language, signifies nearly the same as *burgess*, or *citizen*. The Bukhârs are well-set, and very fair, considering the climate; have generally large eyes, black, and lively; their countenances open and liberal; their noses aquiline; their hair black, and very fine; and their beards bushy. In short, they have nothing of the deformity which appears in the Tatars, among whom they inhabit. The women are generally tall, and well-shaped, with fine complexions, and very beautiful features.

Their dress, Both men and women used callico shifts and drawers; over which the men wear a vest of quilted silk, or callico, which reaches to the mid-leg, and is tied about the middle by a silk-crape girdle or sash. When they go abroad, they fling over it a long cloth gown, faced, and even lined in winter with fur. The head is covered with a round cloth bonnet, with a large fur border; and some wear turbans. Their boots are made like the Persian buskins, but not altogether so neat; and they have a very singular art of preparing horse-hides for the purpose. The women wear long gowns, full and loose, of the same materials. They let their hair hang in tresses, adorned with pearls, and other jewels. Their bonnets are small, flat, and coloured. Their slippers like those worn in the north of the Indies.

Religion and trade, All the Bukhârs profess the Mohammedan religion, nearly after the Turkish form, excepting in some few ceremonies. They live by following mechanic trades, or commerce, which is wholly in their hands: but, as seldom any foreign merchants arrive among them, especially in those parts where the Mohammedan Tatars are masters, they resort in numerous karawâns to China, the Indies, Persia, and Siberia, where they traffic to considerable advantage,

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advantage. Although they poſſeſs all the towns of theſe provinces, they never meddle with arms, leaving the buſineſs of war and government to the Elûths, or Kalmûks, and Uzbek Tatars, who are in poſſeſſion, the latter of Great, the former of Little, Bukhâria; to whom they pay tribute, which is regulated every year. On this account, the Tatars deſpiſe them extremely, as a cowardly, weak people.

2. *The Jagatay Tatars.*

The Jagatays.

EVER ſince the reign of Jagatay Khân, ſecond ſon of Jenhîz Khân, who had, for his ſhare, Great Bukhâria, and part of Karazm, thoſe provinces bore the name of Jagatay, and his Tatar (or Mungl) ſujects, whom he brought along with him, that of Jagatay Tatars; till Shabakht Soltân having driven out the deſcendents of Timûr Beg (or Tamerlan), the name of Jagatay gave place to that of Uzbeks. The deſcendents of the Tatars who firſt poſſeſſed that region, and thoſe are the preſent maſters of it, making now but one mixed body, are compriſed under the general name of Uzbeks. On the other hand, the troops, and other crown-officers of the Great Mogul of Hindûſtân, are called Jagatays by the Orientals, becauſe they were the Jagatays who conquered that country [q], under ſoltân Bahr, after he had been expelled out of Great Bukhâria,

3. *Uzbek Tatars of Great Bukhâria,*

Uzbeks dreſs, diet.

THE Uzbeks, who poſſeſs this region, are generally reputed the moſt civilized of all the Mohammedan Tatars, although they are great robbers, like the reſt. They are clothed, both men and women like the Perſians (but not ſo neatly), as low as their boots; and the chiefs wear plumes of white heron feathers on their turbans. Their moſt delicious diſhes conſiſt of pillaw, which is rice ſtewed in broth, and horſe-fleſh. Their common drink is kumis (or kammez) and arak, both made of mares milk. Their language is a mixture of the Turkiſh, Perſian, and Mungl tongues; yet they are able to underſtand and converſe with the Perſians. Their arms conſiſt of the ſabre, the dart, the lance, and the bow, of a larger ſize than ordinary, which they manage with much ſtrength and dexterity. They have uſed muſkets for ſome time paſt, after the Perſian manner. When they go to war, a great part of

[q] Bent. ap. Abu'lgh. ubi ſupra, p. 458, & ſeq.

their

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their cavalry wears coats of mail, and a little buckler for defence.

Robuſt and brave. The inhabitants of this country value themſelves on being the moſt robuſt and valiant of all the Tatars; and they muſt be acknowleged people of courage, ſince the Perſians, naturally very brave, are, in ſome meaſure, afraid of them. The women alſo of Great Bukhâria pique themſelves on their valour.

Always at war. The horſes of the Uzbeks are very ill ſhaped, and frightfully lean. But, notwithſtanding this ſorry appearance, they are exceedingly ſwift, endure great labour, and very eaſily maintained. Their maſters are commonly at war with the Perſians, their incurſions being encouraged by the fine plains of Khoraſſân: but the mountains, inacceſſible to ther cavalry, hinder them from penetrating into the dominions of the Great Mogul. Such of them as feed on their cattle, live under portable huts, like their neighbours the Kalmûks, encamping wherever they find convenient. But they who cultivate lands, dwell in the villages and hamlets; very few of them living in the cities or towns, which are all poſſeſſed by the Bukhârs, or ancient inhabitants [r]. We ſhall ſpeak of the origin, and other particulars, relating to the Uzbeks, when we come to the hiſtory of Karazm.

SECT. II.

A Deſcription of Little Bukhâria.

Its name; THE name of Little Bukhâria is given to this country, not becauſe it is leſs in dimenſions than the Great Bukhâria, being in reality much larger: but becauſe it is inferior to it, as to the number and beauty of its cities, goodneſs of the ſoil, and populouſneſs.

bounds and extent; Little Bukhâria is ſurrounded by deſerts: it has, on the weſt, Great Bukhâria; on the north, the country of the Eluth, or Kalmûks, in Tartary; that of the Mungls ſubject to China, on the eaſt; on the ſouth, Tibet, and the north-weſt end of China; from both which countries it is ſeparated by two kobis, or deſerts, of vaſt extent, which communicate with each other. It is ſituated between the 92d and 118th degrees of longitude, and between the 35° 30′ and 45th degree of latitude; being in length, from

[r] Abul'gh. ubi ſup. p. 459, & ſeq.

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east to west, about eight hundred and fifty miles; and in breadth from south to north, five hundred and eighty.

This region is populous and fertile; but the great elevation of its land, joined to the high mountains which bound it in several parts, especially towards the south, render it cold and uncomfortable. It is very rich in mines of gold and silver; but the inhabitants know not how to work them. However, they gather some gold dust every spring out of the gutters made by the torrents which fall from all sides of those mountains, when the snow melts. This is the true source of that gold dust which the Bukhârs carry into India, China, and Siberia. Musk is likewise found in this country; together with diamonds and other precious stones [s]. *air, mines; precious stones.*

Little Bukhâria consists of one long chain of mountains, with its branches extending through the Kobi, or Sandy Desert, which, towards the foot of those hills, is interspersed with fruitful plains; so that it may be compared to a long reef of rocks and islands rising in the sea. Between the cities in this country there are no villages: whence it happens, that, in travelling a whole day from one to the other, there is not a house of entertainment to be found. *Nature of the soil;*

Little Bukhâria contains several distinct states, or countries; but their exact number, bounds, and dimensions, are not ascertained by authors. In the time of Goes the Jesuit, who travelled through it in 1603, it consisted of two kingdoms, Kâshgar in the west, and Chalis in the east, both under one sovereign: at present it may be divided into four parts; the kingdom of Kâshgar, and the provinces of Aksû, Turfân, and Khamîl, called by the Chinese Hami. *division.*

1. Kâshgar is the most western province of the four; or lies, more properly, to the south of Aksû. It has, on the west, Great Bûkhâria; from whence it is separated by a double chain of mountains, with deserts between them. On the south lies Tibet; and, to the east, the great Kobi, or Desert, which extends as far as eastern Tartary. It may extend about four hundred and thirty-four miles in length from south to north, and three hundred and fifty broad from west to east: within this compass we do not meet with more than eight or nine towns mentioned by authors, of which only three are of consideration, namely, Kâshgar, Yarkian, and Khotam. *Kâshgar province.*

[s] Abul'gh. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 469, & seq.

1. Kâshgar.

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City of Kâshgar. 1. Kâshgar, written by the Jesuits Hasikar, is called also Ardukand, according to Abû'lfeda. It lies to the north-west of the other two cities, towards the frontiers of Great Bukhâria, at the foot of the mountains which separate that province from the lesser. It stands on the east bank of a river which falls from those mountains, and loses itself in the desert, thirty or forty miles distant from the city. It was formerly the capital of the kingdom: but, as Bentink observes, is very much declined since the Tatars have been masters of it: however, there is still some commerce carried on with the neighbouring countries, though very inconsiderable to what it was [t]. This city, before Jenghîz Khân's conquest, was, for a time, the capital of Tûrkestân, or the dominions of the Turks, in Tartary; likewise of the western Lyau, or Karakitayans: since that period it has been the seat of kings descended from Jagatay Khân, who appear to have reigned there till the conquest of Little Bukhâria by the Elûths in 1683.

Yarkian the capital. The city of Yarkian, or Yerkian, according to Bentink, is at present the capital of all Little Bukhâria, and situated to the north of Kâshgar, on the banks of a small river, whose waters are reckoned unwholesome. But as to its situation, he was probably misinformed; for the Jesuits, in their map of this country (which they include in that of Tibet), place it to the south-east of Kâshgar, about ninety miles distant, and on a river, which rises in the mountains, about the same distance to the south-west, and falls into the lake of Lop, about six hundred miles from its source. The same author adds, that Yarkian is large, and pretty well built in the eastern way, although most of the houses are of sun-burnt bricks. There is a castle in this city, where the khân of the Elûths comes to reside for a time, when his affairs require it; whence it is mistaken by some for the place of his usual residence. The country round Yarkian is very fertile in all sorts of fruits and pulse.

This city must be very populous, and the Bukhâr inhabitants rich, since it is the centre of all the commerce carried on between the Indies and the north of Asia, Tibet, Siberia, Great Bukhâria, and China. The emperor of Russia, Peter I. intended to have settled a regular trade with Yarkian, by the river Irtish, which would have proved very advantageous to his dominions.

[t] Abulgh, ubi sup. p. 471.

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The city of Khotam, or Hotom, is variouſly written by authors: it is called by Marco Polo, Kotam; Hotom, in the map of the Jeſuits; Koton, in other maps; Khateen by Bentink; and Khoton by the Oriental hiſtorians. Abûlfeda ſays, it was incredibly large, and its inhabitants were originally of Kitay [u]. It was probably built by the Karakitayans, who conquered this country, and founded a dynaſty there in 1124. This city lies to the ſouth-eaſt of Yarkian, on the river Hotomniſolon. According to Bentink, it is ſubject to the grand khân of the Elûths; and ſtill in a pretty flouriſhing condition, on account of its great traffic with Tibet and the Indies. Liberty of conſcience is allowed here by the inhabitants, who are moſtly Mohammedans. The houſes are built with bricks, and the circumjacent country is exceeding fruitful. The citizens pay a certain tribute to the khân of the Elûths for his protection, and are not plundered by his people. *Khotam, or Hotom.*

2. The country of Akſû lies to the north of Kâſhgar, and weſt of the province of Turfân, about three hundred and fifty miles in length, and ſeventy in breadth. Akſû, the chief town in this region, is frequently mentioned by travellers, but no account given of it, farther than that it belongs to the kingdom of Kâſhgar. According to the Jeſuits map, it ſtands on the north ſide of a ſmall river, which runs ſouth-eaſt, and loſes itſelf in the ſands. The river Ili has its ſprings in the mountains in the north-eaſt part of this province, and runs north-weſtward into Tartary, where it falls into the lake Palkati, about a hundred and twenty leagues from its ſource. On the eaſt ſide of this river, towards the ſaid lake, the late khans of the Eluths uſed to fix their encampments, called Harkas, or Urga. More to the weſt riſe the Chui Muren and Talas Muren, on which laſt ſtands the town of Sayrâm, according to the information of the Jeſuits. Both theſe rivers, after a courſe of about a hundred and eighty miles, fall into a lake ſituate in Great Tartary. *Country of Akſû.*

3. To the eaſt of Akſû lies the province of Turfân, which is about two hundred miles long and eighty broad. It contains ſeveral towns, of which Turfân is the chief. Goes repreſents it as a ſtrong well-fortified city; but the later miſſionaries give no account of its preſent ſtate, farther than that it is a conſiderable city, and that it is ſix days journey from Hami, or Khamîl, over a branch of *Turfân province.*

[u] Deſcr. Choraſm. p. 80. Edit. Hudſon.

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the Kobi, or Desert; but ten days by the hills, to the north of this last city, which is the safer way.

Khamil province. 4. The province of Khamul, Khamil, or Hami, is about a hundred and eighty miles long, and eighty broad. It contains only one small city, of the same name; but is full of houses, and has a few villages, as laid down in the Jesuits map. The inhabitants are large-bodied people, and very robust, well shaped, and neat in their houses. It stands ninety leagues from the gate in the great wall of China called Kyayu-quan, and has lands enough round it, yet extends no farther, because that whole tract is nothing but a dry sand, and the most barren part of all Tartary.

Religion, soil. This country, though formerly inhabited by idolaters, is now free from them, being possessed by Mohammedans. The soil scarce produces any fruit, except melons; but those of an excellent flavour, and they will keep beyond the season, so as to be served up at the emperor of China's table all the winter [w].

Country of the Vigûrs. The provinces of Turfân and Khamil seem to have composed the country possessed formerly by the Vigûrs, Oygûrs, or Igûrs, whose capital, according to the Oriental authors, was Bishbalig; but Gaubil places it eight or nine leagues to the east of Turfân, and names it Ho-chew (according to the Chinese), and says, it is still called Pe-ting-tu-hû-fû; whereas Bishbalig is situated, by him, to the north of Turfân, and the country of Almaleg to the west of that of Bishbalig [x]. The Igurs were likewise masters of the neighbouring parts of Tartary as far as the river Irtish and Mount Altay.

The adjoining desert. The desert, lying between Khamil and the great wall of China, is part of the Sha-mo, or Kobi. As it affords neither forage nor water, travellers, in crossing it, frequently lose their horses; for this reason the Tatars make use rather of dromedaries, who are content with little food, and can be five or six days without drinking. However, the whole desert is not included within this space of ninety leagues; for it has several branches, which spreading here and there like so many infected veins, divide the country into as many plots, some dry, and quite uninhabited; others fertile enough to subsist a few Tatars [y].

[w] Du Halde, Descr. China, vol. ii. p. 253. [x] Gaubil, Hist. Gentch. p. 13. 126, 127. [y] Du Halde, ubi supra, p. 253.

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The Inhabitants of Little Bukhâria.

THE inhabitants of this country, though under the dominion of the Elûths, are, for the general, Bukhârs. These are generally ſun-burnt and black-haired, although ſome of them are very fair, handſome, and well made. They do not want politeneſs, and are acquainted with commerce, which they carry on with China, the Indies, Perſia, and Ruſſia. They who deal with them will be ſure to be over-reached if they are not on their guard. *Inhabitants, their ſhape.*

The habits of the men differ very little from thoſe worn by the Tatars. They fall as low as the calf of the leg, with ſleeves very wide towards the ſhoulders, and cloſe about the elbows. Their girdles are like thoſe of the Poles. The garments of the women differ in nothing from thoſe of the men, and are commonly quilted with cotton. They wear bobs in their ears twelve inches long; part and twiſt their hair in treſſes, which they lengthen with black ribbands embroidered with gold or ſilver, and with great taſſels of ſilk and ſilver, which hang down to their heels: three other tufts of a ſmaller ſize cover their breaſts. They have necklaces ornamented with pearls, ſmall pieces of coin, and ſeveral baubles either gilded or ſilvered over. Both ſexes carry about them prayers written by their prieſts, and kept in a ſmall leathern purſe, in the nature of relics. The girls, and ſome of the women, tinge their nails red, with the juice of a herb called by the Bukhârs, kena. *The dreſs of both ſexes.*

Both ſexes wear cloſe breeches, and boots of Ruſſia leather, very light, and without heels, or leather ſoles; putting on galloches, or high-heeled ſlippers, like the Turks, when they go abroad. They wear alſo the ſame ſort of bonnets and covering for the head; only the women ornament theirs with trinkets, ſmall pieces of money, and Chineſe pearls. Wives are diſtinguiſhed from maidens only by a long piece of linen worn under their bonnets, which folding round the neck, they tie in a knot behind, ſo that one end of it hangs down to the waiſt [z].

The Bukhâr houſes are of ſtone, and pretty good; but their moveables are few, and not very elegant; conſiſting only of ſome China trunks plated with iron. Upon theſe, in the day, they ſpread the quilts which they make uſe of at night, and cover them with a cotton carpet of various colours. They have likewiſe a curtain ſprigged with flowers, *Houſes and furniture.*

[z] Bentinck ap. Abu'lgh. Hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 476, & ſeqq.

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and other figures; also a sort of bedstead half a yard high, and four yards long, which is hidden in the day with a carpet. They go to bed naked, but always dress when they rise. They are very neat about their victuals, which are dressed in the master's chamber, by his slaves, whom the Bukhârs either take or buy from the Kalmûks, Russians, and other neighbours: for this purpose there are in the chamber, according to the largeness of the family, several iron pots set in a kind of range, near a chimney. Some have little ovens, made like the rest of their walls, with stiff clay or bricks.

Their diet.

Their utensils consist in some plates and porringers of Capua wood, or of china, and in some copper vessels to boil tea and water. A piece of coloured callico serves them instead of a table-cloth and napkins. They use neither chairs nor tables, knives nor forks, but sit cross-legged on the ground, and the meat being served up ready cut, they pull it to pieces with their fingers. Their spoons resemble our wooden ladles.

Their usual food is minced meat, of which they make pies in form of a half-moon; these serve for provision when they go long journies, especially in winter. Tea is their common drink, of which they have a black sort prepared with milk, salt, and butter [a].

Marriage-ceremony.

As the Bukhârs buy their wives, so the surest way to be rich is to have many daughters. The persons to be married must not see or speak to each other from the time of their contract till the day of marriage, which is celebrated for three days with feasting. On the eve of the wedding a company of young girls meet at the bride's house, and divert themselves till midnight in playing, dancing, and singing. Next morning the guests assemble, and help her to prepare for the ceremony: then notice being given to the bridegroom, he arrives, accompanied by ten or twelve of his relations or friends, followed by minstrels playing on flutes, and by an abûs (A), who sings, while he beats two little timbrels; then he makes a horse-race, which being ended, he distributes the prizes, six, eight, or twelve in number, according to his ability. They consist in damasks, sables, fox-skins, or callico. The parties do not see each other while the marriage-ceremony is performing, but answer at a distance to the questions asked by the priest. As soon as it is over the bridegroom returns

[a] Bentink. ap. Abu'lgh. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 422.

(A) The abûs is a kind of priest.

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home with his company, and after dinner carries them to the bride's houſe, and obtains leave to ſpeak to her. Then he goes back, and returns in the evening; at which time he finds her in bed, and, in preſence of all the women, lays himſelf down by her in his cloaths, but only for a moment. The ſame farce is acted for three days ſucceſſively; but the third night he goes to bed in reality, and next day carries her home.

Child-bearing.

Some huſbands, by agreement, continue with their parents ſome time longer, and often a whole year, the wife remaining all that time with her's; but if ſhe dies in the interim without children, her relations keep all that her ſpouſe gave her, unleſs they are pleaſed to return him one half. The women are reckoned impure forty days after their delivery, and dare not ſay their prayers all that time. The child is named on the third day after it is born, by the father, or ſome relation, who makes it a preſent of a bonnet, piece of linen, or coat, according to his circumſtances: they are circumciſed at the age of ſeven, eight, or nine.

Polygamy.

Although polygamy is looked on as a ſort of ſin by the Bukhârs, yet it is never puniſhed; ſo that ſome have ten wives, or more. Any man may at pleaſure ſend back his wife; but then ſhe is intitled to whatever he gave her during their cohabitation. The woman alſo may part from her huſband; but then ſhe cannot carry away the leaſt article of what belongs to her.

Diſtempers, how cured.

When a Bukhâr falls ſick, a mullah is ſent for, who reads to him a paſſage out of ſome book, and breathes on him ſeveral times, then, with a very ſharp knife, makes ſeveral cuts on the ſide of his face. They imagine that, by this ſcarification, they cut the root of the diſtemper, which they ſay is cauſed by the devil. When any man dies, the prieſt lays a Koran on his breaſt, and recites ſome prayers. The body is afterwards carried to the grave, which they commonly make in ſome pleaſant wood, and incloſe with a hedge or paliſade [b].

Money and language.

The Bukhârs have no money but copper kopeiks, which weigh near one-third of an ounce. When they have ſilver or gold to receive or pay, they weigh it, like the Chineſe and other nations. Their language, according to Gerbillon, is apparently that of the Uzbeks, differing from the Mungl; but he adds, that this laſt is commonly under-

[b] Bentink ap. Abu'lgh. Hiſt. Turks, p. 482, & ſeq.

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All religions tolerated.

stood, by means of the great commerce between the two nations[c].

Although the prevailing or established religion, in all the towns and villages throughout Little Bukhâria, is the Mohammedan, yet all others enjoy an unlimited toleration; because the Kalmûks, or Eluths, think they ought not in conscience to suffer people to be molested on account of their belief. According to the Description of Bukhâria, the Bukhârs say, that God first communicated the Koran to men by Moses and the prophets; that afterwards Mohammed explained and drew a moral from it, which they are obliged to receive and practise.

SECT. III.

The History of Great Bukhâria. Of Jagatay Khân and his Successors.

Empire of Jagatay.

JAGATAY, or Chagatay Khân, second son of Jenghîz Khân, was a prince who excelled the rest of his brothers in every accomplishment[d]. He had something so severe in his countenance, that every body was afraid to look at him; however, he possessed an extensive understanding, on which account Jenghîz Khân gave him, for his share of the empire, all the country of Great Bukhâria, and half of Karazm; likewise the country of Vigûrs, the cities of Kâshgar, Badâgshân, Bâlk, and Gaznah, with their dependencies, as far as the river Sîr-Indi, or Indus[e].

First Jagatay Khân.

This prince, after the death of his father, chose the city of Bishbâlek, in the country of the Igûrs, for the place of his residence; however, he lived almost continually with his brother Oktay, who, though his senior, loved and respected him as his master. In his absence his dominions were governed by Karajar, or Karashar Noyan, whom Jenghîz Khân, at his death, appointed his wazîr, to preside in his councils, and command his armies. This lord was one of the most powerful among the Mungls, and the fifth great ancestor, or grandfather, of the famous Timûr Bek, or Tamerlan[f].

As the country was governed with great wisdom and moderation, nothing disturbed the peace of it till the year 630,

[c] Du Halde, ubi supra, p. 261, & seq. [d] La Croix, Hist. Gengh. p. 394. [e] Abu'lghazi Khan, Hist. Turks, &c. p. 165. [f] D'Herbel. p. 390.

when

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when Mahmûd, ſurnamed Tarâbi, having, by his falſe miracles, deluded a multitude of people, went at the head of them, and took Bokhâra. He afterwards marched againſt the Mungl generals, who could not venture to attack him on account of a thick duſt with which they were incommoded; inſomuch that, although Mahmûd was ſlain by a random arrow-ſhot, in the midſt of his camp, yet neither the enemy, nor his own ſoldiers, knew any thing of the matter. Mean while the Mungls, attributing this extraordinary duſt to the impoſtor's ſkill in magic, fled in a panic; and their ſhameful flight animating the Tarâbian rebels, they purſued them, killing above ten thouſand. At their return their general was not to be found; but being told, by thoſe who were in the ſecret, that he had diſappeared for ſome time, the credulous diſciples ſet up his brothers Mohammed and Ali for his lieutenants in his abſence. Hejra 630. A.D. 1232. *A falſe prophet.*

Thus the flame ſpread, inſtead of being extinguiſhed. Karaſhar Noyan, ſeeing the principal cities daily reduced, at length aſſembled the chief forces of the empire, in order entirely to ſuppreſs the rebels. He began with the city of Bokhâra, which had favoured them, plundered the territory belonging to it, and ſlew a great number of the inhabitants. This execution obliged them to ſue for pardon to Jagatay, whoſe clemency eaſily granted it; while his troops deſtroyed the Tarâbians without mercy. *His followers exterminated.*

Jagatay Khân died in the year 1240. Among a great many wives and concubines, he diſtinguiſhed two above the reſt, who were ſiſters, the daughters of Kaba Noyan, chief of the tribe of Kankrats. His ſons were ſeven in number; but Khondemîr ſays he had no ſucceſſor who ſucceeded to all his dominions; for that his ſons and neareſt relations divided his empire among them, and thoſe who had the longeſt ſword obtained the greateſt ſhare. However, we are told that thirty-one princes, who were either his ſons or nephews, reigned in this country, called after him, Jagatay. Hejra 638. A.D. 1240. *Jagatay dies. Wives and children.*

The firſt of theſe, according to La Croix, was Biſumenkay Khân; the ſame doubtleſs with the Buffumunga of Abu'lghâzi Khân, who yet does not reckon him among the khâns of Jagatay, placing Kara Hulacû as his immediate ſucceſſor. *Second. Kara Hulakû.*

Mubârek Shâh, ſon of Kara Hulakû, ſucceeded; but as he was very young at his father's death, his mother Argata Khatun aſſumed the regency during his minority. *Third. Mûbârek Shâh.*

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Fourth. Algû.

The ſucceſſor of Mubârek Shâh was Algû, ſon of Baydar, ſeventh ſon of Jagatay Khân; who, acknowleging Koplay for grand khân of the Mungls in the Eaſt, had for his ſhare all the country from the river Amû, bounding on Perſia, to Mount Altay [g].

Fifth. Barâk Khân.

Barâk or Berrak Khân, ſon of Yaſunta. This prince, in the ſecond year of his reign, embraced Mohammediſm, and took the name of Gayazo'ddîn [h].

Sixth. Beghi Khân.

After Barâk Khân's death the dignity of khân was conferred on Beghi, ſon of Sarmans, ſon of Jagatay.

Seventh. Buga Timûr Khân.

Buga (or Buka) Timûr, great grandſon of Mutagun, ſucceeded Beghi Khân.

Eighth. Doyji Khân.

Doyji Khân, ſon of Barâk Khân, ſucceeded Beghi Khân, and was eſteemed a very juſt king.

Ninth. Konja Khân.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon Konja Khân, called by La Croix Kavenjik Khân.

Tenth. Baliga Khân.

Baliga (or Baligû), who was alſo a grandſon of Mûtagun, ſucceeded Konja.

Eleventh. Iſan Buga Khân.

The ſucceſſor of Baliga in Great Bukhâria was Iſan Buga, ſecond ſon of Doyji Khân. He was named alſo Amul Khoja; and on the death of Ilyas or Elias Khoja, ſon of Toglâk Timûr, was invited by the inhabitants of Kaſhgar, and the reſt of Little Bukhâria, to take the ſovereignty of that country upon him, as will be related hereafter.

Twelfth. Dui Timûr Khân.

Iſan Buga Khân was ſucceeded by his brother Dui Timûr.

Thirteenth. Tarmaſhir Khân.

His ſucceſſor was his brother Tarmaſhir; who reſtored Mohammediſm, which, from the time of Barâk Khân, had ſo declined in Great Bukhâria, that ſcarce any traces of it remained. This khân was ſlain by his brother Butan Khân, who afterwards ſeized the throne [i].

Fourteenth. Butan Khân.

Butan Khân was ſucceeded by his nephew,

Fifteenth. Jangſhi Khân.

Jangſhi, ſon of Ulugan, brother of Butan Khân. The brother of this prince, named Yaſun Timûr, ambitious of the throne, formed a deſign againſt his life: but their mother ſuſpecting his intention, adviſed Jangſhi to be on his guard. Hereupon the khân immediately took the field againſt his brother; but had the misfortune to loſe the battle, with his life.

Sixteenth. Yaſun Timûr.

Yaſun Timûr, having thus by force aſcended the throne, to be revenged on his mother for diſcovering his conſpiracy to his brother, he, like another Nero, cauſed her belly to be ripped open.

[g] Abu'lgh. ubi ſupra, p. 163. [h] D'Herbelot. art. Barâk Khân, p. 183. [i] Hiſt. Timûr Bek, vol. i. p. 18.

During

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During the reign of Yasun Timûr, Ali Soltân, a prince of the posterity of Ugaday or Oktay, became so formidable, that neither the khân, nor the other princes descended from Jagatay, were able to make head against him; so that after the death of Yasun Timûr, he brought Great Bukhâria under his subjection. *Seventeenth. Ali Soltân Khân.*

After the death of Ali Soltân Khân, Kazan Soltân re-entered into possession of the dominions belonging to the house of Jagatay Khân. This prince was the son of Jasur Aglen, son of Urek Timûr Khân, son of Kutugay, son of Bosay, son of Mutugan, son of Jagatay: so that there were in all sixteen khâns of this last prince's posterity, who reigned, without interruption, one hundred and nine years over the provinces of Mawara'lnahr or Great Bukhâria. After them indeed other khâns lived in that country; but they were such as only bore the name of khân, without having the power; each head of a tribe assuming the liberty of doing what he pleased, and obeying the khân no farther than he thought fit [k]. *Eighteenth. Kazan Khân.*

Soltân Kazân began his reign in the year 733; but was very cruel, and so tyrannical, that when he sent for the princes his dependents to court on any occasion, they commonly made their wills before they went. Mîr Kazagan, one of the most considerable princes of his time, in conjunction with others, took up arms against him; but were defeated in 746, and their leader was wounded in the eye with an arrow by Kakân himself; so that he not only lost that eye, but was quite blind for a long time after. The grand khân returned to Karshi, where he had the misfortune to lose so many horses by the severity of the winter, that almost all his cavalry were reduced to march on foot. Mîr Kazagan, who had advice of this particular, without loss of time attacked the khân, who was slain in the battle in the year 747. Hejra 733. A.D. 1332. *Death and character.* Hejra 746. A.D. 1345.

After Kazân Khân's death Mîr Kazagan placed on the throne a prince of the race of Oktay Khân, called Dâshmenja Aglen; but soon after put him to death, and at length advanced to the dignity of grand khân Bayân Kuli, son of Sorgâdû, son of Dava Khân. This prince was esteemed for his justice and liberality; while Mîr Kazagan, who assumed the government of the kingdom, acquitted himself to the satisfaction of all his subjects. After his death, which happened by the hands of his son-in-law in 759, he was succeeded by his son Mirza Abdol- *Nineteenth. Dâshmenja Khân.* *Twentieth. Bayân Kuli Khân.*

[k] Abu'lgh. ubi supra, p. 168, & seqq.

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Hejra 759. A.D. 1357.

lah, who confirmed Beyân Kuli Khan in his dignity; but soon after caused him to be assassinated, to obtain the empress, with whom he was enamoured, and placed Timûr Shâh Aglen on the throne.

Twenty-first. Timûr Shâh Khân.

Timûr Shâh Khân was son of Bisûn (or Yasun) Timûr Khân, son of Ulagan, son of Doyji Khan: but he did not long enjoy his dignity; for the princes, shocked at Abdollah's conduct, made war upon him, routed his forces, and having taken his brothers, with the khân, put put them all to death [l].

Twenty-second. Adel Soltân Khân.

Adel Soltân Khân succeeded Timûr Shâh; and was the son of Mohammed Pulad, son of Konza Khân, son of Doyji Khân. According to Abû'lghâzi Khân, two heads of tribes, Amîr Timûr, and Amîr Hussayn, nephew of Abdollah, son of Amîr Kazagan, seized the Khân, and caused him to be drowned.

Twenty-third. Kabûl Soltân Khân.

Kabûl Soltân Khân, son of Dorji, son of Iljaktay, son of Doyji Khân, was, after the death of Adel Soltân Khân, established in his room by the two lords above mentioned; who, in his reign, seized the city of Bâlk, and slew the khân [m]. This event happened in the year 765, according to Sharîfo'ddîn Ali; who, without mentioning any thing of Adel Soltân Khân, says, that, after the defeat of the Getes, the princes of Great Bukhâria aiming at independency, Timûr and Hussayn, to prevent anarchy, found it necessary to elect a grand khân; whereupon Kabûl Shâh Aglen was proposed, and chosen in a general assembly [n].

Hejra 765. A.D. 1363.

Twenty-fourth. Soyruktamish Khân.

After the death of Kabûl Soltân Khân, Syruk Tamish was advanced to the dignity of khân. He was the son of Danishmanja, son of Kaydu, son of Kashi, son of Ugaday or Oktay Khân. He was created khân in 1369 by Timûr; who, after Hussayn's death, ordered the khân, Kabûl Shâh (or Soltân), made by that prince, to be slain [o]. Siorgatmish reigned nineteen years, dying at Bokhâra in the year 1388, while Timûr was on his march to Karazm. Timûr, as soon as he returned to Samarkand, established soltân Mahmûd, the late khân's son, in his father's place.

Twenty-fifth. Mahmûd Soltân Khân.

Mahmûd Khân, whose name Timûr caused to be written on the top of his orders, to make the people believe that he observed the laws of Jenghîz Khân, in acknowleging one of his descendents for khân: this titular prince followed Timûr in his expeditions, particularly that against Bayezîd, and was often sent to make inroads into

[l] Sharifo'd. Hist. Timur Bek, cap. 1, 2. p. 4. 14, & seqq. [m] Abulgh. ubi supra, p. 171. [n] Hist. Tim. Bek, lib. i cap. 11. p. 53. [o] Ibid. p. 124. 128.

the

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the Othmân territories; in one of which he died in 1402, near Sattala in Anatolia, where he was ſeized with a violent diſtemper.

La Croix adds another khân, as the thirty-firſt, whom he names Tumen Kotluk Aglen; and ſays he was crowned by Timûr in 1690: but he muſt certainly be miſtaken, ſince Mahmûd lived twelve years after. This, therefore, is the laſt of the khâns of the race of Jenghîz Khân, who reigned in the empire of Jagatay; for after Timur's death the dignity of khân was ſuppreſſed by his ſucceſſors, who governed in their own name, and founded a new dynaſty. *The khâns ſuppreſſed.*

SECT. IV.

Of the Deſcendents of Jagatay Khân, who reigned in Little Bukhâria.

ALTHOUGH Jagatay Khân poſſeſſed both the Bukhârias, yet, after his death, the empire was divided among the princes of his family, every one ſeizing a part, according to his power. It is likely, therefore, that Little Bukhâria ſeparated very early from the Greater; and had a ſucceſſion of khâns, till about the beginning of the fourteenth century: when, by ſome means or other, the line happened to fail. On this occaſion, we are told by a Tartarian author, that the inhabitants of the cities of Kâſhgar and Yarkian, and of the countries of Alatakh and the Vigûrs (or Igûrs), finding none of Jagatay's poſterity among them, who was capable of filling the vacant throne, ſaw themſelves under a neceſſity of calling in Amul Khoja, who then reigned in Great Bukhâria, under the name of Iſân Boga Khân [p].

Firſt. Amul Khoja Khân.

This prince, the ſon of Doyji Khân, having no children by his wife Satil Tamiſh, had commerce with a ſlave called Manlaghi, who became pregnant. Satil Tamiſh, being incenſed at this amour, one day, when the khân was gone a-hunting, gave her in marriage to a Mungl chief, named Shiragol, and obliged him to carry her with him into his own country. Amul Khoja, at his return, was informed of what had paſſed; but not willing to quarrel with his wife, ſeemed to take no notice of the ſtep ſhe had

[p] Abu'lgh. Hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 176.

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taken. Some time after this tranſaction he died; and, as he left no iſſue, the ſtate was rent in pieces by different factions. In this extremity Amîr Yalawji, one of the principal lords of Kâſhgar, ſent Taſh Timûr in queſt of Manlaghi; whom at length he found, with her ſon, called Togalak (or Togluk), playing with his brother-in-law. Amûr, watching his opportunity, carried off the boy to Kaſhgar, where he was immediately proclaimed khân by the name of Togalak Timûr Khân.

A.D. 1347. *Second. Togalak Timûr Khân.*

A great part of this khân's reign was employed in ſuppreſſing the factions which oppoſed him in the countries above mentioned: but, when he had eſtabliſhed himſelf firmly, he entered with a powerful army into Great Bukhâria, and brought that province alſo under his obedience. Then, leaving his ſon Elias Khoja to govern in Samarkand, he returned to the city of Kâſhgar, where he died.

Togalak Timûr was the firſt deſcended from Jenghîz Khân, reigning in Kâſhgar, who embraced the Mohammedan religion. As he was one day hunting, he obſerved ſeveral foreign merchants in the place which he had choſen for aſſembling the game, contrary to his expreſs proclamation. In a tranſport of paſſion he ordered them to be brought bound before him; and aſked, why they infringed his laws? Sheykh Samalo'ddîn, who was among them, anſwered, that they were ignorant of any ſuch prohibition, as being ſtrangers from the country of Kattak. The khân replied, "Perhaps you are Tajiks, and, conſequently, worſe than dogs." "If we were not true believers (rejoined the ſheykh), there would be grounds for making no more account of us than dogs; becauſe, in that caſe, notwithſtanding the reaſon we are endowed with, we ſhould yet be leſs reaſonable than beaſts [a]."

Turns Mohammedan;

This anſwer having touched the khân's heart, at his return from the chace he ſent for the ſheykh, and in private ſaid to him, "What is your religion, that you durſt make me ſuch an anſwer?" The ſheykh, thus queſtioned, explained the articles of the Mohammedan faith; and Togalak Timûr was ſo fully convinced of its truth, that he ordered him to repair, at a proper ſeaſon, to concert the means for eſtabliſhing it in his dominions. The ſheykh dying ſoon after his return to his own country, his ſon ſheykh Raſhîdo'ddîn, purſuant to his father's orders, repaired to Kâſhgar: but not being able to obtain acceſs to

[a] Abu'lgh, ubi ſup. p. 177, & ſeq.

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the khân, he went one morning to a hill near the caſtle, where he ſaid his prayers ſo loud, that he awaked Togalak Timûr; who ſent to him to know the reaſon why he bawled ſo dreadfully. The ſheykh taking this opportunity to execute his commiſſion, that prince no longer deferred embracing Mohammediſm. All the lords of his court followed his example, excepting one; who, ſtanding forth, offered to put his converſion on this iſſue: "There is (ſaid he), among our people, a man endowed with extraordinary gifts: now, if the ſheykh will venture a fall with this perſon, and throws him, I will embrace his religion; otherwiſe I will not." The khân was unwilling to permit ſuch a trial of ſkill; but the ſheykh preſſing for liberty to accept of the challenge, he at length conſented. Raſhîdo'ddîn hereupon advancing to the Mungl, with one back-ſtroke of his hand on the ſtomach, laid him proſtrate on the floor, where for a good while he remained motionleſs. At length, getting up, he fell at the ſheykh's feet, and declared he was ready to become a Moſlem. The lord, who had propoſed this trial, embraced the faith; and all the Mungls who were ſubject to Togalak Timûr Khân, to the number of a hundred and ſixty thouſand, followed their example.

Third. Ilyas Khoja Khân.

Amîr Yalawſi, who was inſtrumental in the khân's advancement, dying, Togalak conferred on his ſon amîr Khudaydat, though but ſeven years old, all his father's employments. Kamro'ddîn, the youngeſt of the amîr's five paternal uncles, deſired that he might officiate for his nephew till he came of age: this requeſt the khân not thinking proper to grant, Kamro'ddîn, who was very ambitious, as well as powerful, conceived a violent hatred againſt him; yet concealed it during his life: but, after his death, revolted againſt his ſon Ilyas Khoja (or Elias Koja), who ſucceeded on the throne of Kâſhgar, and cauſed him, with all his family, to the number of eighteen perſons, to be aſſaſſinated: then, ſeizing the government, gave the people liberty, by proclamation, to kill any of Togalak Timûr's kindred, who were to be found.

Fourth. Kamro'ddîn uſurps.

At the time of Kamro'ddîn's revolt, Amîr Aga Khatûn, one of Togalak's wives, being delivered of a ſon named Kezra Khojah, in order to ſecure him from the tyrant, ſhe truſted him to the care of amîr Khudaydai, who never could be prevailed on by his uncle to deliver up the young prince; and war breaking out afterwards between Amîr Timûr (who reigned in Mawara'lnahr, now Great Bukhâria) and the uſurper, Khudaydat took that opportunity to ſend

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ſend him, under a truſty guard, to the mountains of Badâgſhân, where jaſper is found. This war was carried on for ſome years with much fury; and ſuch equality of ſucceſs, that, after five bloody battles, it ſeemed doubtful which would finally get the advantage. At length Timûr advancing with a powerful army, at a time when Kamro'ddîn fell ſick, the troops of Kâſhgar, deſtitute of a chief, fled, not daring to wait for the enemy. Kamro'ddîn was, in this confuſion, carried, for ſecurity, into a deſert to the eaſt of the capital city: but, after the retreat of Timûr's army, he never could be found; although a long time after his ſubjects diſcovered, that he reſided with Malek Ajân, a man entirely unknown.

Fifth. Kezra Khoja Khân.

Amîr Khudaydat, ſeizing this opportunity, brought back Kezra Khoja from his obſcure retreat, and cauſed him to be proclaimed khân, with the uſual ſolemnities. This prince reigned thirty years over the country of Kâſhgar; and all thoſe who have ſince poſſeſſed that throne, have been deſcended from him. We know very little of the actions of this prince, excepting what we find in the hiſtory of Timûr Bek, who made war on him in 1389, plundered his country, and capital city Aymal Gûjû; purſued him, on one ſide, beyond the river Irtîſh, and, on the other, to Yaldûz (or Yalis), and Karakoja (or Aramuth, near Khamîl, in Little Bukhâria); in ſhort, drove him out of Jetah. Next year he made another expedition into the ſame country; and, at Al Maleg, hearing of Kamro'ddîn, followed him beyond the Irtîſh, driving him into the woods towards Tawlas [r].

Succeſſion extinct.

This is all the account we can find relating to this branch of Jagatay Khân, excepting a few ſcattered particulars. Among the reſt, Mahamed was khân of the kingdoms of Kâſhgar and Chalis (that is, of Little Bukhâria), in 1603, when Goes the Jeſuit travelled through the country, in his way to China; ſo that, on the authority of Abû'lghâzi Khân, he muſt have been deſcended from Kezra Khoja, as well as the khân, who reigned in 1665, when that prince finiſhed his hiſtory: but, in 1683, Little Bukhâria was ſubdued by the Elûths, or Kalmûks [s].

[r] Abu'lgh. ubi ſup. p. 179, & ſeq.

[s] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, lib. ii. cap. 3. p. 325. & cap. 9. p. 345.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XVI.

Hiſtory of the Deſcendents of Jenghîz Khân, who reigned in Irân, or Perſia at Large.

SECT. I.

The Reign of Hulâgû Khân.

Weſtern expedition under Hulâkû.

FROM the death of Jenghîz Khân, which happened in 625 of the Hejra, of Chriſt 1227, the country of Irân (or Perſia at large), with the neighbouring countries which he had conquered, were governed by officers appointed by his ſucceſſors, who reigned at Karakorom, in the eaſtern parts of Tartary, till the year 651; when Mangu, fourth khân of the Mungls, with a deſign to extend his empire, raiſed three great armies: one of them was ſent towards Hinduſtân, or India, the ſecond to Korea, and the third into Irân. This laſt, which was the moſt conſiderable of the three, the khân intruſted to the conduct of his brother Hulâgû, who had a general under him of great learning and experience, called Kokân. This army, in the Chineſe hiſtory, is ſaid to have been deſigned againſt the khalif of Bâghdâd; whereas, according to the Perſian hiſtorians, the khalif was attacked at the perſuaſion of a famous Perſian aſtronomer [t].

A.D. 1255.

Enters Irân.

Hulâgû, the ſon of Tuli Khân, fourth ſon of Jenghîz Khân, was ſurnamed Il Khân; from whence his poſterity took the title of Ilkhanians. This prince croſſed the Jihûn in the year 653, to enter Irân: he was accompanied by his brother Sontay Ogul, and ſeveral great lords from divers parts: he carried with him alſo his eldeſt ſon Abâka, and another called Yaſimun, with his wives Dukuz Khatûn, a Chriſtian lady, and Al Jay Khatûn. Arriving in the neighbourhood of Samarkant, he there encamped, and loſt his brother Sontay Ogul. Argûn, appointed governor of the countries to the ſouth of the Jihûn, came to wait on him, with ſeveral lords of that province: Hulâkû, after having examined into the ſtate of the country, reſolved to purge it of the Iſmaelians, who had for a long time committed great diſorders.

[t] Gaubil, Hiſt. de Gengh. p. 113, 136.

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Assassins of Irak.

We have already, in our history of the Arabs, given an account of this dynasty of Ismaelians, or Assassins, specifying in what manner Rucno'ddîn Khûz Shâh, their last sovereign, submitted, and was put to death with his whole family.

Hulâkû, while he was employed in besieging the castles of the Molâhedah, or Ismaelians, sent an ambassador to the khalif Al Mostâasem, to desire his assistance. The khalif would have answered his request; but the wazîrs and princes opposed his inclination; alledging, that Hulâkû did not want forces, but made the demand only to weaken Bâghdâd, that he might the more easily take it. When the castles were reduced, Il Khân sent another ambassador to reproach Al Mostâasem for neglecting to send him succours. The prime wazîr, being consulted what was to be done on this occasion, told them, that the prince ought to be appeased with very rich presents: but while they were getting them ready, Dowaydâr and his party insinuated that the wazîr corresponded with the Tatars, and intended to betray them; for this reason the khalif, instead of a great number of costly presents, sent only a few of little value. Hulâkû, provoked at this mark of contempt, gave the khalif to understand, that he should repair to the camp himself, or send thither either the wazîr Dowaydâr, or Solymân Shâh: but, as none of them would obey Al Mostâasem's command, he sent others; a step which not satisfying Hulâkû, he ordered Bayejû Nowayn, and Sunjak Nowayn to march by the way of Erbel (or Arbela), while himself took the road through Holwân (B).

First Khân Tartárs.

Mausel submits.

As soon as Badro'ddîn Lûlû, lord of Mausel (or Musol), heard that Bâghdâd was taken, he sent his son Al Mâlek Al Sâleh Ismaël, with part of his army, to the assistance of Hulâkû; who, looking on him with a stern countenance, reproached him and his father with their backwardness in bringing their succours; saying, "You waited to see who should get the better; and if the khalif had been victor, would have gone to him, instead of coming to me." Badro'ddîn, terrified when he heard his son, at his return, repeat these words, which he considered as presaging no good towards him, immediately resolved to prepare a magnificent present: to make up which, he not only employed all the precious stones and jewels that were in his own treasury, but stripped his rich subjects of their wealth;

(B) For the particulars of this expedition, including the siege of Bâghdâd, and the death of the Khâlif Al Mostâasem, we must refer the reader to our history of the Arabs.

requiring

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requiring the very bracelets of their women, and the pearls out of their children's ears. With this offering he set out for the mountains of Hamadân, to pay his respects to Hulâkû; who received him very kindly, in reverence to his years; made him sit beside him on the same sofa; and permitted him to touch his ear-rings, in which were two union pearls of great value. Badro'ddîn, after having paid homage, returned to Mausel, overjoyed at his good fortune, and amazed at the power, majesty, and wisdom of Hulâkû.

Miyafarekîn blockaded.

In the course of the same year Al Ashrâf, lord of Miyafarekîn, made a visit to Al Mâlek Al Nâsr, lord of Halep, or Aleppo, requesting assistance of him, that he might prevent the Mungls from entering Syria: but Al Nâsr, looking upon his apprehensions as altogether groundless, paid no regard to his intreaties. Al Ashrâf thus repulsed, went away in anger; and on his return to Miyarekîn, not only drove out the Mungl governors, but hung up a priest, whom the khân had sent to him with mandates. Mean time the Mungl army, led by Yashmût, son of Hulâkû, following him, invested the city. In one day and night they surrounded it with walls and a ditch, then placing their engines, vigorously attacked it; but finding the place was not to be taken by force, they turned the siege into a blockade [u].

Hejra 657. A.D. 1258.

Halep summoned.

In 657 Hulâkû sent an ambassador to Al Mâlek Al Nâsr, lord of Halep, with letters, exhorting him to submit, and avoid the khalif's fate, by coming to his camp without delay. As his lords would not permit him to obey this summons, Al Nâsr, in great consternation, sent his son Al Mâlek Al Azîz, with a large sum of money, and rich presents. After Al Azîz had waited the whole winter, he received this answer: "We required to see Al Mâlek Al Nâsr, not his son. If therefore he really be for us in his heart, let him come to us, otherwise we will go to him." When Al Nâsr heard this declaration he was greatly terrified, not knowing what course to take. Hulâkû afterwards sent for Azzo'ddîn, king of Rûm, and his brother Rocno'ddîn, who obeying his summons, were received with great honour and kindness: then having divided the dominion between them, he began his march for Syria, taking with him the Seljûk princes; who, on their arrival at the Euphrates, were permitted to return into their own country.

[u] Abu'lfar. p. 344, & seq.

In

Hejra 658. A.D. 1259.

In 658 he arrived at Harrân, with an army of eighty thousand men, which city, with Roha, or Orfa, surrendered on conditions; nor were any of the inhabitants injured; but those of Sarûj were all put to the sword for not obeying the Mungl mandate. Hulâkû Il Khân ordered three bridges to be laid over the Euphrates; one near Malatîya, another at Kalao'rûm, and the third not far from Karkisia; by which all his forces having crossed into Syria, they made a great slaughter towards Manbej (C). Then the army dividing in order to reduce the cities and castles, only a few soldiers took the route of Halep. Al Mâlek Al Moäddham, eldest son of Salâho'ddîn, or Saladîn, advanced to meet them; but, being put to flight, returned to the city. The party which marched to Moarrah, pillaged that place; but Hamah and Hems surrendered on terms. When Al Mâlek Al Nâsr heard of these misfortunes, he betook himself, with his wives, children, and most valuable effects, into the deserts of Al Karak and Al Shawbak for shelter.

Syria invaded,

and subdued.

When the Mungls came to Damascus, the principal men delivered up the city, which received no injury from the enemy. Hulâkû himself pitched his camp before Halep; and having raised a mount to command it, began to play his engines. The attack was chiefly made against the gate of Erâk, or Irâk, which was found to be the weakest part; so that being forced in a few days, the Mungls entered, and slew more people than they had massacred at Baghdâd. Nor did the castle hold out long: then proceeding to the castle Al Harem, the inhabitants were willing to surrender; but not caring to trust to his word, required the oath of a Mussulman for their security. Il Khân consented; and they chose Fakro'ddîn, governor of the castle of Halep, because they said he was a truly honest man; who being sent to them, took all the oaths they proposed, and then they opened their gates to the Mungls; but Hulâkû made them pay dear for their suspicion; for he first ordered Fakro'ddîn to be slain, and then all those who had been in the castle, without sparing any of either sex, or even the children in their cradles [x].

[x] Abu'lfar. p. 346, & seqq.

(C) Manbej is a corruption of Manbe, or Mambe, or Bambe, the ancient Bambyce, or Hierapolis; called by Pliny, Magog, instead of Mabog, the Syrian name; an error uncorrected in Hardouin's last edition.

Hulâkû

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Hulâkû, after theſe examples of perfidy and vengeance, returned eaſtward, leaving in Syria a great commander, named Ketbûga, with ten thouſand horſe. When he arrived at Tel Bâſher he was joined by the army, which had taken Miyafarekîn, and brought with them Al Aſhrâf its prince; after having put to the ſword the few inhabitants whom the famine had ſpared. Il Khân cauſed Al Aſhrâf to be ſlain; but gave the government to that prince's commanders. When he arrived near Mardîn, he ſent to the lord of that place, who, unwilling to obey the ſummons, ſent his ſon Modâffero'ddîn; becauſe he accompanied Hulâkû, when in Syria, along with Al Mâlek Al Sâleh, ſon of ſoltân Badro'ddîn Lûlû, late lord of Mauſel. Hulâkû bad him go back to his father, and command him to repair to the camp, and not turn rebel, otherwiſe he ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed; but the father, inſtead of taking his ſon's advice, cauſed him to be impriſoned. *Mardîn taken.*

Upon this provocation the Mungls beſieged Mardîn; but could not have taken it in leſs than two or three years, had not the king, and moſt of the inhabitants, died of the peſtilence: in conſequence of which calamitous events, Al Modâffer ſurrendered the caſtle, and all the wealth belonging to the city. When Hulâkû was informed what that prince had ſuffered, he treated him with much affection, and appointed him king in his father's room. Mean time Ketbûga, who was left in Syria, having diſcovered Al Mâlek Al Nâſr's lurking place, ſent men to ſeize and carry him to Hulâkû, who was pleaſed to ſee him, and promiſed to reſtore him to his kingdom; but while fortune ſeemed to flatter his hopes, Kotûz, ſoltân of the Turkmâns, who reigned in Egypt, hearing that Hulâcû was returning home, and had left Ketbûga behind him, with no more than ten thouſand men, raiſed a great army, and attacked that general, who was killed in the battle, his forces were defeated, and his children taken priſoners. When advice of this diſaſter reached Il Khân, who was then in the mountains of Al Tak (D), he was violently enraged, and ordered Al Mâlek Al Nâſr, with his ſon Al Mâlek Al Dhâher, and all belonging to him, to be put to death [y]. *Syria recovered.*

Kotuz, ſoltân of Egypt, after the victory juſt mentioned, recovered Syria, and having placed governors in Halep, *Affairs of Syria.*

[y] Abu'lfar. p. 348, & ſeq. D'Herb. p. 445.

(D) Another copy reads Al Atlak.

Damaſcus,

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Damascus, and the other provinces, returned to recruit his forces in order to oppose the Mungls; but when he had advanced as far as Gazza, Bibars, called Al Bunkokdâr the Leffer, revolting, slew him, and seized the kingdom. This soltân, who became very famous, took from the Franks all the cities and castles which they possessed along the coast of Syria. However, in 659, the Mungls entered Syria a second time, under the command of a general named Gûgâlki; and having proceeded almost as far as Hems, making great devastation, and destroying the people, returned to Halep. There he ordered all the inhabitants and peasants, who had retired thither, to go forth into the plain, under pretence of numbering and conducting them to their respective homes. There he exclaimed, "If your hearts had been sincerely towards us, you would not have fled from us;" and, without any more ceremony, put every soul to the sword, so that none of them escaped, excepting those who were cautious enough to stay in Halep. In the mean time, as soon as the Egyptians understood that the Mungls had evacuated Syria, they entered that country, and seized it again.

Hejra 659. A.D. 1260.

A famous observatory.

Hulâkû, after his expedition into Syria, had returned into Azerbijân, to take some repose; he assembled the principal astronomers to be found in the Mohâmmedan countries, to whom he gave large pensions, and furnished all sorts of necessary instruments for making observations at Marâgha (E), where he built a famous observatory. He died in 663, after he had reigned six years, since the death of his brother [z]: for the authors consulted by D'Herbelot suppose, that this prince, during the lifetime of Mangû Khân, governed Irân, as his deputy; but that on his death, in 657, he succeeded as fifth khân of the Mungls, in that part of Asia. However, it appears, from what has been elsewhere related, that Koplay Khân was the immediate and true successor of Mangû, not only at Karakorom, but in all parts of the Mungl dominions, or empire; and that Hûlâkû actually acknowleged Koplay as such. It is true, his successors in Irân did at length throw off their subjection to the successors of Jenghîz Khân, in the East: but it is not expressly mentioned under what prince this revolution happened.

Hej. 663. A.D. 1264.

Hulâkû dies.

[z] D'Herbel. ubi supra, p. 454.

(E) A city on the lake of the south-west of Tabriz, or the Shâh, about forty miles to Tauris.

One

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One of the principal wives of this monarch, named Dughûz Khatûn, was a Christian, and accompanied him in all his military expeditions; being much esteemed by him, for her prudence and knowlege. *His wives;*

The dominions which Hulâkû left at his death consisted of the great province of Koraſſân, of which Nishabûr, was, at that time, the capital; Jebal, or Persian Irâk, the country of the Parthians, whose capital was Ispahân; Irâk Arabi, called also Irâk Bâbeli, comprising Assyria (or Kûrdestân and Khaldea), whose metropolis was Bâghdâd; Adberbejân (or Azerbejân), that is, Media, its chief city Tabriz, or Taurîz; Pârs, or Proper Persia, its capital Shîraz, formerly called Cyropolis; Khûrestân, or Khûzestân, the ancient Susiana, whose capital was Toster, or Shûster, formerly called Susa, of Persia; Diyârbekr, which comprehends part of Assyria, or Kûrdestân, and Al Jazîreh, or Mesopotamia, whereof Mûssal (or Mosul), built near the ancient Nineveh, was the capital; lastly, the country of Rûm, or the Romans, containing Armenia, Georgia, and Asia Minor, whose capital was Konîya, the ancient Iconium [b]. *and large dominions.*

The Oriental historians begin this dynasty of Mungl princes with Jenghîz Khân: but as Hulâkû was the first of his descendents who reigned in Irân, we shall place him at the head of it. Abû'l-Faraj dates the commencement of the Mungl dynasty in Irân, or Persia at large, from the destruction of the khalifat, in the year 656. The Persian historians allow him a reign of six years only, reckoning from the death of Mangû Khân, in 657. *Founds the dynasty.*

According to Mirkhond, Hulâkû, before his death, divided his dominions among three of his sons, Abâka, Yashmut, and Tandon; to the first he gave the kingdoms of Irâk, Mazanderân, and Khoraſſân; to the second, Arân, or Armenia, and Azerbejân; to the third he assigned Diyârbekr and Rabîya, which are two provinces of Al Jazîreh or Mesopotamia. Hulâkû had, besides these three sons, two others, Nikûdar Oglan, and Targahe, (or Targhiyeh) Khân, who had no share in their father's partition of his dominions; yet one of them obtained the empire, which was likewise inherited by the children of the other [c].

[b] D'Herbel. ubi sup. [c] Mirkhond ap. Teixeira Hist. Persi p. 309, & seq.

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SECT. II.

The Reign of Abâka Il Khân.

Hejra 663. A.D. 1264.

AFTER the death of Hulâkû, his son Abâka was in an assembly consisting of his sons the princes, and the ladies his widows, unanimously acknowleged for his successor. He was a prince endowed with prudence, capacity, learning, and knowlege: which great qualities rendered him dear to his subjects, and gave him success in all his transactions, both foreign and domestic [d].

2. *Khân Abâka.*

His first regulations.

As soon as this prince ascended the throne, he sent one of his brothers to Darbend, on the Caspian sea, and another into Khoraſſân, to secure the passages into his dominions from the descendents of Tûshi or Jûgi Khân on one side, and those of Jagatay Khân on the other. He declared Sunjak (or Sowenjak) Nowayn general of his armies, and his lieutenant throughout his empire; bestowed the employment of grand wazîr, and president of his councils, on Shamso'ddîn Mohammed, who made Bahao'ddîn, his son, wazîr of Ispahân; and Alao'ddîn Athao'l Molk, his brother, wazîr of Baghdâd. Under the wise government of this latter, that capital recovered its lustre, which it had lost by the arms of Hulâkû; on the contrary, Bahao'ddîn exercised so much rigour at Ispâhan, that he often involved the innocent in the same punishment with the guilty; nor could the advice of his father Shamso'ddîn, to whom frequent complaints were made, reclaim him, till death freed the inhabitants from his severity.

Hej. 664. A.D. 1265.

At the beginning of Abâka's reign, Barkah Khân, of the race of Jagatay Khân, who reigned in Great Bukhâria, having marched with a body of forces on the side of Darbend, with design to break into Persia, Shamat, brother of Abâka, who was posted in that city, opposed his entrance; and, having worsted him in battle, obliged him to retire. But this defeat served only to irritate that prince: for, soon after, he raised an army of three hundred thousand men, with which he threatened utter desolation to Persia, had not Abâka Khân marched in time with all the forces of his empire. Barkah Khân, after having conducted his army through the vast plains of Kipjak, round the north side of the Caspian Sea, had forced the narrow

Invaded by Barkah.

[d] Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 355.

passages

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paſſages between that ſea and mount Caucaſus, commonly called the Iron Gates; and was already on the banks of the river Kûr, when Abâka Khân appeared at Teflîs, capital of Gurjeſtân, or Georgia: but, as the two armies were on the point of giving battle, Barkah Khân, very happily for Perſia, was taken out of the world; for, immediately on his death, his army divided, and returned into Tartary [e].

In 666, Borak Oglan, who was alſo of Jagatay Khân's race, ſent to the court of Abâka Khân one Maſſûd, under pretence of a compliment, but in reality to examine into the ſtate of affairs, and obſerve the roads by which Perſia could be invaded. This deſign being perceived by a ſoldier, he informed Shamſo'ddîn, the grand wazîr, who continued to treat him with great civility, as if he ſuſpected nothing, reſolving to have him ſeized, or cut off in his return; but Maſſûd had taken ſuch precautions, by cauſing horſes to be placed along the road, that he was not overtaken in his retreat. Borak Khân, having received the neceſſary informations from this ſpy, in 667 paſſed the Jihûn, or Amû, with one hundred thouſand horſe; and, having reduced the great province of Khoraſſân, where he met with little oppoſition, he advanced as far as Azerbejân, where Abâka had the bulk of his forces. The van of the Tatars was repulſed; but next year the two armies faced each other not far from Herat. There a bloody battle was fought; wherein victory, after a long ſuſpenſe, declared in favour of Abâka, who remained maſter of the field, with all the baggage and booty of the enemy. Borak, after this defeat, was obliged to repaſs the Amû; and Abâka, having left his brother Benſhîn with troops ſufficient to guard Khoraſſân, returned to Azerbejân [f].

Hejra 666. A.D. 1267. *and Borak Khân.* A.D. 1269.

Bundokdâr (F), lord of Egypt, ſent to require Hâtem, king of Armenia, to pay him tribute, and ſettle a commerce between their reſpective ſubjects. As Hâtem would not conſent to this ſubmiſſion, for fear of the Mungls, Bundokdâr invaded his dominions. The Armenian king, upon this ſurprize, made a journey, to implore aſſiſtance of Nefji, the Mungl governor in Rûm (or Anatolia); who anſwered, that he could not join him without Abâka's or-

The Mamlûks ravage Leſſer Armenia;

[e] Khoudemir ap. D'Herb. p. 1. art. Abâka. [f] Idem, p. 2. art. Abâka.

(F) He was fourth ſoltân of the Turkiſh mamlûks, or ſlaves, who reigned in Egypt after the family of Ayub, or of Salâho'ddîn.

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der. Mean while the brothers and sons of Hâtem marched, with what forces they could raise, to oppose the entrance of the Egyptians, but were defeated; and one of the king's sons being slain, the other was taken prisoner. For twenty days the enemy plundered Sîs and Ayyâs, carrying away great numbers of people captives. At length, when they were gone, Hâtem arrived with an army of Mungls and Rûms; who, finding nothing but a desolate country without people, indulged himself in good cheer, and consumed every thing which the Egyptians had left.

Hâtem, grieved for the devastation made in his country, but more for the loss of his son, sent to offer Bundokdâr cities and castles, with a large sum of money, for his ransom. Bundokdâr replied, that he would release him, provided only Sankar Al Ashkar, who was a slave among the Mungls, should be sent home. Hâtem, on this intimation, made a journey to the court of Abâka; who, pitying his distress, ordered him to go back, and promised to send Al Ashkar to him, if he was to be found. Accordingly, next year, Al Ashkar was conveyed to him from Samarkand; and being transmitted to Bundokdâr, this latter returned Hâtem's son in exchange. Afterwards Hâtem made another journey, to intreat permission to resign the crown to his son; to which proposal Abâka consented: but the joy this favour created was greatly allayed by a dreadful earthquake, which, in 670, happened in Armenia; and, besides overturning many castles, destroyed above one hundred thousand people.

Hejra 668. A.D. 1269.

Hejra 675. A.D. 1276.

In the year 675, Abâka Khân went to pass the winter at Baghdâd. Hâtem's son, now king of Armenia, understanding, by his correspondents, that Bundokdâr intended to invade the country of Rûm, through the instigation of some of the natives, gave notice to the Mungl commanders to be upon their guard; but Berwânah having persuaded them that it was a false alarm, they neglected his advice; so that the Egyptians came upon them when they were in liquor, and slew them all. After this success, Bundokdâr marched to Kaysarîya (or Cæsarea), where he remained fifteen days, but did no mischief to that city; saying, he came not to ravage the country, but to deliver its lord from slavery.

and Anatolia.

Fly from Abâka.

When the news of these transactions reached the court of Abâka Il Khân, he was greatly enraged; and, assembling his forces, marched towards the country of Rûm; but, before he arrived, the Egyptians had withdrawn into Syria. Then sending for Berwânah, he received him with

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with ſeeming friendſhip; and carried him to the camp, under pretence of conſulting with him what number of men would be ſufficient to ſecure Rûm againſt the Egyptians. There, at a banquet, he plied Berwânah well with mares milk, for he drank no wine; and giving a ſign, when the latter went out to make water, an officer in waiting followed, and killed him. Bundokdâr, on his way to Egypt, died at Hems in Syria; ſome ſay of poiſon; others, of a wound from a Mungl arrow [z].

In 679 Sayfo'ddîn Kelawn, ſurnamed Al Alfi (G), having ſeized the dominion of Syria and Egypt, after the death of Mâlek Al Sâleh, ſon of Bundokdâr, Sankar Al Aſhkar before mentioned, who had oppoſed his advancement, fled to Rahaba, on the Euphrates, and confederating with Iſa Ebn Mohânna, a Bedwîn (H) prince, ſent an ambaſſador to invite Abâka Il Khân into Syria, promiſing to deliver into his hands both that country and Egypt. On this promiſe an army was ſent in the year 680, under the command of Kungortay, a younger brother of Abâka; but when, in winter, they arrived in Syria, Al Aſhkar, being afraid to join them, took refuge in the caſtle of Sâhyûn. The Mungls, nevertheleſs, advanced as far as Halep; and having deſtroyed all the places in their paſſage, returned into Irân. However, next year they invaded Syria again with fifty thouſand troops, under the conduct of Munga Timûr, youngeſt brother of Abâka, accompanied by the king of Armenia, with all his forces. The enemy, led by Al Alfi and Al Aſhkar, who were now reconciled, met them between Hamâh and Hems, where a battle was fought, in which the Mungls prevailed; but when they were on the point of gaining the victory, and had even put the Syrians to flight, the Arabs of the tribe of Bâni Taglab ruſhed out of an ambuſcade on the left wing of the Mungls; who, thinking themſelves ſurrounded by another numerous army, fled with precipitation, and were followed by the main body. Mean time the right wing, in which was the king of Armenia, with five thouſand Gorjans, defeated the Egyptians who oppoſed them; and purſuing them to the gates of Hems, killed a conſiderable number; nor did the ſlaughter ceaſe, till intelligence of the flight of their companions drew them off. In their return,

Hejra 679. A.D. 1280.

Mungls invade Syria.

Hejra 680. A.D. 1281.

A.D. 1283.

They are defeated.

[z] Abu'lfar. ubi ſupra, p. 357, & ſeqq.

(G) He was ſeventh ſoltân of the Turkiſh mamlûks, or third from Bundokdâr.

(H) The Bedwîns, or Badwîns, commonly called Bedowins, are the Field Arabs.

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return, they fell in with some troops of the enemy, who followed their flying squadrons; hereupon the battle was renewed, in which many were slain on both sides, but at length they returned laden with spoils.

Abâka's death. While Munga Timûr was on his march back through Al Jazîreh, some of his domestics, who had been corrupted, gave him poison one day, after he came out of the bath. The prince, finding himself much indispoſed, turned off towards Nisibîn, where he died. This year was fatal likewise to Abâka Il Khân himself: he made a progress to Bâghdâd, from whence he returned to Hamadân, where he celebrated Easter-day with the Christians in their church (I). Next day Bahnâm, a Persian, gave him a magnificent feast; but on Tuesday he found himself very ill, and became delirious; so that he died on Wednesday the 20th of Dhu'lhajjah, after a reign of seventeen years [h].

SECT. II.

The Reigns of Nikûdar Oglan, or Ahmed Khân; Argûn Khân; Genjatû Khân; Baydû Khân; Gazan, or Kâzan Khân; Aljaytu, or Aljaptu Khân; and Abu-ſaïd Khân.

Hejra 681. A.D. 1282. ABAKA Il Khân being dead, the princes of the blood, and the great men, with one consent, conferred the government on Ahmed, son of Hulâkû by Kutay Khatûn; as judging him most worthy to reign, and that the empire belonged to him after his brother. To all the qualities requisite in a prince, he joined extensive knowlege and unbounded munificence. Accordingly, one of his first acts was to distribute the treasures which he found among his sons, the grandees, and the army; nor was his benevolence confined to the Mungls alone, but extended to those of all other nations, including even the Christians [i]. His name was Nikûdar Oglan (K); but after he had embraced Mohammedism, he assumed that of Ahmed. On occasion of his conversion, he wrote a long letter to Al Mâlek Al Mansûr Kelawn, soltân of Egypt and Syria, who was at that time the most considerable of all the Mohammedan princes, to inform him that he would publicly profess the Mussulman religion, and offered his favour and protection

Third. Khân Ahmed.

Turns Mohammedan.

[h] Abu'lfar. ubi supra, p. 360. [i] Idem ibid. p. 361.

(I) Some authors say he was a Christian.

(K) That is, according to Mirkond, in Teixeira, Nikûdar, *the Good Son*.

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to all the profeſſors of it. This ſoltân's change of religion excited great troubles in his family, and alſo through his dominions; becauſe the Mungls or Tartars of thoſe times had an extreme averſion to the Mohammedans; ſo that this prince, though endowed with ſeveral excellent qualities, could never gain their affections.

Argûn revolts.

Theſe troubles began in the very firſt year of his reign. His nephew Argun, who could not bear to ſee him upon a throne to which he himſelf had pretenſions, retired immediately into the province of Khoraſſân, where he made preparations to diſpute the ſovereignty with his uncle; but did not declare himſelf openly till the year 683, when he came to encamp with his forces at Damegân. As ſoon as Ahmed received advice of theſe motions at Baghdâd, he cauſed his forces to march, under the conduct of Al Inâk, an experienced and valiant commander, who ſoon diſperſed the troops which Argûn had aſſembled. This young prince, being thus left without an army, was obliged to return to Khoraſſân, and at length to retreat to the caſtle of Burdeh; whither Al Inâk did not fail to follow and beſiege him. However, without uſing force, he enticed him out of the fort, by promiſing to reconcile him to his uncle; but as ſoon as he arrived at the imperial camp, he was confined by the ſoltân's order, and guarded by four thouſand men.

Hejra 683. A.D. 1285.

Ahmed depoſed.

Ahmed, believing that he had now no ſort of danger to fear, reſolved to return to Baghdâd, to enjoy the ſweets of peace. Before his departure he gave directions to the amîr Bûga, who guarded Argûn, to deprive him of life in ſeven or eight days: but Buga, in concert with ſeveral other lords of the court, who could not reliſh the ſoft and delicate manners of the ſoltân, reſolved to ſet Argûn at liberty, and attack the quarters of Al Inâk. This deſign being immediately put in execution, Al Inâk was ſlain, with the principal officers of the ſoltân who had remained in the rear-guard of the army, which was on the march. Argûn put himſelf at the head of the moſt reſolute troops, and purſued the ſoltân; who having received information of this revolt, eſcaped from the city of Esfarayn, where he then was, in hopes of reaching the camp of his mother Kutay Khâtûn, near Serâb in Azerbejân: but the ſcouts of Argûn followed him ſo ſwiftly, that they ſoon overtook and brought him to the camp of his nephew. This prince immediately delivered him into the hands of ſoltâna Kûngortây, his mother-in-law, who put him to death, to revenge the loſs of her children, whom he had treated in the

and put to death.

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same manner. This event happened in the year 683[k], after he had reigned two years and two months.

The Reign of Argûn Khân.

Hejr. 683. A.D.1284.

Fourth. Khân Argûn.

AS soon as Argûn was upon the throne, he conferred the chief post in the empire on Buga, or Boga, who disposed of every thing with an almost absolute power. Shamso'ddîn Saïd, who was president of the dîwan, that is, chief of the councils, in the reign of Ahmed, upon that prince's deposition, retired from court; and had already left Ispahân, in order to go into Hindûstân, when Argûn, whose good-will he suspected, sent for him, and confirmed him in his office; but Buga, finding his authority thus divided, presently contrived how to get rid of his colleague: he accused Saïd of poisoning his father Abâka; and the too credulous prince, without examining the depositions of the witnesses, sacrificed that great man to the ambition of his rival, who wanted to put in his place a creature of his own[l].

The wazir Saïd put to death.

Shamso'ddin was a man endowed with great understanding and experience; perfectly versed in all the arts of government, and eminent for his humility. Several elegies were composed, to console the people for his loss; and the historians report this circumstance of his death, that, when the executioner entered to perform his office, he made the ablution usual before their prayers; and then opening the Koran, to draw the *fâl*, or *good lot*, met with these words: "They who say to God, it is you who are our master, and to those who walk in the right path, and conformable to that belief, God will send angels to comfort them in their afflictions, and assure them of the paradise which has been promised to them."

However this be, Buga, seeing himself delivered from his rival, set no bounds to his ambition, and rose to such a pitch of authority, that he was but one step from becoming master of the whole. At length he took off the mask, and in 686 revolted openly against the soltân; but did not push his fortune any great length, for he was slain miserably, in the midst of his enterprize. After Buga's death, a Jew, named Saedo'ddawlet, by profession a physician, so ingratiated himself with soltân Argûn, that all the affairs of the greatest lords of the empire depended on him. He put many of his own nation and religion

Hejra 686. A.D.1287.

A Jew wazir.

[k] Kondemir, ubi supra, p. 72, art. Ahmed. D'Herb. p. 146. art. Argoun.

[l] Idem ibid. ap.

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into employments; without hurting, however, the interest of the Christians, who were very powerful at court. The Mussulmans were the only people who had no credit there, especially since the death of Saïd; a circumstance which made them murmur continually against both. Argûn, at the solicitation of the Christians, had deprived the Mussulmans of all the places belonging to the judicature, as well as the finances. In short, the two ruling parties carried things so far at last, that they denied them access to the soltân's camp, and in the end forbad them to appear at court.

Death of Argûn.

Argûn, say the historians, had promised the Christians to convert the temple of Mecca into a church; where, instead of worshipping the Almighty God, they would have adored statues and images: but Providence, which always watches over the preservation of Moslemism, and the prayers of good Mohammedans, prevented this great revolution; for Argûn fell sick at that very juncture. All those, throughout the empire, who had an interest in the life of that prince, spared neither prayers nor alms; and the Jew Saedo'ddawlet, who was prime minister, sent express orders into all the provinces, to re-establish whatever had been unseasonably changed; but as the moment of the soltân's death was fixed, neither their prayers nor alms availed any thing. Mean while Argûn grew extremely weak, and was even near his last agony, when he had the mortification to understand that his favourite the Jew was assassinated by his enemies. In fine, the soltân died in the year 690; and the Mussulmans, reckoning his death among the miracles of Mohammed, say, that it restored Moslemism, which had received great dishonour under this prince's reign.

Hejra 690. A.D. 1291.

The Jews massacred.

Some Arab historians relate, that the favourite Jew was put to death on a suspicion of having poisoned his master. Whether this accusation was true or false, it is certain that the enemies of the Jews, who had beheld, with envious eyes, the great authority they were in, and perhaps suffered many injuries at their hands, took this occasion, after the death of the soltân and his minister, to be revenged, by making a cruel massacre of that people.

The Reign of Ganjatû Khân.

Fifth Khân Ganjatû.

THIS prince, named also Kaïktû and Kaykatû, was the son of Abâka Khân, and succeeded Argûn Khân in the empire of the Mungls in Irân. Khondemîr, the Persian

sian historian, remarks, that the true name of this prince was Aykatû or Gaykatû, which, in the Mungl language, signifies *marvellously fine and shining*. He adds, that this prince, notwithstanding his debauches, was the most liberal of all the descendents of Hulâkû; and administered justice with so much circumspection, that, under his reign, no innocent person suffered death. Bahi Bok, or Bashi Bog, was generalissimo of the armies of this prince, under the title of Amîro'l Omara; and Khovajeh Sadro'ddîn Khaled Zenjani was his prime wazîr.

Hejra 694. A.D. 1294. Ganjatû Khân sullied all the good qualities which he was possessed of, by his excessive lewdness. At length several lords of his court, whose daughters he had seized to put in his haram, conspired against him, and some of them were imprisoned on the occasion: but the rest sent privately to Baydû Ogul, son of Targay, and grandson of Hulâkû, then governor of Baghdâd, informing him, that, if he would take the field without delay, he might easily become master of the empire. Baydû, having assembled a body of forces, advanced towards Mogân (L), where Ganjatû waited for him with his army: but this prince, finding himself betrayed and abandoned by his generals, escaped to a certain grotto; whither being followed by those lords whom he had imprisoned, and who had been released by the rest of the conspirators, he was by them assassinated, in the year 694[m].

Generous, but debauched.

The Reign of Baydû Khân.

Sixth. Khân Baydû. THE partizans of Baydû Khân, having slain Ganjatû, saluted him emperor in the city of Hamadân, and afterwards caused him to be proclaimed through all the provinces and cities of the empire. The first step he took, on ascending the throne, was to testify his gratitude to Dogajar, who had been the principal instrument of his advancement, by giving him the chief command of all his troops; at the same time he made his friend Jamâlo'ddîn president of the diwân, or his council. Mean time Gâzân or Kâzân, who ever since the death of his father, possessed the government of Khoraſſân, resolved to revenge the death of Ganjatû; and, for that purpose, consulted with the amîr Newrûz Gâzi; with whom, for some

[m] Khondem. ubi sup. p. 359. art. Gangja.

(L) A great plain in Azerbejân, bounded on the north by the rivers Arras and Kûr, and on the east by the Caspian Sea.

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time paſt, he had been in friendſhip. This amîr was the ſon of Argûn Aga, who had poſſeſſed Khoraſſân as governor, under the deſcendents of Jenghîz Khân, during the ſpace of thirty-nine years. After his father's death, he became an officer in the court of the emperor Argûn Khân, where he continued till ſuch time as that prince put to death Bega, his friend and relation: for being in fear of meeting with the ſame fate, he fled to the moſt eaſtern part of Irân. There, making open profeſſion of Mohammediſm, he waged war upon the enemies of that religion, and gained ſeveral great advantages over them. On this occaſion he had many quarrels with Gâzân, who then governed the province of Khoraſſân: but at length, matters being accommodated between them, the amîr came to kiſs the feet of that prince, and henceforth became his beſt friend.

Gâzân takes arms.

Gâzân having conſulted Newrûz about the manner of wreſting the provinces of Azerbejân and Irâk out of the hands of Baydû, to join them to Khoraſſân, which he already poſſeſſed, that amîr told him boldly, that, if he would embrace Mohammediſm, he would do his utmoſt to put him in poſſeſſion of the empire, and expel his rival. Gâzân, without heſitation, gave himſelf up to the direction of Newrûz; and, ſoon after, made public profeſſion of Moſlemiſm, in the city of Firûzkûh: where a great number of perſons embraced the ſame faith, and engaged in his party. Then he ſet forward with a numerous army, ſhaping his march towards Ray; and, arriving in the neighbourhood of that city, ſent an ambaſſador to Baydû, to demand the murderers of ſoltân Ganjatû: but no regard was paid to his application. He therefore reſolved to make uſe of hoſtilities; and his ſcouts having met with the vanguard of Baydû's army, defeated, and took moſt of them priſoners; while the reſt carried the news of this rupture to their camp [n].

Comes to terms.

Gâzân, after this advantage, having recourſe to artifice, ſent a ſecond ambaſſador to Baydû, to excuſe what had happened, pretending his troops had been attacked without his knowlege. This apology having been accepted of, it was agreed that the two princes ſhould have an interview, each accompanied by a certain number of perſons in his train. They met, and a conference was held; in which, after many compliments on both ſides, Gâzân demanded of Baydû the government of the provinces of Pârs and Irâk,

[n] Khondem. ubi ſup. p. 178. art. Baidu.

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to hold of him by way of homage. The khân, who desired nothing so much as peace, yielded to his request. Then it was agreed, that, the day following, a splendid entertainment should be made, for joy of this accommodation; and that the two princes should visit each other in his tent: but Gâzân, having been informed that a plot was laid to assassinate him on his entering the khân's tent, broke off the conference, and immediately returned with his army into Khoraſſân.

Baydû eludes them.

However, as soon as he arrived in that province, he sent a third ambassador to acquaint Baydû, that the cause of his hasty return, without taking leave of him, was the advice he had received of a revolt among some of his officers; and prayed, at the same time, that he would send his orders into the two provinces above mentioned, for delivering them up to him, pursuant to his grant. Baydû dissembled the chagrin which Gâzân's abrupt departure had given him; and directed Jamâlo'ddîn, his wazîr, to dispatch the orders for putting the officers of that prince in possession of those provinces. Jamâlo'ddîn obeyed; but at the same time, gave secret orders to the contrary; so that Gâzân's officers were obliged to return without accomplishing the business which they were sent about. The amir Newrûz, who managed the affairs of Gâzân, persuaded that prince to send him as deputy to the soltân's court, under pretence of soliciting his interest there; but the real end of his embassy was, to form a party against Baydû, in favour of his master. In effect, he managed his intrigue so well, that, having gained Dogajar, prime minister of Baydû, they agreed together to dethrone this prince, and set up Gâzân in his room.

Is deceived by Newrûz.

Mean time Baydû, who had some suspicion of Newrûz, caused him to be watched, and would not suffer him to stir out of his palace: but that amir assured him, with many oaths, that, if he would permit him to return to Khoraſſân, he would deliver Gâzân, bound, into his hands; and at length he obtained leave. It is reported, that, as soon as Newrûz returned to Khoraſſân, to save his oath, he sent a kettle tied up in a bag to Baydû; thus joining raillery to his knavery; for Gâzân or Kâzân (which word is pronounced indifferently either way) signifies, in the Mungl or Turkish language, *a kettle*. The soltân perceived, by this equivocation, that he had made a false step, in letting the amir Newrûz escape out of his hands: but now there was no remedy. In effect, that lord, after having corrupted the principal officers of Baydû's court,

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went back, to diſpoſe Gâzân to put in execution the deſign which he had long meditated; while Shamſo'ddîn arrived very ſeaſonably to forward the enterprize: for he informed Gâzân, who was then at Sebzwâr, of the diviſions which reigned among the lords of Baydû's court, and the general averſion which the people had to his perſon.

Gâzân, finding, by this intelligence, that things were come to the paſs he wiſhed them at, loſt no time, but ſent Newrûz before, with the van-guard of his army. This commander ſet out immediately, and ravaged the country wherever he came: at the ſame time he made ſuch haſte, that, in one night's ſpace, he reached a camp, which was only two days journey diſtant from that of the ſoltân. As ſoon as Dogajar, and thoſe of his cabal, who had the chief poſts in the khân's army, heard that Newrûz was come, they, like traitors, left their camp, and joined his troops. The unfortunate prince, thus abandoned by his army, had no other reſource but flight; and, thinking he might be ſafe in Nakhſivân or Nakſhivân, in Arrân, he took the road to that city: but Newrûz purſued him ſo eagerly, that he overtook him by the way, and put him to death, after a reign of no more than eight months, in the year 694 °. *Deſerted and ſlain.*

The Reign of Gâzân or Kâzân Khân.

GAZAN Khân, who took the name of Mahmûd, after he turned Mohammedan, was the ſon of Argûn Khân. This prince was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than he received advice that ſome of his kindred had paſſed the Jihûn, in order to diſpute the ſovereignty. He therefore ſent Newrûz againſt them with a potent army; who obliged thoſe princes to return, and leave Gâzân to enjoy in peace a kingdom which he governed with much wiſdom and equity. Indeed, he often ſat perſonally in his court of juſtice, where all his ſubjects might freely make their complaints againſt the greateſt lords and prime miniſters of his court; whom he obliged to make ſatisfaction, according to the wrongs which they had done P *Seventh Khân Gâzân.*

The amîr Newrûz, who had done his maſter ſuch ſignal ſervices in Khoraſſân, was again ſent thither in quality of governor: but he had no ſooner arrived, than ſeveral *puts to death his general Newrûz.*

° Khondem. ubi ſup. p. 178. art. Baidu. P Idem, ubi ſup. p. 363. art. Gâzân. Pocock. Suppl. ad Abu'lf. p. 2.

lords

lords of the country, who ſought that preferment, and envied his advancement, created a ſuſpicion of him at court; this they confirmed, by means of a letter of Newrûz, which they pretended to have intercepted, and ſent to Sadro'ddîn Khâled, preſident of the diwân; by which he ſeemed to enter into combination with the king of Egypt, to make war on Gâzân. As ſoon as the ſoltân was informed of this plot, he, without enquiring farther into the matter, immediately aſſembled his troops, in the year 696; and, ſending them into Khoraſſân, under the conduct of Kutluk Shâh, ordered that general not to return to court till he had puniſhed Newrûz for his rebellion. Gâzân was at this time at Hamadân, where he uſually reſided, although he had been crowned in Tauris, the capital of his empire; becauſe the diſputes which he had in Syria, with the king of Egypt, obliged him to be near that province. Kutluk Shâh, having entered Khoraſſân, preſently conſtrained Newrûz to abandon his government, and retire towards Fâkro'ddîn Mâlek Kûrt, who was his ſon-in-law and creature: but this faithleſs prince, forgetting all his obligations, as well as duties of alliance and hoſpitality, delivered him up, loaded with chains, into the hands of Kutluk Shâh; who put him to death on the ſpot, and ſent his head to Gâzân.

Hejra 696. A.D. 1296.

and treaſurer,

In 697, Gâzân gave the government of Khoraſſân to ſoltân Aljaptu (or Aljaytu), his brother; who had many diſputes with Mâlek Kûrt, on account of the vicinity of their dominions; but at length they came to an agreement, by means of the mufti Shehâbo'ddîn Jâmi. In 699 Gâzân cauſed his wazîr Sadro'ddîn Renjâni, ſurnamed Sadr Jehân, to be proſecuted for miſmanagement in the finances; but, in reality, with a view to ſtrip him of the great wealth which he poſſeſſed. This miniſter having been put to death, his employment was divided between two conſiderable officers of ſtate.

Hejra 699. A.D. 1299.

Invades Syria.

In the courſe of the ſame year, Gâzân entered Syria, and gave battle to Naſſer, ſon of Kalawn, ſoltân of Egypt, near the city of Hems; in which the latter being defeated, eſcaped with no more than ſeven horſemen. After this action, Kutluk Shâh, the Mungl general, took Damaſcus by compoſition, and all the reſt of Syria was ſubdued; but ſhortly after Gâzân had repaſſed the Euphrates, to return to Hamadân, the Syrians cut the throats of all the Mungl garriſons through the country. In 702 Gâzân made a ſecond expedition into Syria, and advanced to Halep; where, having ſpent ſome time in diverting himſelf, he left the

Hejra 702. A.D. 1302.

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the care of recovering that province to Kutluk Shâh, and his other generals. In the mean time, Naſſer, hearing of his return into Syria, was come with a powerful army to Damaſcus; where he waited for the khân, who had already paſſed the Euphrates, in his way back; while his generals, deceived by their ſpies, and knowing nothing of Naſſer's arrival, advanced towards Damaſcus, expecting to ſurpriſe it; when, of a ſudden, their vanguard, having deſcried the army of Naſſer, was obliged to come to an engagement. The battle was long and bloody; but although the amîr Jubân exerted himſelf in a ſurpriſing manner, yet, not being well ſupported by the other Mungl officers, who turned their backs to the enemy, the latter gained a complete victory. *His forces defeated.*

Kutluk Shâh, having been thus vanquiſhed, retired with his forces, of which he had loſt ten thouſand, into Perſia; and, near Kazwîn, joined the ſoltân, who rewarded the valour of the amîr Jubân, and puniſhed with the korrah, or whip, according to the Mungl diſcipline, thoſe who had not done their duty. He afterwards became bedridden; and died, greatly lamented by all his ſubjects, in a place named Shâm Gâzân, that is, the *Damaſcus of Gâzân* [q]. The town was built by this emperor of the Mungls, near Tauris, in imitation of the Syrian Damaſcus, and adorned with a ſtately moſque; where he was interred in the year 703. It was the only ſepulchre of the Mungls which remained ſtanding in the time of Khondemîr, about two hundred years after. He built two other cities, to which he gave the names of Kaherah (or Kayro) and Halep. In the year 702 this prince eſtabliſhed Kaykobâd, ſon of Feramorz, laſt ſoltân of the Seljûks of Rûm, or Anatolia, in the ſovereignty of theſe dominions [r]. Gâzân, according to Al Jannâbi, died on the 13th of the month Shawal, near Hamadân; and thence was conveyed to Al Shâm, near Tauris, after he had reigned eight years and about ten months. Some ſay he was taken off by poiſon. *His death, and acts.*

The Reign of Aljaytu or Aljaptu Khân.

ALJAYTU, or Aljaptu Khân, the brother of Gâzân, relinquiſhed the religion of Jenghîz Khân, and became a Mohammedân; upon which occaſion he aſſumed the name of Gayâtho'ddîn Mohammed Khodâbandeb; which laſt word ſignifies, in Perſian, the *Servant of God.* Hejra 703. A.D. 1303. *Eighth Khân Aljatu.*

[q] Khondemir, ubi ſupra, p. 363. art. Gâzân. p. 773. art. Sham Gâzân.

[r] D'Herbel.

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This prince came from the province of Khoraſſân to Arrajân, where he was crowned emperor; and gave the poſt of amîr al omara, which is that of generaliſſimo, to Kotluk Shâh; dividing the office of prime wazîr between Raſhîdo'ddîn and Saedo'ddîn; but this latter, being ſome time after ſuſpected of committing certain miſdemeanors, was put to death, and his place aſſigned to Ali Shâh. In 704 Aljatu built the city of Soltania, and made it the ſeat of his empire. Several lords of Syria and Egypt came to implore his aſſiſtance againſt Mâlek Al Naſſer, ſon of Kelawn, ſoltân of Egypt. Aljaytu, who ardently deſired to recover Syria, which his anceſtors had poſſeſſed, paſſed the Euphrates in 712, with a great army, and encamped at Ruhabat, near Damaſcus. Several ſkirmiſhes happened between the Syrian and Mungl forces; but they never came to a pitched battle, for the wazîr Raſhîd, by his management, brought about a peace between the two powers; and Aljaytu returned to Soltânia.

Builds Soltania.

Hejra 712. A.D. 1312.

He was ſcarce returned, when he received advice that Kepek Khân and Biſſur Oglan, two princes of Turkeſtân, had paſſed the river Amu, with a deſign to reduce the province of Khoraſſân. Theſe invaders had already defeated Yeſſawl and Ali Kûſhji, the principal commanders in that province, when Aljatu marched againſt, and compelled them to repaſs the Amû with great precipitation. This irruption of the Turks induced the khân to confer the government of Khoraſſân on his ſon Abûſaïd, ſending with him conſiderable troops to defend that province, and the amîr Sunej to direct his affairs. The young prince began his government by puniſhing the two generals before mentioned, who had fled from the Turks; and cauſed ſuch exact juſtice to be obſerved in all reſpects, that he quickly reſtored peace and commerce to that large province.

Repulſes the Turks.

Hejra 716. A.D. 1316.

Not long after this event, Biſſur Oglan, having abandoned the intereſt of Kepek Khân, went over to Abûſâïd; an incident which muſt have occaſioned a war between the neighbouring powers: but the death of Aljatu, which happened in 716, prevented the ſtorm. This prince died at the age of thirty-ſix, after he had reigned twelve years; during which juſtice flouriſhed in his dominions more than under any other of the family of Jenghîz Khân. He had a great zeal for the Mohammedan religion; and honoured the chief profeſſors of it, eſpecially thoſe of the ſect of Ali, in favour of whom he cauſed the names of the twelve imâms to be engraved on his coin [a].

His death.

[a] Khondem. ubi ſupra, p. 88. art. Algiaptu.

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The Reign of Abûsaïd Khân.

ABUSAID, surnamed Behâdr Khân, succeeded his father Aljatu, and was crowned in the city of Soltânia. He immediately confirmed Rashîd and Ali Shâh, his father's wazîrs, in their employments; and appointed Jûban Noyân generalissimo of his forces, who governed the empire as tutor to the young prince, then but twelve years of age. *Ninth Khân Abûsaïd.*

In 718 Ali Shâh so far wrought upon the amîr Jubân by his management and presents, that Rashîo'ddîn was deprived of his office, and some time after put to death. The same year Baysur, a prince of the royal blood of the Mungls, revolted against Abûsaïd; and, advancing from Khorassân into Mazânderân, threatened to march on to Soltânia itself, if the soltân had not sent a potent army, under the conduct of the amîr Hûssayn Kurkhân, to reduce him to obedience. The soltân at this time passed the winter at Karabâgh (in Arrân); where advice came, that Uzbek Khân had crossed over the Great Desert of Kapjâk (or Kipjâk), and made himself master of the city of Dârbend. This intelligence obliged him to depart immediately, with the few troops which he had about him, to go and encamp on the Kûr, in order to hinder the Tatars from passing that river. On the other hand, the amîr Jûbân, who had followed the amîr Hûssayn, to appease the troubles raised in Khorassân, no sooner heard of the irruption of the enemy, than he turned back, to strengthen the army of soltân Abûsaïd. Hejra 718. A.D. 1318. *Amîr Jûbân regent.*

The Tatars had hitherto done nothing but plunder the country, without undertaking any thing of consequence; yet their army was much diminished; so that Shâh Uzbek, finding himself no equal match for the soltân, whose forces were now considerably increased by reinforcements, resolved to break up his camp, and retire; but being closely followed by the amîr Jûbân, he lost a great number of men in his retreat. After this success, while Abûsaïd marched back to Soltânia, the general caused several of the principal officers of the soltân's army to be scourged, according to the Mungl discipline, for not having done their duty in his absence; and then proceeded towards Gorji (or Georgia). The officers, who had received the correction, plotted to revenge that disgrace; and engaged in their party several others, who bore with impatience the severe temper of the amîr Jûbân [t]. *Repulses the Uzbeks.*

[t] Khondem. ap. D'Herb. p. 32, art. Abousaïd.

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His troops revolt.

The malecontents, having formed a pretty considerable army among themselves, followed that general, who had already entered Gorja; and while he left his camp, to go on some enterprize against the enemy, they seized, and pillaged it. After this surprize, which reduced the amîr to great want of every thing, they attacked and defeated him. Jubân stood in need of all his courage, but more of his wit and address, to extricate himself from such imminent danger. However, by making use of several stratagems, he at length escaped; and, by marching many indirect ways, arrived at Soltânia. The khân, not thinking himself safe in his capital, while the rebels continued in arms, assembled a body of troops, and marched against them in person. The revolters, losing all respect for the soltân, gave him battle, but were defeated; and it was on this occasion that Abûsaïd acquired the surname of Bahâdr, or *Brave*, by rushing into the midst of the enemy.

Hejra 719. A.D. 1319.

In 719 the amîr Hûssayn Kurkhân, who was at war with Baysua in Khorassân, obtained so many advantages over him, that he at length constrained him to repass the Amû into Great Bukhâria; where he was slain some time after, in fight with a prince of the race of Jagatay, son of Jenghîz Khân. In 721 the soltân gave his sister Satibeg in marriage to the amîr Jûbân, whose nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence. Next year Timûrtash, son of Jûbân, who was governor of the country of Rûm, or Anatolia, revolted against Abûsaïd, declaring himself sovereign in his own department. The amîr, on this advice, though in the depth of winter, took the field with a powerful army, to bring him back to his duty; a circumstance which the son no sooner understood, than he laid down his arms, and put himself into his father's hands; who carried him as a prisoner to the feet of the soltân. By this conduct Abûsaïd was appeased; and, pardoning the son, in consideration of the father's services, restored him to his government.

Marries Abûsaïd's sister.

Hejra 723. A.D. 1323.

In 723 Ali Shâh the wazîr died; and his post was conferred upon Sayn, lieutenant-general of the amîr Jûbân. Some time after, the amîr gave his daughter, named Baghdâd Khâtûn, one of the greatest beauties in all Asia, in marriage to the amîr Hassan Ilkhâni, son of sheykh Hûssayn: but this marriage proved very fatal to him; for soltân Abûsaïd, having fallen in love with that lady, demanded her in marriage of her father. According to the laws of the Mungls, every private person was obliged to repudiate his wife, when the khân chose to espouse

Disobliges him.

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pouſe her. But the amîr Jubân never would conſent to his daughter's divorce; and even uttered diſreſpectful words againſt this young prince, who required nothing contrary to the laws, or his own duty [u].

Abûſaïd at that time diſſembled the reſentment which he conceived at this refuſal; while the amîr Jubân, thinking to cure his paſſion by abſence, ſent his ſon-in-law and daughter to Karabâgh, and carried the ſoltân, againſt his inclination, to Baghdâd, there to paſs the winter: but Abûſaïd's love, far from abating, encreaſed in conſequence of this ſeparation. Mean time the wazîr Sayn inflamed the averſion of the prince againſt Jubân, by ſeveral falſe reports which he framed, relating to the conduct of the amîr and his ſons. As theſe practices of the wazîr came to the knowlege of Damaſhk Khowajeh or Khoja, ſon of the accuſed, one of the chief officers of the ſoltân's houſhold, and who had frequent acceſs to him, he took care to ſend his father an account of them. On this occaſion the amîr Jubân took a very bold ſtep; for, under pretence of going to quell ſome inſurrections in Khoraſſân, he departed haſtily from Baghdâd, and went to Soltânia, carrying with him the wazîr Sayn, as a hoſtage for his ſon, whom he had left at court. *Out of favour.*

This ſon aſſumed the direction of all affairs: for Jubân, who had the entire management of them, communicated them to none but him. At length Damaſhk, abuſing his father's authority, diſpoſed ſo abſolutely of all things, that Abûſaïd had little left beſides the name of ſoltân. This prince, weary of being always under guardianſhip, diſcovered his diſſatisfaction to ſome of his confidents; and they informed him that Damaſhk carried on an intrigue with one of the wives of the late ſoltân Aljaytû, his father. On this advice, the prince ordered Damaſhk to be watched, to diſcover the truth; and in a ſhort time was himſelf witneſs of an aſſignation made by the two lovers. The ſoltân, wounded in his honour, as well as authority, by this inſolent miniſter, would readily have ſigned the order for his death; but as none of his domeſtics durſt undertake ſo dangerous a taſk, he found there was a neceſſity of leaving things to accident; which ſoon turned out to his wiſhes. At this very juncture ſome heads of men, who had revolted in the provinces, having been brought to the ſoltân's palace, a report was ſpread that they were the heads of the amîr Jubân and his adherents, *His ſon Damaſhk put to death.* Hejra 727. A.D. 1326.

[u] Khondem. ubi ſupra, p. 32. art. Abouſaïd.

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which had been sent from Khoraſſân. This rumour so intimidated Damaſhk; that, without enquiring into the truth of the matter, he left the palace in the night, with only ten men, and fled. Abûſaïd ſent after him Meſſ Khowajeh, who overtook, and cut off his head, which he brought to the ſoltân.

Raiſes an army.

This prince, delivered from the ſon, propoſed ſoon alſo to get rid of the father: for this purpoſe he ſent ſtrict orders to the officers of Khoraſſân to ſeize the perſon of Jubân; and ſent couriers to thoſe of other provinces, to put to death all who could be found, either of his relations or dependents: but as thoſe officers lived in good underſtanding with that general, inſtead of executing the ſoltân's mandate, they immediately gave him notice of it. Upon this intelligence he loſt no time; for, making uſe of the favour and credit of his friends, he raiſed an army of ſeventy thouſand horſe, with which he moved towards Kâſbîn; whither the ſoltân was advanced, with all the forces which he was able to aſſemble. Jûbân, before he left Khoraſſân, cauſed the wazîr Sayn to be ſlain, in revenge, for the death of his ſon; and Abûſaïd appointed for wazîr Gayâtho'ddîn Mohammed, a perſon of learning, ſon of Raſhido'ddîn, whom the amîr had alſo put to death.

His troops deſert.

Mean while the amîr Jubân marched forward, with deſign to make himſelf maſter of the court, and the perſon of the ſoltân. When he arrived at Semnân, in Kumes, he made a viſit to Rocno'ddîn Alao'ddawlet, whoſe tomb is ſtill reſpected there, by the Mohammedans, for his great ſanctity; and after ſome conferences with him, promiſed, on oath, to follow ſtrictly his advice in every thing; propoſing, as a teſtimony of his ſincerity, that the ſheykh ſhould go from him to the ſoltân, to demand the murderers of his ſon, and the conditions of a laſting peace. Abûſaïd received the ſheykh with reſpect, and did him many honours; but refuſed either to deliver up the aſſaſſins, or even to treat with Jubân. The amîr, enraged at this refuſal, no longer kept any meaſures with the ſoltân; but advancing, encamped within one day's march of his ordû, or imperial camp, in a place named Kuha. He did not, however, continue long in that poſt; for ſeveral of his principal officers, who entirely owed their fortunes to him, abandoned him, with thirty thouſand horſe, and went over to their ſovereign.

He retreats.

As the amîr Jubân, after ſuch an inſtance of inconſtancy in ſo conſiderable a part of his troops, could not prudently

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prudently confide in the rest of them, he quitted his camp, and took the road of the desert of Nubendijân, with design to retire into Khoraſſân. This long and difficult march, joined to a farther desertion of his officers, so weakened his army, that being no longer able to support his party in that province, he resolved to repair to Turkestân; a country where there were several great princes, who often made incursions into the dominions of Abûsâid. This resolution would probably have proved very advantageous to the amîr, had he pursued it; but his evil destiny so ordered it, that when he came to the river Morgâb, he suddenly changed his mind, and turned back, to throw himself into the arms of Gayâtho'ddîn, surnamed Mâlek Kûrt, whom he had bred up from his youth, and advanced to the principal posts in the armies of Asia.

Betrayed and slain by Mâlek Kurt.

Mâlek Kûrt proved not more faithful to him than the rest: for having, at the same time, received an express from the soltân, with dispatches full of great offers and promises, if he would send him Jubân's head, the first message he received from this ungrateful officer was by the executioner. The amîr could never obtain so much as the favour to see him; so that finding he must die, he required three things of him. First, that as soon as his head was severed from his body, he should send one of his fingers, which was double at the end, to the camp of Abûsâid. Secondly, that he would cause his body to be sent to Medina, there to be buried in a chapel which had been built at his expence. And thirdly, that he would convey his son Jalayr, whom he had by Satîbeg, to the court of Soltan Abûsaid his uncle. These three requests being granted him, the executioner cut off his head; which Mâlek Kurt sent immediately to the soltan; and set out soon after in person, to receive the reward of his perfidy: but he was much surprised, when he understood, on the road, that sheykh Hassan had divorced his wife, the daughter of Jûban, and sent her into the soltân's harâm. What still more encreased his chagrin was, that sheykh Hassan, by this submission to the desires of Abûsaid, had obtained the employment which he expected at court; and that Bâghdâd Khâtûn had gained an ascendant over the mind of the prince *.

This disagreeable intelligence made him resolve, before he proceeded any farther, to send his orders into Khoraſſân,

* Kondam. ubi sup. p. 33. art. Abûsaid.

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to put to death Jalayr, son of the amîr Jûban; whose life he had preserved, at the request of his father, though contrary to the soltân's orders. After this second execution, he continued his route towards Karabâgh, where Abûsaid then resided; but, through the great credit which Bâghdâd Khâtûn, who was married, in a solemn manner, by the soltân, possessed at court, he received but a very cold reception; and was considered rather as the murderer of the soltâna's father, than a person who had rendered a great piece of service to Abûsaid. The corps of Jubân and his son were brought from Khorassân to Awsân; where the soltân ordered them to be put into the hands of the pilgrims of Mecca, to be buried at Medîna. To defray this expence, he caused forty thousand dinars to be paid to them; and gave to Mâlek Kurt no other reward, than the permission of returning to his own country. With regard to the amîr Jûban, we shall only observe farther, that he had always been esteemed as a good man, a lover of justice, and a great zealot for his religion.

Hejra, 732. A.D. 1331. *Sheykh Hassân promoted.*

In 732, some persons envying the good fortune of sheykh Hassan, and uneasy at the great power which the soltâna had engrossed, began to whisper, that this princess still carried on a secret intimacy with her first husband. As these reports came, at length, to the soltân's ears, he banished sheykh Hassan to the castle of Kamakh, and treated his new wife with great coldness: but the falsity of those insinuations having been discovered, and the authors of such black calumny punished, Abûsaid restored the soltâna and the sheykh to his favour; and even conferred on the latter the government of part of Rûm, or Asia Minor, which, at that time, belonged to his dominions.

Hejra, 736. A.D. 1335. *Uzbeck Khân's invasion.*

In 736, Shâh Uzbek made a second irruption into the territories subject to soltân Abûsaid; who, next year, marched to fight his enemy: but he had scarce arrived in the province of Shîrwân, when the heat and malignity of the air threw him into a dangerous sickness: for this, his physicians prescribed bathing; but one day, while he was in the bath, he fell into a swoon, and in a few days expired. His body was transported to Soltânia, with a pomp worthy of so great a monarch, and inhumed in the sepulchre of his ancestors. Arbah Khân, his successor, caused the soltâna to be put to death, who was accused of being concerned in the death of Abûsaid; and had been convicted of corresponding with Shâh Uzbek [x].

[x] Khondem. ubi sup. p. 34.

SECT.

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SECT. IV.

Dynaſties which ſprung up on the Death of Abûſaid Khan.

ON the death of Abûſaïd, in 736, the empire of the Mungls in Irân, or Perſia at large, became diſmembered: for after him they acknowleged no ſingle monarch of the race of Jenghîz Khân; but diſperſed themſelves in the ſeveral provinces, which were plundered by the frequent wars which the lords waged among themſelves, every one aiming at the ſovereignty. Nor did theſe diſorders ceaſe till the time of Timûr Beg, who, after the conqueſt of the countries to the north of the Jihûn, or Amû, turned his arms againſt thoſe to the ſouth of that river; and, in a ſhort time, brought all the contending princes of Irân under his obedience. *Confuſion in Irân, by petty dynaſties.*

Among the petty dynaſties which, during this interval of diſtraction, ſprung up in that great region, hiſtorians mention two Mungl ſovereignties which roſe out of the ruins of their empire, immediately on the death of Abûſaïd. The firſt, called Il Khânian, its princes being deſcended, in a direct line, from Hulâkû Khân, ſurnamed Il Khân. The ſecond, named Jûbânian, or Chûbânian, as being founded by the family of Jubân, or Chûban. The firſt had four princes, who reigned from the year 738 to 813, the ſpace of ſeventy-ſix years. The ſecond had but two, who held the ſceptre only twenty years, that is, from 738, two years after the death of Abûſaïd, to 758; though ſome make their dominion end two years ſooner. The Il Khânians reigned in Arabian Irâk and Azerbejân; the Jûbanians in this latter province, and the Perſian Irâk: but as the affairs of theſe two dynaſties are neither important, intereſting, nor well diſtinguiſhed, we ſhall paſs them over, and proceed to matters of greater conſequence.

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CHAP. XVII.

The History of Timûr Bek, commonly called Tamerlan, and his Successors.

SECT. I.

The Transactions preceding Timûr's Reign.

BEFORE we enter directly upon the reign of Timûr Bek, it will be proper to recount some transactions which preceded it, and, in effect, prepared the way to his future grandeur (A).

(A) Among the many oriental authors who have written the life of this great prince, two are particularly famous. The first is the mûlla Sharifo'ddîn Ali, a native of Yezd, in Pârs, or Proper Persia; who wrote in Persian, at the command of Ibrahîm Soltân, son of Shâh Rukh, son of Timûr, in the year 1424, nineteen years after the death of that conqueror. Not only Khondemîr, but all other historians, agree that he is the most valuable of all those who have written on the subject, on account both of the delicacy of his style, and the precision of his work. It was compiled from a journal, or memoirs, wherein the minutest actions and discourses of Timûr on all occasions were penned down by Tatar and Persian secretaries, who always attended him for that purpose. To these were added reports of facts, by several officers and great lords who were upon the spot; after they had been verified, in the presence of Timur, by other credible witnesses, whom he examined himself.

The second author is Ahmed Ebn Arabshâh, a Syrian, who wrote in Arabic; and thirty-five years after the death of Timûr, published his history, which is reckoned by Golius to comprise all the elegance of that language: but this author lived at too great a distance to be acquainted with the actions of that prince so well as the former; besides, being prejudiced against Timûr, like several other Turkish and Arab historians, for having conquered their countries, he takes all occasions to vilify and blacken his character. These writers pretend he was originally a shepherd, who raised his fortune by robbing on the highway: they have changed his name from Timûr Bek, or Beg, to Timûr Lenk, which signifies *lame*, pretending that he was lamed by an arrow, with which he was shot by a farmer, whose sheep he was stealing; and from hence Europeans have formed the name of Tamerlain, or Tambourlan.

After

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After the death of Kâzân Khân, in 747, the princes of the empire assumed the privilege of electing khâns at pleasure; leaving them little more than the bare title, while they themselves usurped all the authority. The first of those princes was amîr Kazagân; who, in the administration of affairs, acquitted himself with a conduct which deserves to be immortalized in history. Hejra, 747. A.D. 1346.

Confusion in Jagatay.

After the death of Abûsaid Khân, eighth successor of Hulâkû in Irân, or Persia at large, who died in 1335, that country fell into confusion for want of a successor of the race of Jenghîz Khân to succeed in his dominions, which the princes and governors divided among themselves; and as the Turks, Moguls, and Tatars had no longer the sovereign power in Khoraſsân, Mâlek Hussayn, surnamed Moazo'ddîn, son of Mâlek Kayazo'ddîn, prince of Herât, capital of that country, took advantage of the conjuncture to extend his authority. Massûd, surnamed Vejedîn, king of the Serbedâls, who, on the death of Abûsaid, had formed a small kingdom at Sebzwâr, a strong city towards Nishâbûr, in order to check this rival, marched from that fortress in 743 (1342). The armies met near Zâve, between both cities; and that of Mâlek Hussayn was defeated: but this prince, rallying three hundred horse, attacked the Serbedâls while they were plundering his camp, killed their general, made a great slaughter, and took all their camp, the young king escaping by flight [y]. In consequence of this victory, Mâlek Hussayn assumed sovereign authority; and knowing that Kâzân's tyranny had thrown Jagatay into confusion, made incursions as far as the borders of Andekûd and Shebûrgân, near Bâlk, in Khoraſsân. Mîr Kazagân, informed of these hostilities, passed the Jihûn, or Amû, with the grand khân and princes of the empire, and marched towards Herât; in the neighbourhood of which Mâlek Hussayn, with four thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, expected him: but after an obstinate battle, his troops were defeated, and he fled into the city, attended only with his guards. Next day the Jagatays besieged the place, which held out vigorously forty days; at the expiration of which, Hussayn, with the consent of his lords, proposed, in case Mîr Kazagân would withdraw his forces, to go next year, and implore pardon of the grand khân and him. Mîr Kazagân, who was of a merciful temper, consented to those terms, and returned to Great Bukhâria in 752 [z].

Mâlek Hussayn.

Opposed by Kazagân.

[y] Hist. Tim. Bek, lib. i. cap. 5. [z] Ibid. p. 6—11.

Mean

Hejra 752. A.D. 1351. Mean while the commanders of Mâlek Huſſayn's army declared for his brother Mâlek Baker; but he was pardoned next year by the clemency of Mîr Kazagân; who now having ſent his ſon Mîrza Abd'allah to conquer Karazm, which he ſubdued accordingly, after paſſing the ſpring, as uſual, at Karânver, went to ſpend the ſummer and autumn at the city of Munek, for the conveniency of hunting. One day, parting unarmed from Sâli Saray with only fifteen perſons, he croſſed the Jihûn, with deſign to hunt in the country of Arhenk; but while he was employed in the chace, Kotluk Timûr, his ſon-in-law, in revenge for a ſuppoſed affront, fell on him with a company of robbers, and ſlew this great prince; but ſome of his officers, purſuing the aſſaſſin, overtook and killed him, then carried back the body of Mîr Kazagân, to Sâli Saray in 759. Upon his death all the princes paid homage to his ſon the mîrza Abdo'llah, who immediately confirmed Beyan Kûli in the dignity of khân. After which confirmation, contrary to the advice of the princes, he removed to Samarkand with the grand khân, whom he cauſed to be aſſaſſinated, to ſecure poſſeſſion of the empreſs, with whom he had fallen in love, placing on the throne Timûr Shâh Aglen, ſon of Biſun (or Yaſun) Timûr Khân.

who is ſlain.

Hejra 759. A.D. 1357.

Timûr Shâh Khân. Timûr Shâh Khân did not long enjoy his dignity; for, the princes offended at Abdo'llah's conduct, Beyan Seldû raiſed an army at Hiſſar, and being joined at Keſh by Haji Berlâs, Timûr Bek's uncle, marched to Samarkand, where Abdo'llah being routed, and his brothers taken, they were both put to death, together with the khân whom he had made. The two princes, who were at that time in great reputation and authority, ſubdued the country, and aſſumed the reins of government. Beyan Seldûz was of a ſocial diſpoſition; but as he loved wine to exceſs, and ſeldom paſſed eight days without a debauch of that kind, his intemperance occaſioned great confuſion in his kingdom, and made the princes declare themſelves ſovereigns, ſome through ambition, and others in their own defence [s].

Empire divided. The city of Kaſh, or Keſh, with its dependencies, remained in the poſſeſſion of the princes Timûr and Haji Berlâs. The country of Khojend was in the hands of prince Bayezîd Jalayr; Mîr Huſſayn, ſon of Muſella, ſon of Mîr Kazagân, ſeized Kabul, and ſeveral other lordſhips, where

[s] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 11—15.

he

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he maintained his independency a considerable time; Olaja Boga Seldûs became sovereign of Bâlkh; and Mehemed Koja Aperdî, prince of the Naymâns, took possession of Shebûrgân; the kings of Badâgshân fortified themselves in their mountains, while Key Khosrû and Olaja Itû Aperdî seized Katlân and Arhenk; lastly Kefer Yesûri, prince of the tribes of Serpol and Takun, assumed the title of king. All these princes were continually at war among themselves; and some were slain in battle, particularly Mehemed Koja Aperdi, in a rash attack upon Mâlek Hussayn, prince of Herât. A.D. 1357.

Togluk Timûr Khân, prince of Jetah, son of Aymel Koja, son of Dava Khân, to whom the crown of this country belonged, taking advantage of the confusion which at this time reigned, invaded it with a great army, by way of Tâshkunt and Khojend; the prince of which, Bayezîd Jalayr, judged it prudent to join them. Haji Berlâs, after having raised troops at Kash and Kârshi, retired into Khorassân. Prince Timûr Bek, who was but twenty-five years old, and had just lost his father Tragay, concluded, that the only way for him to save his patrimony, and serve his country, was to give way to necessity, and submit to the grand khân. This submission was so acceptable to Togluk Timûr's commanders, who had entered Great Bukhâria, that they conferred on him the command of a toman, or a body of ten thousand men, which had belonged to his great ancestor Karashar Noyân, and the principality of Kash, or Kesh, with its dependencies. Soon after, a dissension arising between these commanders, they marched out of the country to attend their master[b]. *Togluk Timûr Khân.*

Mean while amîr Hussayn, intending to make war on Beyân Seldûz, requested succours of Timûr Bek, Kesûre Yesûri, and Bayezîd. These princes agreed to assist him; and while the two first went to join him, the third was sent to excuse this step to Togluk Timûr Khân; but finding when he came to Kojend, that the khân was returned home, he proceeded no farther. The other two princes having joined amîr Hussayn, they all marched to Hissar, or the fortress of Shaduman; and Beyân Seldûz not being in a condition to oppose them, fled to Badâgshân, whither they pursued him. These hostilities obliged the king, Shâh Bahao'ddîn, to fly also, by which means the whole country came into the hands of amîr Hussayn, who afterwards put to death Key Kobâd, brother of Key Kosrû, prince *Timûr assists Hussayn against other princes.*

[b] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 15—22. cap. 3 & 4.

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of Katlân. The war being thus finiſhed, Timûr Bek and Keſer Yeſûri returned home; but were not there long before amîr Huſſayn ſent again to ſolicit their aſſiſtance againſt Togluk Seldûz, who had broken the peace by ſeveral acts of hoſtility. The princes haſtened to his aſſiſtance; but the enemy fled on the news of their approach.

Timûr Bek, being on his way back, was informed that his uncle Haji Berlâs was on his return to Kaſh, and had joined Mîr Bayezîd, with a deſign to attack Kefer Yeſûri. On this intelligence he joined prince Keſer with his troops, and advanced towards that city, and Haji Berlâs marched thither alſo. The two armies meeting, a bloody battle was fought, in which Timûr gained the victory, and obliged his uncle to fly to Bayezîd at Samarkand. The two princes reſolved to follow him thither; but, in the way, all the troops of Kaſh, by what motive is unknown, abandoned Timûr, and went over to Haji Berlâs. This deſertion raiſed a jealouſy in Keſer Yeſûri, which he diſcovering both by his words and behaviour, Timûr returned to his own country, where his uncle gave him a kind reception, and conducted him to Mîr Bayezîd.

Eſcapes a plot.

Theſe chiefs reſolving to renew the war againſt Keſer, Timûr, who longed for an occaſion to revenge the affront, readily joined with them, and marched at the head of the van-guard. He met the enemy beyond the mountain of Kaſh, and after an obſtinate engagement, obliged them to fly. This victory ſecured Bayezîd on the throne, and Haji Berlâs in poſſeſſion of his territories: yet theſe two princes held a conſultation next day to the diſadvantage of Timûr; who diſcovering it in the council, pretended his noſe bled, and went out; then, returning home, he mounted his horſe, and retired with his arms into the field, by which means he avoided the ſnare. As ſoon as his uncle heard of his departure, he ſent to deſire him to raiſe the troops of the deſert, and return to his aſſiſtance againſt two princes who threatened them with war. Timûr complied with his requeſt, and defeated Ali Gurguri near Termed, which he entered [c].

A.D. 1360. In the mean time Togluk Timûr Khân, of Jetah, or the Getes, renewing his deſign of conquering Great Bukhâria, in 762 marched on that ſide with a great army. As ſoon as he arrived at Kojend, Mîr Bayezîd, prince of that place, paid him his reſpects; Beyân Seldûz went to meet him as far as Samarkand, and Haji Berlâs, at this time,

Togluk Timûr Khân promotes Timûr;

[c] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 22—28. cap. 5.

made

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made no ſcruple to wait on him; but the khân having A D. 1360.
ſeized and killed Mîr Bayezîd, Berlâs, for fear of the like treatment, fled with a few troops, and croſſed the Jihûn, or Amû. There, being overtaken by the regiment of Kaſhmîr, a bloody battle was fought, in which Shugam Berlâs was killed, yet Haji Berlas, with his brother Idekû, eſcaped, only to be ſlain by robbers at the village of Koraſh (dependent on Sebzwâr), which, on the reduction of Khoraſſân ſoon after, Togluk Timûr Khân gave to Timûr Bek, who ſlew the murderers of his uncle. The khân likewiſe confirmed him in the ſovereignty of Kaſh, and of a toman which deſcended to him by the death of Haji Berlâs.

Togluk Timûr Khân afterwards marched againſt amîr Huſſayn, who waited for him at the river Vâkeſh, but Key Koſrû, prince of Katlân (whoſe brother, Key Kobâd, Huſſayn had put to death), going over to the Getes, that prince fled, and was purſued acroſs the Jihûn as far as Kondoz. The khân, after this tranſaction, returning to Samarkand, murdered Beyân Seldûz, ſuſpecting him of harbouring inclinations to revolt; but behaved kindly to thoſe whom he judged to be ſincerely in his intereſt; and having brought the empire of Jagatay to ſubmit to his authority, gave the government of the conquered countries to his ſon Elias Koja Aglen. Several lords and great officers were ordered to attend him, under the command of Bikîjek, and Timûr had the principal adminiſtration of affairs under the prince; afterwards Togluk Timûr Khân returned to his capital [d].

who joins Huſſayn.

Prince Timûr obſerving that Bikîjek's proceedings, in contempt of his maſter's authority, would throw things into confuſion, withdrew from court, and repaired to amîr Huſſayn in the deſert of Kivak. The two malecontent princes went to Tekil, the governor of Kivak; but he having a deſign to ſeize them, they left him. Tekil purſued them with a thouſand horſe; but though they had only ſixty men, they made ſo brave a ſtand, that when they had but ſeven men left, the enemy were reduced to fifty, who ſtill continued the fight, and would have twice ſlain Huſſayn but for Timûr. At length, the firſt having diſmounted Tekil, the latter diſpatched him with a pike, whereupon the battle ceaſed. After this action, the two princes thinking it ſafer to part, Timûr croſſed the deſert with his wife Turkhân Aga, Huſſayn's

[d] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 28—31. cap. 6.

ſiſter,

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A.D. 1362. sister, and came to Jurfey, where he was surrounded by the Turkmâns, and would have been in a dangerous situation, if he had not been known by one of them, who protected, and put him in a condition to join his brother-in-law at a place called Mahmûdi, in the desert.

Taken prisoner; Meantime Ali Bey, having advice of their arrival, surprised and carried them prisoners to Makhân, where he detained them for two months, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his brother Mohammed, from Thûs, or Mashhâd; he also seized the presents which Mohammed sent them, and *released again.* dismissed them with one lean horse and an old camel. In this distress Mobarek Shâh, prince of Sanjer, went in quest of them with several fine horses and other necessaries, which enabled them to pursue their design of returning privately into Great Bukhâria. Timûr being known at Samarkand, retired to Kesh, and thence to Kandahâr: from hence, at the request of the prince of Sistân, or Sejestân, they marched to his assistance with a thousand horse. In their return they were intercepted by some people of the country, in which conflict Timûr was wounded in the hand (M). At length, arriving at Arsif near Bakalân, they were joined by several princes and bodies of men. Others hearing of the success of their affairs, broke with the Getes, and went to meet them in the country of Bâlk. There they were opposed by Abusaïd, son of Tayfû, Mengheli Buga Seldûz, and Hayder Andekûdi, three princes, their enemies, with six thousand men. The battle, which lasted from morning till night, was renewed next morning; and although the troops of the two princes were much inferior in number, yet, by Timûr's valour, they gained the victory.

Enters Great Bukhâria. Of two thousand horse which remained, Timûr took one half; and passing the Jihûn at Termed, sent scouts to Kolûga, or *the Iron Gate*; but these falling asleep, were surprised by Ajûni, brother of Bikîjek; so that while Timûr thought himself secure, both the scouts and enemy arrived at his camp. The soldiers not having time to draw up in order, were under a necessity of repassing the river, which they did in barks, while Timûr made a stand in an isle to favour their design. The two parties remained in sight of each other for thirty days; after which

(M) This wound seems to have lamed him; and hence possibly the Turkish historians make him lame of a leg. This he revenged afterwards at Sistân, by putting to death the author of it.

Timûr,

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Timûr, having burnt the barks, joined Mîr Huſſayn at Kulm, on the borders of Bâlk. From thence they marched towards Badagſhân; and having aſſembled troops, went and encamped near Ghûlek. Here they learned that a new army of Getes was arrived in Great Bukhâria, and that ſeveral princes were encamped between Jâla and the bridge of Senghîn, with twenty thouſand men. In conſequence of theſe tidings ſix thouſand men deſerted the princes; yet Timûr, not diſmayed, marched with two thouſand men, to diſpute the paſſage of the bridge [c].

Defeats the Getes.

This prince, after having maintained the battle from morning till night, finding himſelf not ſtrong enough to execute his deſign, had recourſe to policy. He left five hundred men at the foot of the bridge; and, ſwimming over the Jihûn with the reſt, in the night, went and poſted himſelf on the hills. Next morning the enemy, perceiving, by the tracts of horſes, that troops had paſſed the river, refrained from fighting that day. When night came, Timûr ordered his men to approach them, and light fires on the tops of the hills. This expedient ſtruck the Getes with ſuch terror, imagining themſelves ſurrounded with a numerous army, that they fled in diſorder; but not towards the bridge, becauſe they believed the men poſted there to be much more numerous than they were. Mean while, Timûr, perceiving the effect of his ſtratagem, came down from the mountains; and, being joined by Huſſayn, made a great ſlaughter of the enemy. This defeat gained great reputation to Timûr, who recovered Kaſh by another ſtratagem.

Hejra 765. A.D. 1363.

About this time Elias Koja, who was encamped at Taſh Arighi, four leagues from Kaſh, received advice of the death of his father Togluk Timûr Khân. But Timûr, whoſe troops were much increaſed ſince the late victory, propoſed to pay him a viſit before his departure, though his army was greatly inferior to that of the enemy. He encouraged them by declaring, that, in his ſleep, a voice pronounced, "Fear nothing: for the moſt high God will graciouſly give thee the victory." With this aſſurance, they marched againſt the Getes in two bodies; Huſſayn commanded the right wing, and Timûr conducted the left. The new emperor likewiſe divided his army into two bodies: and, putting himſelf at the head of the left wing, gave the conduct of the right to Mîr Tokatmûr and prince Bikîjek. The two armies being at length

Another overthrow with great ſlaughter.

[c] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 37—44. cap. 8.

engaged,

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engaged, Timûr broke through the enemy with such fury, that he threw the right wing into disorder, and drove the first line upon the second. Having put them to flight with great slaughter, he advanced to attack Bikîjek and Tokatmûr in the rear, whom Hussayn had engaged in front: so that, notwithstanding the number of their troops, and bravery of their generals, they were compelled to follow their companions. Tokatmûr and several other generals were killed; and Bikîjek, with Elias Koja Khân himself, besides other great commanders, taken: but these two being known by some of Timûr's soldiers, they generously gave them their horses, and let them escape. Timûr pursued the enemy to the river Yam, where he made a great slaughter; then crossing the Sihûn (or Sîr), at Kojend, in pursuit of the khân, encamped at Tâshkunt.

New khân elected.

The two princes, observing that the rest, who had joined them against the Getes, paid them no great deference, and aimed at being independent, found the only way to prevent things running into confusion, was to elect a grand khân; and, in a general assembly, proposed Kabul Shâh Aglen; who was accordingly chosen at Samarkand. Then, causing him to ascend the throne, they presented him with the royal cap, after the custom of the Turkish kings, and bowed nine times before him[f].

A.D. 1364.

After the election of Kabul Khân, Timûr made a great feast; after which, he proposed to deliver out of prison amîr Hamid, lieutenant-general of the Getes, whose father had been his friend, and prince Eskânder his companion: Hussayn consented, although the latter was his enemy. When those, who assisted at the assembly, were returned home, Timûr sent two amîrs to release the prisoners: but their keepers, seeing the amirs at a distance, and imagining they came to put Hamid to death, to save them the trouble, knocked him down, and cut off his head. This mistake proved fatal also to Eskânder: for amîr Hussayn sent to demand that prince, who was sent to him, and put to death.

Timûr's gratitude.

New invasion of the Getes.

Things seemed now to be in a settled condition; when, in the beginning of next spring, news came that the Getes were marching towards Great Bukhâria. The princes, having passed the Sihûn at Kojend, met the enemy at Ezam, between Tâshkunt and Chinaz: the amîr Hussayn commanded the right wing, and Timûr the left. The Getes were headed by the emperor Elias Koja himself; and, though they were by far inferior in number to the troops

[f] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 44—53. cap. 9, 10, 11.

of

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of the princes, yet they overcame them (if we may believe the hiſtorian,) by help of the ſtone Jedi, which, ſteeped in water at a certain hour, has power to produce tempeſts, rain, and thunder. A violent tempeſt certainly happened, and to this the Getes, who were better ſheltered than their enemies, owed the victory.

After the ſtorm, the princes attacked them again; but the Getes, who had covered themſelves and horſes with felts, brought for the purpoſe, received them with ſuch vigour, that their forces were obliged to fly. Timûr at length rallied them, and a terrible carnage enſued: every man muſt have been ſlain, had not Shem Kûn Noyân been killed by prince Yaku Berlâs, as he was riſing to ſtrike Timûr with his ſabre. As ſoon as Elias Koja Khân heard that his general was dead, he retreated with his troops, who were purſued by Timûr. Mean while the left wing of the Getes preſſed on the right wing, even to the guards of amîr Huſſayn. The fight was bloody, and the enemy prevailing, when Timûr advanced, and put Shamſo'ddîn, one of the generals, to flight. This incident gave Huſſayn an opportunity to rally his troops; and he might have obtained the victory, had he followed Timûr's advice to advance; but, whether through envy or preſumption, he twice abuſed the meſſenger ſent, for that purpoſe, by Timûr; who, ſeeing ſo fair an opportunity loſt, through Huſſayn's caprice gave over the attack, and reſolved to be revenged. When the other was recovered from his ill humour, he ſent ſeveral meſſages to Timûr, to intreat him to come and ſee him; but this prince, weary of his duplicity, refuſed to go.

Timûr defeated.

Next morning the battle was renewed, and, the Getes being ſoon put to flight, Timûr purſued them. In the way, his men perceiving the ſtandard of prince Shamſo'ddîn, who was ſeparated from the reſt, with a great number of troops, ſtopped the purſuit, and turned towards the white ſtandard: the enemy likewiſe, perceiving them, rallied, and returned to the charge. The fight was bloody; and at length Timûr's forces were defeated: a great number periſhed in the marſhes; many were killed in the purſuit; and more than ten thouſand men were ſlain in the whole. This famous battle, called that of Lay, or *The ſlough*, was fought in Ramadân, in 776. After this great defeat, Huſſayn, and the other princes, croſſed the Jihûn, and returned to Sheberto; but Timûr remained in the country, with a reſolution to oppoſe the

Hejra 766. A.D. 1364.

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A.D.1365. Getes. However, finding his endeavours vain, he repaired to Balk, where he took great pains to increase his forces [s].

Samarkand besieged. Mean while the Getes laid siege to Samarkand, at that time without a citadel. The inhabitants defended themselves a long time very bravely; but, provisions at length beginning to fail, they must have surrendered, had not the loss of three-fourths of the enemy's horses, by a mortality, obliged them to retire. The principal men of the city hereupon assumed a superiority over the rest, and caused great disorders in the place. On this advice, Timûr and Hussayn, having renewed their friendship more strongly than before, agreed to be at Samarkand in the beginning of spring; where they executed all the Serbedâls who had usurped the authority, excepting Mulâna Zâde (N), whom Timûr saved through a motive of piety.

Hussayn's avarice. It was now that Hussayn, seeing all obstacles removed, discovered his insatiable avarice, and meanness of spirit. Although Timûr had as much, or a greater, share in the war, he even taxed his domestics. He exacted great sums of the princes who had lost all in the wars; and, although he saw his sister's jewels among the money which Timûr lent them to make up the demand, he did not hesitate to receive them. Indeed, when Timûr gave his horses for three hundred dinârs, or gold ducats, which remained unpaid, he would not take them; but waited till Timûr discharged that debt another way.

Confederacy against him. The lords, incensed at this conduct of Hussayn, resolved to break off the union between him and Timûr: to whom, after humbling the other, they proposed to give the absolute power; as he was of a mild temper, generous soul, and, in short, possessed of every virtue necessary to form a great prince. In order to effect this purpose, they wrote Hussayn, that Timûr, offended with the grand khân and him, was raising forces to attack him. Hussayn, on this information, sent to desire Timûr would come to Samarkand, to confront his accusers. Timûr immediately went thither, and his accusers fled to Kojend: but, finding Hussayn still harboured his suspicion, and knowing his temper, he one day opened his heart to the princes, declaring his intention to remedy the evil. Shîr Bahrâm, and Bahrâm Jalayr, on this occasion took off the mask;

[s] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 53—63. cap. 11, 12.

(N) They were all, or most of them, ecclesiastics, and this Mulâna the chief of them.

declaring

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declaring their hatred, and design of all the princes to break with Hussayn: they, accordingly, entered into a treaty with Timûr to make war on him, and then retired. Shîr Bahrâm, having raised troops at Katlân, began hostilities against Hussayn: but this politic prince, by his artifice, gained him over to his interest. Nevertheless Timûr pursued his enterprize; and, having at length raised an army, consisting of the most valiant men of the empire, in autumn 767 detached prince Seyfo'ddîn, with the vanguard, against Hussayn; who, sent a treaty, drawn up in the most ensnaring manner, to soften Timûr; but this prince would pay no regard to his overtures. However, as the governor he had left at Samarkand (O), and some other princes, had before gone over to Hussayn; so, on this occasion, he was deserted by the tribe of Yesûri [h]. Hejra 767. A D. 1365.

Mean while Hussayn advanced with a great army: but, aiming still to over-reach his rival, sent another letter to him, with the Koran; and, declaring that, by virtue of that book, his intentions were sincere, proposed a conference at Shekichek, each to be accompanied with no more than a hundred men. Timûr, convinced of his deceit, was not inclined to grant this interview: but, to gratify the princes, who chose peace, if it could be had, he went with three hundred men; and, leaving two hundred at some distance, advanced with the rest to the place of interview. Hussayn, after having put Shîr Bahrâm to death, detached three thousand men to surprise Timûr at Dehno; of which design a peasant, who had been a domestic of this prince, fled from the enemy to give him notice. But the officer, who stood centinel at the palace, not giving credit to what the man said, sent him away, without mentioning the matter to Timûr; so that, when this prince approached the place of rendezvous, he was alarmed with the appearance of those forces; whose march he stopped in a narrow pass, and then made his retreat fighting. *His treachery.*

The army, hearing of Hussayn's treachery, and concluding all was lost, dispersed; and Timûr, with the other princes, retired to Makhân, in Khorassân, where he kept a seraglio of women. There he stopped all the karawâns; *Timûr surprises Karshi.*

[h] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 63—73. cap. 13, 14.

(O) About the same time also died his wife Olâja Turkhân Aga, sister of Hussayn; who thereby lost the cement of union with Timûr.

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and, when he gave them leave to depart, took the road to Herât in their sight, as if he designed to go to that city. This circumstance the merchants reporting, when they arrived at Karshi, amîr Mûssa left the fortress, intending, with seven thousand men, to visit Uzkunt: but Timûr, when the karawâns were at some distance, returned to his old station; and, having remained till such time as the merchants might be going to Kârshi, set out for the same place, although he had but two hundred men, and there were twelve thousand near that city. Being arrived in the neighbourhood of Karshi, he reconnoitered the walls in person, and at length perceived a proper place for scaling. The experiment was tried, and succeeded. Timûr surprised the city, while the troops seized the castle, where they took Mehemed Bey, son of the amîr Mûssa.

A.D. 1366. This lord, being very young, was suffered to escape, that the news might cause his father's troops to disperse. Instead of retiring, he and Mâlek Behâdr, next day, invested the city with twelve thousand horse: but they were so harrassed by sallies, that at length Mûssa fled with his seven thousand horse; and left Mâlek, who still stood his ground, with five thousand koronas (P): yet, as soon as he perceived Timûr advancing with his horse, he fled likewise; and, being pursued, his men dispersed. In the pursuit, Timûr, perceiving the wife of amîr Mussa, who fled with Mâlek Bahâdr, called to him to quit her. Mâlek, to save his life, which, on that condition, was promised him, abandoned the lady, and fled by himself. Nevertheless the lady continued her flight full speed; and, as Timûr alone pursued, a servant offered to shoot, if he advanced. The prince, who had neither buckler nor arrows, taking him for a better archer than he was, stopped, till Dawlet Shâh joined him; and, covering his head with his buckler, renewed the pursuit. The valet then let fly at him; but, missing his aim, fled as fast as the rest; so that Dawlet Shâh was not able to come up with them. Azû Mulk, then far gone with child, was soon after delivered of a princess, named Tûmân Aga, who was afterwards married to Timûr [1].

Defeats amir Mussa.

Retires to Makhân. This prince wintered at Karshi; where he bestowed the government of Amûya on Nikepeysha, and that of Bok-

[1] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 73—85. cap. 15, & seq.

(P) Koronas are a militia.

hâra

hâra on Manûcha; whoſe ſon-in-law, Ali Yeſûri, came and ſubmitted with his tribe. Amîr Huſſayn was aſtoniſhed at the recital of what had paſſed: yet, having raiſed an army, he left Sâli Saray; and ſent amîr Mûſſa before with ten thouſand koronas, who encamped at Shekedâlik. Timûr at firſt intended to attack them in the night; but, having only two hundred men, he thought proper, after appearing in ſight of the enemy, to retire to Bokhâra; and from thence to Makhân, by way of Merû. Mean while Huſſayn came and beſieged Bokhâra, where Manâcha and Ali Yeſûri made a brave defence: but their ſoldiers, having ſeverely ſuffered by venturing too far in a ſally, could not be brought to fight afterwards. This circumſtance obliged them to fly by night to Makhân, and leave the city to the enemy. Timûr afterwards ſet out with ſix hundred men to reduce Nikepeyſha, governor of Amûya; which aim having accompliſhed, he went and defeated the army of the koronas, encamped near Bokhâra; then returned to Makhân. A D. 1366.

Attempts Karſhi.

Timûr, unable long to be idle, croſſed the Jihûn again with ſix hundred men, and inveſted Karſhi; but, hearing five hundred koronas were at Kuzimondak, he marched to attack them, not knowing that they had been joined by ſeveral other troops. However, after a bloody fight, he drove them back as far as their main army, which he advanced to reconnoitre: and, on their approach, ruſhing forward like a lion, in leſs than an hour, entirely routed this vaſt multitude. In the purſuit to Shekedâlik, they took the principal officers priſoners, with a great booty. Timûr reſolved not to give the enemy time to recover their loſs, but marched againſt amîr Huſſayn: however, the princes refuſing to aſſiſt in that enterprize, he returned to Samarkand. At his approach, the governor Uſhâra Bahâdr ſallied out with the amîr Muſſa's troops, but was routed, and eſcaped with difficulty; yet he made another ſally, with one thouſand five hundred raw ſoldiers, who fled at the cry of Timûr's men. While this prince diverted himſelf in the delicious valley of Sogd, intelligence arrived, that a great body of koronas was encamped on the Tûm, and amîr Huſſayn with a numerous army at Kârſhi.

Croſſes the Sir.

On this advice, Timûr deferred his revenge; and diſbanding his other forces, with his firſt ſix hundred men retired towards Kojend, where he croſſed the Sihûn. Underſtanding here, that Key Koſrû and Bahrâm Jalayr were at Taſhkunt, with ſeven thouſand Getes, juſt brought from Jetâh, he turned that way; in hopes that Bahrâm, who

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had by his means recovered his patrimony, and had sworn to join him against Hussayn, would assist him, when now in his power: but not finding the friendship he had reason to expect, he reproached the amîr with his ingratitude. On the contrary, Key Kosrû, who was son-in-law to Togluk Timûr, khân of Jetâh, entertained Timûr magnificently at his palace, for a month; promised to join him against every person, and to give Rakia Khân, his daughter by another wife, to the mirza Jehân Ghîr, Timûr's eldest son [k].

Defeats the enemy. Mean time, amîr Hussayn having entered Sebz, with a great army of koronas, sent before twenty thousand men, under the command of amîr Mussa, and his most considerable generals; who, through fear of Timûr's valour, detached three great squadrons, by different roads, to intercept that prince's passage. Timûr, accompanied by Key Kosrû, and two thousand Getes, on this advice, crossed the Sihûn or Sîr at Kojend; and, with one thousand five hundred men, in the night, attacked Jehân Shâh, who had with him the same number, and dispersed them. Next day, he defeated Khermân, with his thousand soldiers, at Dizâk: then, with two hundred horse only, departed, to attack Mâlek Bahâdr, who commanded a detachment of three thousand. When the enemy saw the thirty men who were sent before, so well equipped, advancing with great boldness, they were surprised; and, taking them for the van-guard of the Mungls, began to fly. Timûr pursued; while the fugitives approaching the main body under Mussa, the whole detachment fled full speed to rejoin Hussayn.

Peace with Hussayn, When this prince saw them, he was incensed at their pusillanimity, and, departing with the khân, sent ten thousand choice men, to attack the two princes; who marched to Barsin with one thousand five hundred, and there caused the trumpets to be sounded; the noise of which so frighted the enemy, that they fled to Hussayn. Key Kosru went afterwards to winter at Otrâr, and Timûr at Tâshkunt. In spring, the messengers, whom Timûr had sent to Jetâh, returned, and brought word, that a numerous army was coming from thence to his assistance. As this intelligence soon reached Hussayn, he resolved to make peace with Timûr; and the better to succeed, applied to the doctors of Kojend and Tâshkunt, to dispose him to an accommodation. The mollahs undertook the task; and urged the danger which the state was in of being ruined by war, and the risk the Musulmâns ran of being plundered, as

A.D. 1367.

[k] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 85—100. cap. 16. 20.

well

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well as ſlaughtered, by idolaters. Theſe remonſtrances, with a dream which followed, determined Timûr to make peace, and to go himſelf to Huſſayn, as the moſt effectual way, to agree on articles. He was met near Sâli-ſaray by the amîrs Mûſſa and Olajia Itû, on the part of Huſſayn, to aſk pardon for all that had paſſed. When the peace was ſettled, the princes diſbanded their armies; and having indulged themſelves with diverſions, Timûr returned to Kaſh to enjoy the ſweets of this delightful kingdom.

Not long after this pacification, while amîr Huſſayn and the khân were gone to reduce the kings of Badâgſhân, who had revolted, Mâlek Huſſayn, prince of Herât, ſent forces to ravage the provinces about Bâlk, which were ſubject to the amîr. Timûr immediately advanced, to repulſe the enemy, who did not wait for him. Then he went in queſt of the khân and amîr; who, meeting him at Kondoz, renewed their friendſhip. They marched together to reduce Pulâd Buga and Ak Buga, who had revolted at Kâbul; which reduction, after ſome loſs, they effected. In their return from this expedition, Huſſayn aſked Timûr's advice, in relation to a deſign he had to reſide at Bâlk. Timûr endeavoured to diſſuade him, by the example of his uncle Mîrza Abdo'llah; who, contrary to the advice of his lords, removed his ſeat to Samarkand. Although Huſſayn approved of Timûr's counſel, yet he did not follow it: but prevailed on him to go to that city; where, as ſoon as he arrived, he began to rebuild the fortreſs of Hendwân[1]. *who repairs Bâlk.*

In the mean time, advice arriving, that an army of Getes were on the march towards Great Bukhâria, the two princes took the field: but, while the enemy wintered at Tâſhkunt, diſcord aroſe among the lords of Jetâh. Kamro'ddîn, of the tribe of Ugiat, Kepek Timûr, and Shîrawl, joined againſt Haji Arkenût, who reſolved to give them battle. When they were ready to engage, a peace was concluded; and Arkenût returned home: but the other two, inſtead of following him, retreated with their troops; and Shîrawl's ſon cut off Arkenût's head: which execution putting the Gete army into diſorder, obliged them to retreat. Timûr would have purſued them in this confuſion: but, as the king of Badâgſhân had renewed his irruptions into Huſſayn's dominions, this prince prevailed with him to march on that ſide. On his *Watches the Getes.*

[1] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 100—110. cap. 21. 23.

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approach the enemy fled: yet at length they fought, and were routed; Sehykh Âli, the king, being made a prisoner.

In great danger. However, part of those who fled having defeated Jehân Mulk, amîr Hussayn's son, who pursued them, and taken six hundred and thirty horses, Timûr, in a transport of rage, ascended the mountain: but as his soldiers refused to follow him, he, with only thirteen horse, seized a narrow pass, where he furiously attacked, and defeated the enemy; although he confessed this was the most obstinate battle he had ever been engaged in. Mean while, fifty of their foot, covered with their bucklers, boldly marched up, and discharged a shower of arrows at Timûr: at the same time, two hundred more advanced, to second them. But the prince escaped this danger, by the address of Elchi Buga; who running up to them, on foot, began to soothe them. "The person you see (said he) is the great Timûr: he will restore you your slaves: why then do you fight to no purpose? You know, if you are either killed or made prisoners, you will bear the blame of having your slaves taken." When the soldiers heard that prince's name, they left off fighting, kissed the earth, in token of submission, and sent two of their number to implore pardon. Timûr promised to return their slaves, provided they would bring the horses and bucklers they had taken, next morning, to his camp; a condition which they performed accordingly.

Hussayn's jealousy. Not long after this transaction, amîr Hussayn having sent to acquaint him, that Mehemed Beyân Seldûz and Key Khosru had made war on him, Timûr left Badâghshân: on which notice, the rebels informed him of the cause of their discontent, and begged his assistance. As the prince knew this letter was intercepted by Hussayn, he became jealous that Hussayn did not shew it him at their interview: and, at his return to Kesh, three persons came to tell him Hussayn designed to surprise him. This intelligence was confirmed by a lord, who shewed him a letter from the khân Kabul Shâh; importing, that amîr Mussa had orders to watch an opportunity to seize him. Timûr went to know the truth of this intelligence from Hussayn, whom he met on the bank of the Jihûn: but, as he was going to speak, intelligence came, that the enemy was at hand; and he, being desired to advance against them, put the troops immediately in motion. At his approach, Sheykh Mehemed and Key Kojrû fled. After the pursuit, Timûr returned

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returned to Keſh; and Huſſayn repaired to Bâlk, to reſide in the caſtle of Hendwân[m]. A.D. 1368.

Although Huſſayn's chief ſupport, was the friendſhip of Timûr, yet he ceaſed not to do him ill offices. He ſent for all that prince's ſubjects in Kaſh, to people Balk, and to bring away Timûr's ſiſter: becauſe her huſband, amîr Muyad, had killed a man, and fled. He likewiſe diſmiſſed prince Jehânghîr, whom Timûr had placed about his perſon. Upon all theſe provocations, Timûr conſulted with amîr Mûſſa, and other lords; who, after having concluded to make war on Huſſayn, as a prince not to be truſted, as well as an oppreſſor of the people, they began hoſtilities, by the death of Ali, brother of Kezer Yeſûri: and then Timûr boldly declared war againſt him at once. *Timûr declares war.*

Having raiſed a body of troops, he departed from Kaſh: but, at Kuzar, the amir Mûſſa, ſeized with a panic, returned to Samarkand. Mean while, Timûr ſent Siorgatmiſh Aglen, with the amîrs Muyad and Hûſſayn Berlâs before, as ſpies, who found thoſe of amîr Huſſayn at Termed. At Boyâ, within three leagues of that city, Timûr met the holy Seyd Bereke, the moſt conſiderable of the ſharîfs, or deſcendents of Mohammed; who preſenting him with a drum and ſtandard, which are the uſual marks of ſovereignty, as if inſpired, ſang a hymn, predicting Timûr's future grandeur. Here that prince contracted an inviolable friendſhip with this great ſharîf; and ordered, that after his death he ſhould be buried in the ſame tomb, with his face turned ſide-ways: that at the day of judgment, when every one ſhould hold up their hands to heaven, to implore aſſiſtance of ſome interceſſor, he might ſeize the robe of this child of the prophet. *Joined by the princes.*

Timûr having paſſed the Jihûn, and encamped at Kulm, was joined by a great number of princes, who hated Huſſayn. Among the reſt, were the amîr Olajia Itû, placed in Kondoz by Huſſayn; Sheykh Mehemed, king of Badâgſhân, whom Timûr had invited; amîr Key Koſrû, who had fled from Katlân to avoid Huſſayn; the amîr Yâkû, with the troops of that country; and Zende Haſham, with the hord of Aperdi: ſo that Timûr ſaw himſelf at the head of a powerful army. Then he gave Siorgatmiſh Aglen the title of khân; and having regulated his army, departed for Bâlk. As ſoon as he arrived, *Beſieges Bâlk.*

[m] Hiſt. Tim Bek, p. 111—117. cap. 24, 25.

he

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A.D. 1368. he blocked up the city on all sides, and besieged the citadel called Hendwân. The enemy made a vigorous defence: they sallied out to repulse the confederates; and the two armies fought with unparalleled courage till night. In this battle, prince Omar Sheykh, a son of Timûr, fighting valiantly, though but fifteen years old, was shot through the foot with an arrow; and though the surgeons drew a hot iron through the wound, he bore it with extraordinary fortitude [n].

Hussayn surrenders; Next morning, at sun-rise, the besieged made another sally, and renewed the fight. Hussayn, who at a distance beheld this terrible encounter, perceived his affairs to be in a desperate condition. Timûr sent to acquaint him, that, if he desired his life, he must submit, and deliver up the fortress. Hussayn, for once, acting with prudence, sent two of his sons, with the khân he had set up, offering to resign his crown to Timûr; and only requesting a free passage out of the citadel, in order to go in pilgrimage to Mecca. Timûr having granted this request, the amîr sent again to acquaint him, that he would depart the next day; and requested a promise, that no person should attempt any thing against his life. Timûr yielded to his desire; but Hussayn was so accustomed to break his word, that he suspected the prince could not keep his promise; and therefore went out the same night, with two servants. After having wandered about for some time, he arrived at the old city of Bâlk; and, when morning came, through fear ascended the minâra (Q) of the principal mosque, where he hid himself.

taken, and slain with two sons. A soldier of Timûr, who had lost his horse, going up, to take a view of the plain, in hopes of discovering him, spied Hussayn, whom he knew. The amîr flung down a handful of pearls; and, by promising a farther gratification, obtained a promise that he should not be betrayed: nevertheless the soldier ran immediately to Timûr with the news of this discovery. The officers and soldiers hastened to the mosque; where Hussayn, who perceived them coming, hid himself in a hole. But, still pursued by ill fortune, a skirt of his garment happened to be seen, so that, being taken, he was carried in chains to Timûr;

[n] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 118—125, cap. 26, & seq.

(Q) Steeple, or turret, built near the masjeds, or mosques, from whence the muzîms, or cryers, proclaim the times of prayer. La Croix.

who,

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who, unwilling to break his promiſe, ſaid to the amîrs who were near him, "I renounce the right of taking away his life; and cancel the ſentence of his death." But when Huſſayn was diſmiſſed from Timûr's preſence, Kây Koſrû, prince of Katlûn, deſired that the amîr might be delivered to him, in order to do juſtice on him for taking away his brother's life. Timûr exhorted that prince to ſtifle his reſentment; while the remembrance of his ancient friendſhip as well as alliance with Huſſayn, melted him into tears. Olajia Itû, an amîr of years, and great experience, imagining, that if Huſſayn eſcaped, through Timûr's affection, they might all repent of it afterwards, made ſigns to Kay Koſrû and Muyad to leave the aſſembly. They obeyed the ſignal, without aſking Timûr's leave; and, taking horſe, followed Huſſayn, and ſlew him. A.D. 1368.

At length the fortreſs of Hendwân being taken, Konſaïd and Norûz Soltân, two of Huſſayn's ſons, were burnt, and their aſhes ſcattered in the air. His two other ſons, Jehân Mulk and Kalîl Soltân, fled into India, where they periſhed. The khân whom Huſſayn had created was alſo put to death. Timûr acquired all the treaſure which that prince had amaſſed with ſo much avarice; and kept four ladies of his ſeraglio to himſelf. He gave the great queen, Sevenj Kotlûk Aga, daughter of Turmeſhîrîn Khan, Huſſayn's firſt wife, Dilſhad Aga, to Zende; and the other ladies to conſiderable lords. He likewiſe ordered, that the inhabitants of Bâlk, who had ſheltered themſelves in the citadel, with their late prince, ſhould return and rebuild the old city. The citadel, as well as palaces of Huſſayn, were all razed to the foundation; and every thing belonging to him deſtroyed, that there might remain no footſteps of a prince ſo deteſted [a]. *The citadel deſtroyed.*

SECT. II.

The Exploits of Timûr, from his Enthronement to the Reduction of Irân, or Perſia at large.

AFTER the reduction of Bâlk, all the amîrs, princes, and generals of the army, the khâns of Termed, and Seyd Bereke, chief of the ſharîfs, who had predicted Timûr's advancement to the throne, aſſembled in that A.D. 1369. *Timûr enthroned.*

[a] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 125, & ſeqq.

city

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city, and unanimously chose him to fill the imperial seat of Jagatay. When the hour arrived to perform the ceremony of coronation, Timûr ascended the throne, placed the crown of gold on his head, and girded himself with the imperial belt, in presence of the princes of the blood and the grandees. These kneeled before him; wishing him prosperity, made him sumptuous presents, sprinkled handfuls of gold and precious stones upon his head, and gave him the title of Saheb Karân, which word signify, *the Emperor of the Age*, and *Conqueror of the World*. As to the inhabitants of Bâlk, he treated them with the utmost rigour, beheaded some, imprisoned others, enslaved their wives and children, burnt their houses, seized their riches, and ravaged the country. Thus he exterminated the rebels, and, at the same time, distributed the plunder among his lords and officers.

Hejra 759. A.D 1371.

A plot discovered.

From Bâlk Timûr returned to Kash; where he appointed officers of state, both civil and military. He then repaired to Samarkand, which he made the seat of his empire. The amîr Mussa, who had deserted Timûr, fled on that prince's success, to Turkestân; but, being pursued, returned to Zende Hashâm, at Shebûrgan in Khorassân, and prevailed on him to revolt. Timûr having ordered the kûrûltay, or dyet, to be held; and Zende Hashâm not appearing, he sent him a threatening summons; but this young prince, instead of obeying, imprisoned the messengers. Incensed at this insult, the emperor went with an army, and besieged him in Sefiddez, or *the White Fort*. At sight of the imperial troops, Hashâm's courage failed. Having sued for pardon, he delivered up the amîr Mûssa: whom, instead of punishing, Timûr feasted, and loaded with favours, giving him the command of a tribe, and a province. Nevertheless Hashâm rebelled a second time; but being besieged in Sheburgân, submitted again, was pardoned, and received among the officers of the court [p].

Hej 772. A.D. 1370.

Invades the Getes.

In the year of the Hog, which answers to 772, Timûr crossed the Sihûn (or Sîr), to invade the country of the Getes; two of whose princes, Komze and Orenkitmûr, submitted to him, with their tribes and countries, the government of which he gave to Kepek Timûr; who soon after rebelling, he marched against him, by way of Sayrâm, on the borders of Jetâh, and, in a month, reduced the enemy. Mean while, the amîr Mûssa and Zende

[p] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 130—141. lib. ii. cap. 1—4.

Hâsham

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Haſhâm, forgetting all their obligations, conſpired with Abû Is-hâk, and others, to ſeize Timûr, at the chace; but the plot being diſcovered, the conſpirators were tried, and convicted: yet the emperor would not put them to death. He pardoned Mûſſa, on account of his great age, and relationſhip by marriage; only baniſhed two ſheykhs, as they were deſcended from Mohammed; and condemned Zende Haſhâm to a dungeon at Samarkand. A.D. 1370.

Attacks Karazm.

As ſoon as Timûr had returned to his capital, he ſent ambaſſadors to Huſſayn Sofi, king of Karazm, to demand reſtitution of the countries of Kat and Kivak; which that prince had ſeized five years before, during the troubles, though belonging to the empire of Jagatay. Huſſayn's anſwer was, that he had conquered them by the ſword; and that Timûr might recover them the ſame way, if he could. The mullah Jalâlo'ddîn, who was the emperor's mûfti, in order to prevent bloodſhed, deſired leave to try what could be done in the way of negociation: but the Karazmian, inſtead of liſtening to his advice, impriſoned the mullah. In conſequence of this outrage, Timûr, in 773, marched at the head of his army; and, at Sepaye, on the Jihûn, defeated the enemy's ſcouts. From thence he proceeded to Kat, wnich he inveſted. In the firſt aſſault, the ſoldiers, having forced a paſſage on all ſides into the town, ſeized the governor, and put the greater part of the garriſon, as well as the inhabitants, to the ſword; carrying away the wives and children, whom Timûr next day ſet at liberty. Hej. 773. A.D 1371.

Grants a peace.

After this exploit, his van-guard having defeated the enemy, at Jiwi Korlan, he ordered inroads to be made from all parts; ſo that all the provinces of Karazm were ruined. Huſſayn, being in no condition to defend himſelf in the city of Karazm, ſent to beg pardon, and demand quarter: but, diverted by Kay Koſrû, who promiſed to go over to him, with his tomân, he marched out with his troops to the river Kawn, ſix miles from the capital. However, he was repulſed; and finding himſelf blocked up in his fortreſs, ſoon died of grief. His brother Iſûf Sofi, who ſucceeded him, had recourſe to ſubmiſſion: and as Timûr thought that Sevinâ Bey, commonly called Khân Zâdeh, the daughter of Ak Sofi, Iſûf's brother, who was reckoned the greateſt beauty in the world, would be a proper match for his ſon Jehân Ghîr, he granted peace, on condition of the marriage. On his return to Samarkand, he ordered Kay Koſrû Katlani to be arreſted, and proſecuted for his intrigues with Huſſayn Sofi: of which having

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ing been convicted, he was delivered, bound, to the officers of amîr Hussayn, who put him to death, to revenge the murder of that prince; and his province given to Mehemed Mireke, son of Shîr Bahrâm, his relation [q].

Hejra 774. A.D. 372.

Marries Jehân Ghîr.

When Kay Kosrû was apprehended, his son Soltân Mahmûd, with two other lords, left the court, and retired to Karazm; where they persuaded Isûf Sofi to violate the peace: and accordingly, in autumn, he ravaged the country of Kat; but, in Ramazân 774, on the news of Timûr's march, he sent persons to intercede for him, and renew the treaty; promising forthwith to send the princess Khân Zâdeh to Samarkand. Next spring Timûr dispatched ambassadors, with rich presents, to conduct to his court that princess; who set out with a portion of precious stones, jewels, and furniture of great value. Timûr gave her a magnificent reception; and the marriage with his son was solemnized with the greatest pomp, after the happy moment had been fixed, with the greatest care, by the most learned astrologers.

Hejra, 776. A.D. 1374.

Marches into Jetâh.

In the month of Shawal 776, Timûr began his march to Jetâh, sending before his son, the Mîrza Jehân Ghîr, with the van-guard. When they had passed Sayrâm, and arrived at Jarûn, a town of Jetâh, they were informed, by a prisoner, that Kamro'ddîn, prince of the tribe of Uglat, was encamped with an army at Gheuk Tûpa, or the Blue Hill, where he waited for Haji Bey, not expecting any enemy. On this advice, they hastened their march: but Kamro'ddîn, receiving intelligence of their approach, retired to an inaccessible place, called Birkey Gûrian, where there are three defiles of mountains, extremely steep, and three great rapid rivers. Jehân Ghîr advanced to the third defile, where Kamro'ddîn had fortified himself, and attacked his forces with great impetuosity. The action lasted till night, when the enemy fled. Next morning the prince pursued them; and Temûr, coming up at sun-rise, sent detachments along the stream of the river Abeile, to plunder the country [r].

Avoids a conspiracy.

Timûr proceeded to Baytak; from whence he sent the mîrza his son, with a great army, to seize Kamro'ddîn. The prince, having ruined the cantons which are in Uchfermân, found his enemy in the mountains, whom he pursued, and obliged to abandon his troops. He ravaged all the country, razed his palaces, and seized on his wife

[q] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 143—156, cap. 7—11. [r] Ibid. p. 157—165. cap. 11—14.

Buyân

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Buyân Aga, with his daughter Dilſhad Aga. After Timûr had waited fifty-three days at Baytak, he received theſe tidings, and, on his way home, married the princeſs Dilſhad Aga. Then proceeding on his march by Yâſſi Daban, encamped at Ozkunt. Here Adel Shâh, ſon of Bahrâm Jalayr, gave him a ſplendid entertainment, and preſented him with ſome fine horſes. Under this maſk of hoſpitality, his deſign was, in concert with two other lords, to have ſeized Timûr; but this laſt conceiving ſtrong ſuſpicions, left the aſſembly, and thus fruſtrated their plot. During the winter, when he reſided in his capital, they came and confeſſed their crime; while Timûr politicly pretended to have known nothing of it, and, at the ſame time, highly careſſed Adel Shâh.

In the beginning of the year 777, the troops were ordered to aſſemble, with the ſhew of invading Karazm. As ſoon as the amîrs arrived at the imperial city, the ſheykh Mehemed Bayân Seldâz, one of the conſpirators, was apprehended; and his crime having been fully proved, he was delivered into the hands of Heri Mulk Seldûz, his relation, who put him to death, in revenge for having killed his brother. In ſpring, Timûr ſent ſeveral amîrs, with thirty thouſand horſe, into Jetâh, with orders to ſearch diligently for Kamro'ddîn, that he might be puniſhed with death: he likewiſe marched with a great army towards Karazm; and being come to Sepaya, on the Jihûn, ſaw Turkhân Erlât, another of the conſpirators, paſs over with his troops, appearing willing to join him: but, through a ſudden panic, he immediately returned to his orda, near Korzwân. Pulâd, who was ordered to purſue him day and night, having paſſed Andkûd, overtook him at Farâb, on the Sihûn. The two parties fought like lions: but, at length, the enemy flying, the victors purſued, and Pulâd alone overtook Turkhân; who, finding his horſe tired, alighted, and brought down Pulâd's with an arrow. He diſcharged another at his enemy before he was able to get up: but it went through his cap without hurting him; then Pulâd ruſhed on, and, after a long ſtruggle, flung him on the ground, where his head was cut off. At the ſame time, an officer brought the head of Tûrmîſh, brother of Tûrkhân, and both were laid at the foot of the throne [a].

Hejra, 777. A.D 1375.

Puniſhes the plotters.

Among the amîrs ſent to Jetâh, Sâr Buga and Adel Shâh, conſpiring with Katay Bahâdr, Elchi Buga, and

Amîrs revolt.

[a] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 165—170, cap. 14—16.

Hamdi,

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Hamdi, which last Timûr had left governor of Andekhân, on the frontiers of Turkestân, assembled their ordâs of Jalayr and Kipjak, and marched to Samarkand, which they besieged. Ak Buga, the governor, wrote word of this revolt to Timûr; who, though he had already arrived at Khas, immediately returned. While he encamped near Bokhâra, the mîrza Jehân Ghir, who advanced before him, met the rebels at Karmîna, and defeated them. They retired to the deserts of Kipjâk, and listed themselves in the service of Urûs Khân, emperor of that country. Sâr Buga and Adel Shâh had not been long in the service of that prince, before they fled from his court, after having killed his lieutenant, and went to Jetâh; where they persuaded Kamro'ddîn to join them, in making war on Timûr. Thus instigated, that prince marched to the country of Andekhân, where Omar Sheykh, Timûr's second son, was governor; but, being deserted by the hezâra of Kûdak, he retired to the mountains, and sent his father word, that the enemy, with a great army, had ruined Andekhân.

Kamro'ddîn defeated.

This advice so incensed Timûr, that he immediately departed for Jetâh. Kamro'ddîn commanded his household and orda to leave Atbâshi, while he remained in ambush with four thousand horse. Timûr coming to the place, and suspecting no snare of this kind, sent his amîrs, with all the army, in pursuit of the enemy; while he followed, with no more than two hundred men. Kamro'ddîn, glad of this occasion, sallied out with his men upon the emperor; who, no way dismayed, spurred his horse against the enemy, and, being obliged to expose his person, performed surprising acts of valour; which were so well seconded by his soldiers, that they at length defeated that numerous body. He afterwards met Kamro'ddîn again at Senghez Agâjeh, and forced him to fly. Uchkaria pursued him so closely, that at length he obliged him to return, with eight men only; who being surrounded by the amîr's soldiers, Kamro'ddîn, after having his horse killed, escaped on foot, wounded in several places.

Death of Jehân Ghîr,

Before the last battle Timûr dreamed, that in one of the forty-six visions, which are esteemed prophetic, he saw the sheikh Bûrhâno'ddîn Klich, and having humbly begged of him to pray for his son Jehân Ghîr, then sick at Samarkand, the holy man only answered, "Be with God." This, with another dream he had afterwards, increased his melancholy, and convinced him that he should lose his beloved son, whom he found dead at his return to that capital. This prince, who was but twenty when he died, left

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left two ſons; Mohammed Soltân, by Khân Zâdeh; and Pîr Mohammed, a poſthumous ſon, by Bâkti Mulki Aga, daughter of Elias Yeſûri.

Timûr, about this time, being informed that Adel Shâh Jalayr was in the mountains of Karachuk, beyond Otrâr, ſent thither two amîrs with fifteen horſe, who having found him at Akſûma, a tower on the top of Mount Karajik, put him to death according to law. Soon after, mîrza Omar Sheykh, with ſeveral amîrs, were ſent againſt Kamro'ddîn, whom they met and defeated on the borders of Kûratû, a country of the Getes[t]. *and Adel Shâh.*

The troops were no ſooner returned than Timûr reſolved to march in perſon into Jetâh; and his van-guard were ſo fortunate as to come up with Kamro'ddîn at Bugam Aſi Gheul; where, after a furious battle, they put him to flight, ravaged his country, and reduced his ſubjects to obedience. After having purſued him as far as Kûchar, Timûr returned to his capital, by way of Oynagû and Uzkunt. That prince, when at Kûchâr, being informed that Tokatmîſh Aglen had withdrawn from the court of Urûs, khân of Kipjâk, in order to come over to him, ſent Tumen Timûr Uzbek to meet and conduct him to Samarkand, where he was received with great honour. Timûr heaped favours on him, and gave him the government of ſeveral places for his ſubſiſtence. He likewiſe aſſiſted him againſt Urûs Khân, who ſoon after attacked him, entered his dominions with a great army, and placed Toktamîſh on the throne of Kipjâk. This prince being expelled, he reſtored him again in 778. *War in Kipjâk.* A.D. 1376.

Timûr ſeemed now to have attained the ſummit of felicity, many of his officers bearing the titles of khân and ſoltân, when, to increaſe his happineſs, in the year of the Serpent, and that of the Hejra 779, in the month of Rabiyo'laker, the mîrza Shâh Rukh was born. Soon after this event Timûr made a fourth expedition into Karazm. Whilſt he was at Otrâr, to obſerve Urûs Khân, Iſûf Sofi, king of that country, ſent an army to Bokhâra, which ravaged the province. Timûr ſent an ambaſſador to complain of theſe hoſtilities; but Iſûf, inſtead of making any apology, threw the ambaſſador into priſon. He ſerved a ſecond envoy in the ſame manner, and ſent Tui Bogay, ſurnamed the Robber, with his followers, to carry away the cattle of the Turkmâns which were about Bokhâra. However, Timûr did not moleſt him this year, the re- Hejra 779. A.D. 1377. *Timûr's greatneſs.*

[t] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 176—178. cap. 16—18.

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mainder of which he spent at Zenjir Saray, after he had married Tuman Aga, daughter of the amîr Mûssa, for whose sake he adorned Samarkand with several beautiful monuments, and among the rest a pleasure-house, to the west of that city, called Bâghi Behisht, or *the Garden of Paradise*[b].

A.D. 1378. *Karazm conquered.*

In Shawal 780, Timûr entered Karazm at the head of his army, and invested the town of Eski Skuz, while several parties ravaged the country. On this occasion Ifûf or Yusef Sofi sent a challenge to Timûr, who, putting on his armour, contrary to the prayers of his commanders, went to the edge of the ditch, and called on Yusef to come forth; but that prince thought it safer to keep within the walls. However, Timûr having received some melons from Termed, thought it uncourteous if he did not send Yusef some when he was so near him; the present was made in a gold bason, delivered at the wall; but Yusef had so little politeness, that he ordered the fruit to be thrown into the ditch, and gave the bason to the town porter. The besieged made a furious sally, and frequent skirmishes drew on a general battle, in which the enemy were defeated, and retired into the city. Timûr then ordered the amîrs to begin the siege of the capital; which having continued near four months, till the castle was ruined, the khân, Yusef Sofi, died of grief, as the emperor had predicted. At the same time the batteries being renewed, and breaches made, the town was atttacked, and at length taken, after a very brave resistance. The city was pillaged, many of the inhabitants were killed, and all the learned men, as well as tradesmen, sent to Kash.

Hejra 781. A.D. 1379.

Kash walled.

This city, which had long been a seminary of learning, surnamed Kûbbet Elilmi Veledeb, that is, *the Dome of Science and Virtue*, was also called Shâh Sebz, or *the Green City*, from the verdure of its gardens and meadows. At the end of the year 781 the emperor declared it his ordinary residence in summer, and the second seat in the empire. He therefore inclosed it with new walls, and built a new palace, called Ak-saray, from the exceeding whiteness and height of its walls.

Mâlek Kayâzo'ddin summoned.

In winter Timûr sent to summon Mâlek Kayâzo'ddin Pîr Ali, son of Mâlek Hussayn, prince of Herât, who died in 1369, to the kûrûltay, or assembly of the states, which was to be held the next spring. Pîr Ali pretended submission to the summons; but delayed the messengers

[b] Hist. Tim. Bek, lib. ii. p. 178—193. cap. 19—26.

with

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with excuſes in order to finiſh the fortifications of Herât, which he had encompaſſed the year before with a wall two leagues in circuit, incloſing the ſuburbs, and gardens without the wall of the old city. Theſe circumſtances were reported to Timûr at the time when Ali Bey, ſon of Argûn Shâh Jûn Garbani, returned to his obedience, and was pardoned. The emperor even conſented that his daughter ſhould marry his grandſon Mehemed Soltân, ſon of Jehân Ghîr, and conſulted with him about his deſign upon Herât, whither Ali Bey promiſed to go in ſpring [w].

Timûr's ambition.

It was Timûr's ambition of univerſal monarchy that impelled him to theſe undertakings. He uſed to ſay, it was neither fit nor decent that the world ſhould be governed by two kings. About this time many rebels had ſeized the provinces of Irân, and declared themſelves independent. This diviſion exceedingly diſpleaſed Timûr, who having conquered the kingdom of Tûrân, reſolved to ſubdue the empire of Irân, or Perſia at large. Preparatory to this enterprize, he made his ſon, mîrza Mirân Shâh, then but fourteen years of age, governor of Khoraſſân, and ſent him thither, accompanied with ſeveral amîrs, and fifty companies of horſe. The Tatar troops having croſſed the Jihûn, paſſed the autumn, and moſt of the winter, at Bâlk and Shebûrgân; but towards the end of that ſeaſon, took from Mâlek the town of Badghîz.

Hejra 782. A.D. 1380.

He invades Mâlek.

Towards the end of the year 782, Timûr having raiſed a great army of Turks and Tatars croſſed the Jihûn, and advanced into the country of Khoraſſân. When he arrived at Andekûd, his devotion prompted him to viſit the illuſtrious ſanton Baba Senkû, one of thoſe darwiſh who make profeſſion of folly (R). This lunatic flung a breaſt of mutton at the emperor's head, who believing this to be a good augury, ſaid: "I am perſuaded that God will grant me the conqueſt of Khoraſſân, becauſe this kingdom has always been called the breaſt or middle of the habitable world." Timûr left Andekûd; and, as ſoon as Mâlek Mehemed, brother of Mâlek Kayazo'ddîn, who was then in the fortreſs of Saraks, had notice of his march, he came before the throne, and had the honour to kiſs the impe-

[w] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 194—201. cap. 26—29.

(R) Theſe are natural fools. The Mohammedans have an extraordinary veneration for them, and ſay, that God loved them before their creation, and on that account did not endue them with reaſon; ſo that they are incapable of offending. La Croix.

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rial carpet, as well as to receive many careſſes and preſents. After a long march the army paſſed by Maru Arrûd, and encamped at Chekedalek, eleven leagues from Herât.

Fû-ſhenj beſieged and taken. As Mâlek Kayâzo'ddîn had juſt taken Niſhâbûr from the Sarbedals, Timûr marched to Jam and Kûſûpa, that the enemy's troops, who were in thoſe parts, might not join Mâlek. From thence he advanced to Fuſhenj, about twenty-five miles ſhort of Herât, and inveſted it immediately. This town was ſurrounded with high walls, a good rampart, and deep ditch full of water. Its other fortifications were exceeding ſtrong; yet the ſoldiers, croſſing the ditch on planks, advanced to the wall, and made a great ſlaughter of the enemy with their arrows. Timûr, who often rode round the place without armour, to encourage his men, was wounded with two arrows. At length ſome amîrs mounted the wall, while others forced the gate, and entering alſo by the breaches, put a great number of the inhabitants to the ſword. Fûſhenj being thus taken, the army marched to Herât, and beſieged that city [x].

Herat ſurrendered. The troop of Gûris, or Gowris, reckoned the moſt valiant men of Irân, made a ſally; but being forced to retire after a bloody conflict, the citizens, to ſave their lives and fine houſes from deſtruction, refuſed to make reſiſtance; ſo that Mâlek, finding he could not bring them to a ſecond ſally, was obliged to ſubmit; and coming out to beg pardon, kiſſed the imperial carpet on his knees. Timûr gave him a veſt of honour, and diſmiſſed him with aſſurances of favour and protection. Then the conqueror ſeized the treaſures and other riches which the Gowri or Gawri kings had amaſſed for ſeveral years, conſiſting of ſilver coin, precious ſtones, rich thrones, and crowns of gold, veſſels of plate, gold and ſilver brocades, with other curioſities; he likewiſe commanded the walls, both old and new, to be razed. A tax likewiſe was levied on the inhabitants for their ranſom, and the gates of the city, covered with iron plates, and adorned with ſculptures and inſcriptions, were carried to Kaſh. Mâlek Kayazo'ddîn was now ordered to deliver up the fortreſs of Eſkilj, called alſo Amân-hûh, governed by the amîr Gowri, his youngeſt ſon, reckoned the moſt brave and experienced officer in the kingdom, whom Mâlek prevailed on to deliver up the place, which was accounted impregnable.

Hej. 783. A.D. 1381.

[x] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 201—208. cap. 30—32.

Timûr,

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Timûr, highly pleaſed with his ſucceſs at Herât, ſent troops to conquer Niſhâbûr and Sebzwâr; but as Ali Bey had inſulted him in the perſon of his envoy, he marched to Kellât and Tûſh, or Maſhâd. Ali Bey, on advice of the emperor's march, ſubmitted; ſo did the governor of Sebzwâr, and both were received into favour. He then proceeded for Eſferâyîn, belonging to the amîr Veli, or Wali, prince of Mazânderân. The ſoldiers immediately ruſhed to the walls, in which they made conſiderable breaches, and entering the place, put to the ſword a great number of people, and demoliſhed all the houſes of that great city. After this chaſtiſement Timûr ſent an ambaſſador to the amîr Veli, who ſubmitted, and promiſed ſhortly to repair to his maſter. *Other places ſubmit.*

Having made ſeveral regulations in the political ſtate of Khoraſſân, confirmed Mâlek Kayâzo'ddîn, prince of Herât, and the other amîrs, in their reſpective governments, Timûr returned to his own dominions, and paſſed the winter at Bokhâra; but while he diverted himſelf in that city, his pleaſure was imbittered with the loſs of his daughter Taji Khân, married to Mehemed Bey, ſon of amîr Mûſſa, a princeſs who had ſcarce her equal in beauty and virtue. He was ſo deeply affected at her death, that when advice was brought that Ali Bey, in conjunction with the amîr Veli, had beſieged Ali Muayd, whom he had left governor of Sebzwâr, he was altogether unmoved, nor would have reſented the inſult, but for the remonſtrances of his ſiſter Kotluk Turkhân Aga, who urged the bad conſequences which would attend his neglect of affairs. Rouſed by the words of this princeſs, he aſſembled his forces, and took the field, though it was in the midſt of winter. He croſſed the Jihûn with his army over a bridge of boats; and having paſſed by Makhân, encamped in the neighbourhood of Kelât, where Ali Bey took refuge; nor could be prevailed on to ſubmit, either by threats or promiſes, relying on the mountain whereon that fortreſs was built, which he imagined to be inacceſſible [y]. *Ali Bey revolts.*

Timûr, to deceive the bey, went down to Korân, dependent on Abſwerd, where he declared that he intended to invade Mazânderân. On this report Ali Bey ſent the horſes, ſheep, and other animals, which had been ſhut up in the fortreſs, to graze again in the meadows; when ſuddenly the emperor changed his route, and returned to Kelât, which he inveſted on all ſides. Ali, ſeeing himſelf *Kelât beſieged.*

[y] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 208—219. cap. 32—37.

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thus unexpectedly invested, had recourse once more to Timur's clemency, and promised, in case his majesty would come to the gate of the town with only a few persons, he would repair to the gate and ask pardon for his faults: to which proposal the emperor agreed. The walls of Kelât were built on the brink of a high mountain, and along them was a narrow passage among the rocks, shut in by a gate, and joined to that of the town. Here the treacherous Ali Bey placed men in ambush, with orders to kill Timûr, who went to the place appointed with only five horsemen; but the assassins, by some mistake, remained in their concealment beyond the time, and even forgot to leave open the door by which the emperor was to have entered; so that, after having waited a long time for Ali Bey, he returned to his camp.

Hejra 784. A.D. 1382. He then ordered the troops of Mecrit and Badâgshân to scale the walls. They were followed by Timûr with a troop of brave officers, and made such a slaughter, that Ali Bey promised on oath to make his submission next day to Timûr at the gate of the town; a ceremony which he performed accordingly; but as he was indulged in his request not to repair to court till next day, he in the night barricadoed the passes by which the imperial troops had ascended the mountain, and again violated his engagement. The emperor rebuilt the fortress of Kahkaha, in the road to Bawerd; but sent Siorgotmîsh Khân, with the mîrza Ali, and the brave sheykh Ali Behâdr, to block up the passes to Kelât, while he went to reduce Tershîz. This is a famous fortress, almost inaccessible, situated in the mountains, and esteemed impregnable on account of its high walls, and deep ditches; it was garrisoned with Gowris, as well as provided with arms and provisions. The enemy were so obstinate, that they would not evacuate the place at the command of Mâlek Kayâzo'ddîn; but the walls and breast-work being destroyed, they begged for quarter, and were inrolled, for their bravery, in Timûr's troops[a].

Tershîz reduced.

The amîr Veli and Ali Bey submit.

About this time Jalâlo'ddîn Shâh Shujah, king of Pârs or Proper Persia, sent one of his principal officers, with a letter, to assure the emperor of his services and sincere friendship, accompanied by rich presents. In return for which, Timûr sent others, with an envoy, to demand the daughter of that prince for the mîrza Pîr Mehemed, son of the late mîrza Jehân Ghîr. He then marched towards

[a] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 219—227. cap. 37—39.

Mazân-

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Mazânderân; and the amîr Veli had recourse to submission; in consequence of which, Timûr withdrew again with his army. Mean while, sheykh Ali Bahâdr mounted the walls of Kelât in the night, with only a few domestics: but, mistaking his way in the dark, was pereceived by the enemy, who began a bloody fight: yet, when their quivers were emptied on both sides, some persons, through a religious motive, effected an accommodation. Ali Bey met and embraced the sheykh Ali Bahâdr; and, after entertaining him for several days, went with him to the imperial camp at Radekhân; where he was received into favour, at the intercession of the sheykh, with whose behaviour on this occasion Timûr was highly pleased.

Put to death.

The emperor, having now entirely reduced the kingdom of Khoraſſân under the obedience of the mîrza Mirân Shâh, dismissed his troops, and repaired to his capital. Ali Bey, with the amîr Gowri, and his brother Mâlek Mehemed, sons of Mâlek Kayâzo'ddîn were sent bound to the mîrza Omar Sheykh at Andekhân: but Mâlek himself, and his eldest son Pîr Mehemed, were kept at Samarkand. These were all put to death, except Pîr Mehemed, on the following occasion: during the winter, Mâlek Mehemed, son of Mâlek Fakro'ddîn, to whom Timûr, in pity to his poverty, had given the government of Gowr, being joined by Abûsaïd Espâbed, whom that monarch had also released out of prison, marched to Herât with a troop of Gowris, and, assisted by other rebels, committed all sorts of disorders. The governor, and other officers, having retired to the fortress of Ektiaro'ddîn, the rebels burnt the gate, and put all the Turkish garrison to the sword, who had leaped off the walls to save their lives. On this advice, the mirza Mirân Shâh marched from the river Morgâb, where he was then encamped, to Herât; and slew so many of the rebels, that his soldiers built a high tower of their heads [a].

In 785 died the princess Dilshadaga, wife of Timûr; and, a few days after, Kotluk Tûrkhân Aga, his eldest sister; famous for building hospitals, moſques, colleges, and other public works. These losses deeply affected him for a long time: but at length reflecting, that an hour only, employed by a prince in executing justice, is of more importance than the worship given to God, and all the prayers made during one's whole life, he gradually resumed the management of public affairs. Having learned that there were some commotions in the country of the

Hejra 785. A.D. 1383.

Jetâh invaded.

[a] Hist. Tim. Bek. p. 227—233. cap. 39—41.

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Getes, the greater part of whom were not Mohammedans, he ordered the mirza Ali to march thither with an army, and deſtroy thoſe ſeditious people; then to purſue Kâmro'ddîn, the author of thoſe troubles. He ſent after them ſheykh Ali Bahâdr, and other amîrs, with ten thouſand horſe; who, at Atakom, intercepted the firſt party on their return, defeated and plundered by the people of Bahrîn; but afterwards they took vengeance on them with great ſlaughter. They all went back together, in purſuit of Kamro'ddîn, to Iſſigheul, and thence as far as Gheuktopa or the *Blue Hills*; but, not finding him, returned in autumn.

Cruel punishment. In the mean time, ſheykh Dawd, whom Timûr had made chief commander in Sebzwâr, having ſlain the governor Taban Bahâdr, the mirza Mirân Shâh laid ſiege to the place, and ſlew abundance of the rebels; but the ſheykh Dawd eſcaped to the fortreſs of Bâdrabâd, which the prince ſent troops to inveſt. The emperor detached the ſheykh Ali Bahâdr and Uchkara Bahâdr, at the head of a great army, againſt the amîr Veli, prince of Mazânderân; and marched in perſon towards the country of Siſtân or Sejeſtân, which was in rebellion alſo. At the beginning of Ramadân 785, his army inveſted Herât, whoſe inhabitants had joined the Gowri rebels: from thence he marched to Sebzwâr, which was attacked and forced. Near two thouſand ſlaves taken priſoners, were piled alive, one upon another, with mortar and bricks, as a monument to deter others from revolting. After having made this dreadful example, he ſent his vanguard to Siſtân; and followed with the reſt of his army, which conſiſted of a hundred thouſand warriors. In his way, prince Shâh Jalâlo'ddîn, of Fârâh or Parrah, came and ſubmitted. The army likewiſe took the fortreſs of Zâreh, with the ſlaughter of near five thouſand ſoldiers, of whoſe bodies they made a mountain, and with their heads erected a tower.

Siſtân beſieged; When the emperor arrived at Siſtân or Sejeſtân, there appeared ſome lords deputed from Shâh Kothbo'ddîn, to offer tribute to Timûr, and the uſual cuſtoms; but, during this conference, the beſieged ſallied out in multitudes, and were repulſed with ſome difficulty. In the night they made a ſecond irruption with as little ſucceſs [b].

taken, and deſtroyed. Next day the army aſſaulted the place, on all ſides; and the king, Shâh Kothbo'ddîn, deſpairing to defend himſelf, came out of the town to aſk pardon of the emperor; who

[b] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 233—241. cap. 41. 44.

granted

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granted it without hesitation. Mean while between twenty and thirty thousand of the populace, sliding down by the walls, advanced to attack the besiegers, who repulsed them with great slaughter: then, pursuing their victory, they gave a second assault; and, having made several breaches in the walls, entered the city, which they left desolate; they not only demolished the walls and houses, but slew all the inhabitants, men, women, and children. Thus was this fine city destroyed, and all the treasures of the Sistân kings carried away, in the month of Shawal. The king Kothbo'ddîn, generals of the army, and governors of provinces, were sent to Samarkand.

From Sistân the army marched to Bost; and, in their passage, they took the fortress of Tak. As the army proceeded by the upper part of the Hirmen, the prince of Mam Katû waited on Timûr with presents; but, as Timûr knew him to be the person, who, when he returned from Sistân with the amîr Hussayn, had wounded him in the hand, he ordered him to be seized, as soon as he was gone from his presence, and shot to death. The troops, proceeding on their march, took the city of Mam Katû and Kala Surk, that is, *Red Castle.* Then arriving at Hezarpez, where three thousand of Tûmen's subjects had fortified themselves in the mountain, they took it by assault, though deemed impregnable, and put them to the sword, to punish them for the disorders they had committed. *Other cities reduced.*

The army advanced to attack the Owgani (S) of Kûh Soleyman, a fortress on a mountain of that name, who had lately submitted, and afterwards revolted. A bloody battle was fought; but the place being at length taken, the Owgani were all massacred, according to the laws of Jenghîz Khân. From thence Jehân Shâh Yakû Bahâdr was sent to Kandahâr, which he carried by assault; and, seizing the governor of the province, sent him to court, where he was hanged. Timûr rewarded Jehân Shâh, and then dispatched him with forces to Kelât; which, after several assaults, he took and demolished. Sistân, Zableстân, and their dependencies, being thus brought into subjection, the emperor disbanded the amîrs, officers, and troops, and repaired to Samarkand. *Kandahâr taken.*

After Timûr had resided three months in his capital, to enjoy the delightful season, he again invaded Mazânderân. Hejra 786. A.D. 1384.

(S) These are the Awgâns, Awgwâns, or Afgâns, who lately caused such troubles in Persia.

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Invades Irân a-fresh.

He took the rout of Burkey Tash, Bâverd or Âbiverd, and Nesa, where he learned that the amîr Veli had shut himself up in the citadel of Dûrûn. His van-guard met that of the amîr, and an action ensued, in which the enemy was worsted. Dûrûn was besieged, and taken by assault: on which occasion, the governor and garrison were put to the sword [c].

From Dûrûn they marched by Chilawn, a country full of villages; and, passing the river at Jorjân, encamped at Shasumân: there the two armies engaged. These skirmishes continued for twenty days. The amîr Veli advanced, and fought with heroic valour; but was at length obliged to fly, and many of his best officers fell in the pursuit. Toward evening, Timûr ordered thirty companies to lie in ambuscade: in the night, the amîr Veli sallied out of the fortress upon the right wing commanded by prince Mirân Shâh, who marched against him; and, at the same time, he was charged by those who lay in ambush: so that, being put to flight, many of his troops fell into the snare which they had laid to entrap the enemy. The army arrived in the morning at Astâr-âbâd (T), capital of Mazanderân, where they burnt and destroyed every thing, without sparing even sucking infants.

Astâr-abâd destroyed.

The amîr Veli fled, with his wives and children, by the way of Langaru, to Damgân; and, leaving them in the fortress of Shîrdekûh, retired to Ray; in the neighbourhood of which, being almost overtaken, he took refuge in the woods of the country of Rusteyndâr, and thus escaped.

Soltân Ahmed flies.

The emperor, leaving above two-thirds of his army to winter at Astâr-âbâd, marched with the rest towards the kingdom of Ray. Soltân Ahmed Sheykh Avîs Jalayr, who was then at Soltânîya in Irâk, alarmed at this unexpected approach, left a strong garrison there, under the command of his son Akbûga, and retired to Tauris. Mean while Omar Abbâs, at the head of threescore horse, advanced towards Soltânîya, while the country was covered with snow, to gain intelligence. The enemy, on the news of his march, departed in great haste, with their young prince, for Tauris; but, as they had not all withdrawn when Omar Abbâs arrived, that commander entered, sword in hand, and made himself master of the place. Timûr, who, in spring, repaired to Soltânîya, having sent

Hejra 787. A.D. 1385.

Soltânîya taken.

[c] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 241—253. cap. 44—48.

(T) Situated at the south-east corner of the Caspian Sea.

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to Shîrâz for Sarek Adel (one of the greateſt lords belonging to ſheykh Avîs, then in the ſervice of ſoltân Zeyn al Abo'ddîn), conferred on him the government of that province, and the territories dependent on it; leaving with him alſo an army, to ſubdue the neighbouring countries.

After this expedition, Timûr, returning from Soltânîya, entered the mountains of Ruſteyndâr; and, as the princes of the country retired as he approached, the amîr Veli fled alſo from Yalûs; while the army directed its march towards the cities of Amol and Sarye or Sari: but the princes, who poſſeſſed thoſe places, prevented the danger, by offering to pay tribute, and obey Lokmân Pâdiſhâh, prince of Aſtâr-âbâd. Timûr, having thus reduced Irân, as far weſtward as Soltânîya, returned to the ſeat of his empire.

During the winter, Tokatmîſh, khân of Kipjâk, ſent an army of near ninety thouſand men, by way of Dârbend, to attack Tauris. The inhabitants of Tauris having, by advice of the amîr Veli, who had retired thither, fortified their city, repulſed the enemy for eight days; but at length the army of Toktamîſh Khân reduced the place, where they exerciſed all manner of cruelties and abomination. Having, in ſix days, pillaged all the treaſures, they carried them off, with an incredible number of ſlaves, to their own country [d]. *Kipjâks take Tauris.*

Timûr, when he heard of this devaſtation, was greatly incenſed, and confirmed in his reſolution to conquer Irân: which, being in confuſion for want of a ſovereign, was ſubject to ſuch invaſions, and liable to fall into the hands of ſome rival potentate. In the year 788, therefore, he croſſed the Jihûn with a formidable army; and, after a long march, arrived at Firûzkûh. Here, being informed of the outrages committed by the people of Lûreſtân, or country of Lûr, who had lately attacked and plundered a karawân of pilgrims, paſſing through their country to Mecca, he thought himſelf obliged to chaſtiſe ſuch villains. Therefore, taking with him every fifth man, he marched thither with all expedition, ordered Urujerd, with the neighbouring places, to be plundered, and at length reduced Korram-abûd, an almoſt impregnable fortreſs, whither the robbers of Lûreſtân had retired; the greater part of whom, being taken, were thrown headlong from the tops of the mountains. Having thus ſubdued this little principality, he rejoined his army at Nahawend. *Lureſtân reduced.* A.D. 1386.

[d] Hiſt. Tim. Bek. p. 253—269. cap. 48—51.

Having

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A.D. 1385. Having received advice that ſoltân Ahmed Jalayr had raiſed troops at Baghdâd, and returned to Tauris, he moved in haſte towards this laſt city. The ſoltan did not wait his coming. Troops, being ſent to purſue him, overtook and plundered his baggage. He abandoned his army, and retired with a ſmall number of attendants: but, at the ſalt-pits of Nemekzar, beyond Nakchivân, was over taken again by Elias Koja, ſon of Sheykh Ali Bahâdr, at the head of a few horſe. The ſoltân made a brave reſiſtance; and Elias having been diſabled by a wound, this incident afforded him an opportunity of eſcaping. In the mean time, ſeveral great lords and ſharifs of Azerbejân came to ſubmit to the emperor; and a ſum of money was impoſed on the inhabitants of Tauris, by way of ranſom for their lives.

Takes Tauris.

Azerbejân reduced.

The whole kingdom of Azerbejân being now reduced, the court remained at that capital during the ſummer. The amîr Veli was ſeized wandering in the province of Kalkal, and pût to death. In autumn the army marched to Merend; and then to the river Urus, which it paſſed, over the bridge of Ziao'l Mulk, one of the moſt magnificent in the world, ſtanding in the territory of Nakchivân, near the town of Yulaha.

Invades Georgia, and ſubdues it.

The army having reduced the citadel of Korni, and town of Surmalu, advanced to Kars: a town with a citadel ſo ſtrongly built of ſtone, and difficult of acceſs, that the inhabitants of the country deemed it impregnable: Nevertheleſs the governor Pirûz Bâkht, a Turkmân, after a very brave defence, was obliged to ſurrender the place; which was plundered, and then razed to the ground. As Timûr's aim from the firſt, was to make war on the infidels, becauſe it is recommended by God to Mohammed, as the moſt excellent of all actions, ſo, being at this time in the neighbourhood of Georgia, he reſolved upon the conqueſt of that country, which he had long before meditated. With this view he decamped from Kârs, and, by the way of Kitû, arrived at Teflîs, capital of that country, which was well fortified with ſtrong walls, beſides a citadel: but, by the valour of Timûr's troops, the city was taken, and prince Mâlek Ipokrates brought in chains to the camp *.

Several detachments were ſent into different parts of the country, which reduced many cities and provinces.

* Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 260—269 cap. 51—54.

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At Karabâgh (or *the Black Garden*), Timûr ſent for Ipokrates; and uſed ſuch convincing arguments, that he turned Mohammedan. He preſented the emperor with a coat of mail, reported to have been that which the prophet Dawd, or David, forged in a ſmith's ſhop; and made proof, by dying it ſeveral times. Timûr, in return, made him ſeveral preſents, and permitted him to return home: which humane treatment, induced the greateſt part of Mâlek's ſubjects to embrace the Moſlem faith.

Shîrwân ſubmits.

At this time the amîr Sheykh Ibrâhîm, prince of Shîrwân, diſtinguiſhed for his power, honeſty, and noble deſcent, came and ſubmitted to Timûr. Among other preſents, there was one of eight captives, whom he had bought; and, as ſome perſon ſaid that the ninth piece was wanting (U), he preſented himſelf, to make up the number; which action ſo highly pleaſed the emperor, that, beſides other bounties, he beſtowed on him the kingdom of Shîrwân, and its dependencies, with the title of king; under which he became very famous. Other ſovereigns followed this prince's example; particularly thoſe of Ghilân, or Kilân, who, confiding in their mountains and woods, marſhes and ſloughs, which rendered acceſs difficult, as well as in the ſtrength of their walled towns, had not obeyed any king for many ages.

Hejra 789. A.D. 1387.

Timûr, having paſſed the winter at Karabâgh, on the banks of the Urûs (or Aras), in the beginning of the year 789 marched to Bardaa. There he received advice that Toktamîſh, khân of Kipjâk, had revolted; and ſent an army to make an irruption into Azerbejân, by the way of Dârbend, contrary to the advice of his principal lords; but Ali Bey, and Kazanſhi, who had killed his own father, having found acceſs to him, perſuaded him to a rupture with the emperor. A body of troops being ſent over the Kûr, to obſerve the motions of this enemy, were defeated; but a ſtronger detachment advancing to ſupport them, under the command of the mîrza Mirân Shâh, Haji Sayfo'ddîn, and other princes, the Kipjacks were routed in their turn, and purſued as far as Dârbend. The priſoners Timûr generouſly releaſed without ranſom.

Defeats the Kipjâks.

Deſtroys Alenjik.

From the Kûr he marched to Gheukche Tenghîz, that is, *the Blue Sea*, where the empreſs Saray Mulk Khanûm arrived with her two ſons, from Samarkand. At length he proceeded to Alenjik, where there was a fortreſs be-

(U) It is the cuſtom to preſent nine pieces of a ſort.

longing

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A.D. 1387. longing to soltân Ahmed, which he took, and razed to the ground [f].

Chastises the Turkmâns. Advice arriving, that the Turkmâns were continually molesting the Mohammedans; that they robbed the karawâns, not sparing even those of Mecca; and that nobody could pass in safety by the places where they dwelt, Timûr left the province of Nakchivân, and resolved to chastise those ruffians. In the way, he ordered the baggage to repair to Alatak; when he arrived at the castle of Bayezîd, his troops pillaged it, and carried off all that the inhabitants had left in the adjacent country.

Reduces Armenia, In the course of his progress, he compelled Taharton, sovereign of Arzengan, to submit and pay tribute: he reduced Arzerum, Mush, and Aklat. Then, proceeding to Adeljawz, the prince came out to meet him with presents, and was confirmed in the possession of his principality. The emperor continued his march by the lake of Vân; and, having passed Bend Mahi, at length arrived at Alatak, where he joined the baggage and body of the army. The forces, thus united, advanced to Vân and Vastân. Mâlek Azzo'ddîn, who commanded in the former, retreated into the citadel, which was very strong, situated on the ridge of a mountain, bounded on one side by the lake. The army used all their efforts to take both the castle and the town. At length the prince came out, and submitted: but the inhabitants refusing to surrender, the siege was renewed; and the fortress, which had never been conquered before, was entered on the twentieth day by the soldiers; who slew a great number of those robbers.

and Kurdestân. Timûr, having ordered the castle of Vân to be demolished, went to Salmâz, a city of Azerbejân, where he left Mâlek Azzo'ddîn in possession of all Kûrdestân. At the same time the prince of Armitzek came to submit, and was confirmed in the principality of Armit. The emperor marched to Marâgha, and Ghilân: from whence, in autumn 789, he set out to conquer the kingdoms of Fârs and Irâk. He had some time before sent to summon to his court Zayno'labeddîn, prince of Shîrâz, whose father, Shâh Shûjah, before he died, had recommended him to Timûr's protection; but this prince, instead of obeying the summons, imprisoned the envoy. The army, taking its route through the country of Hamadân, arrived at Jer-

[f] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 469—478. cap. 54—58.

badekhân,

badekhân, from whence the emperor advanced to Ispâhân. The governor Seyd Muzaffer Kâshi, maternal uncle of soltân Zayno'labeddîn, with other chief men, came out to implore the mercy of Timûr; who entered the city, and lodged in the fortress of Tabarrûk. Having placed a garrison in the city, and appointed a governor, he returned to his camp; but in the night, the populace headed by one Ali Kuchapa a blacksmith, took to their arms, and massacred the commissaries of Timûr, with about three thousand of his soldiers [g].

Next morning, when Timûr was informed of this sedition, he ordered his army to take the city by assault. Troops were sent to guard the quarter of the sharîfs, and doctors of the law; but he ordered all the rest of the inhabitants to be put to the sword, excepting those who had preserved any of his soldiers. According to the registers of the divân, the number of the slain amounted to seventy thousand; their heads were laid in heaps on the walls, and aftewards piled up in towers, as usual. *The inhabitants slaughtered.*

After the reduction of Ispâhân, Timûr marched towards Shîrâz: on advice of this motion, Zayno'labeddîn, prince of Pârs, or Proper Persia, fled with his troops to join shâh Mansûr, governor of Tostar, his cousin-german; but his soldiers, being bribed, went over to Mansûr; who, seizing the imprudent prince, first imprisoned him, and afterwards his treacherous troops, confiscating all their effects. Mean while the emperor arriving at Shîrâz, on the first of Zulhajeh, that metropolis, with the whole kingdom, submitted. The governors agreed to pay one thousand tomans (W) Kapeghi; and the kotbah was read in Timûr's name. Here shâh Yahîa, prince of Yazd, a city of Pârs, nephew of the late shâh Shuja; soltân Ahmed, prince of Kermân, brother of the same Shuja; and Abû Ishâk, his grandson, from Sirjian; all the neighbouring sovereigns; also the atâbeks of Lor and Gurghian Lar, came and made their submission; while the troops continued to pillage the countries which refused to obey the summons [h]. *Pârs and Kermân yield.*

[g] Hist. Tim. Bek. p. 278—290. cap. 58—60. [h] Idem, p. 290—299. cap. 60—62.

(W) A toman is worth twenty French crowns. La Croix.

SECT.

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SECT. III.

Wars with the Kipjáks and Getes. Conquest of the Countries to the Euphrates.

Toktamîsh Khân repulsed.

IN the interim, Toktamîsh, khân of Kipjâk, defeated by Timûr in the West, had gone round, and attacked his dominions in the East. His army, having passed by Saganâk, invested Sabrân; but were obliged to raise the siege. However, as they continued to ravage the country, the Mîrza Omar Sheykh marched from Andekhân; and, being joined by the troops left at Samarkand, crossed the Sihûn in autumn. They met the enemy's army in the field of Juklik, five leagues to the east of Otrâr; and fought till night. Ankatûra, nephew of the amîr Haji Bey, with an army from Mogulestân, having in the mean time arrived at Sayrâm and Tâshkunt, Omar Sheykh immediately returned to cut off their retreat; and came up with them before Aksiket. The armies, for some days, marched along the banks of the Sihû, in view of each other, waiting for an opportunity of engaging to advantage [1].

The Getes defeated.

At length, one night, Anketûra, leaving one thousand men in his camp, with orders to light fires, that the mirza might think all the army was still there, marched with the rest of his troops, and forded the Sihûn. At the same time Omar Sheykh advanced against and fought him; but, as the enemy far surpassed him in number of forces, he desisted, and entered Andekhân. Anketûra pursued him, and attempted to seize all the avenues; but the mîrza harrassed him with sallies in such a manner, that growing weary of the expedition, he returned homewards. The troops of Kipjâk pillaged the towns of Great Bukhâria; and, being joined at Bokhâra, by another body of their army, besieged that city: but, as they were always worsted in their attacks, they raised the siege, and made incursions through the country; in one of which, they burnt Zenjîr Saray, one of the emperor's palaces, whither they were conducted by soltân Mahmûd, son of Kay Kosrû Katlâni.

New conquests settled.

When Timûr received advice of this invasion, he gave the government of Shîrâz to shâh Yahîa, nephew of shâh Shuja; that of Ispâhân to soltân Mehemed, son of shâh Ya-

[1] Hist. Tim. Bek. p. 290—299. cap. 60—62.

hîa;

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hîa; that of Kirmân to ſoltân Ahmed, brother of ſhâh Shuja; and inveſted the ſoltân Abu Is-hâk, ſhâh Shuja's grandſon, with the government of the province, as well as city and caſtle, of Sirjiân, which he beſtowed on him and his heirs for ever, ſigning all their patents with the imperial ſignet called altomga, that is, *the mark of the red hand.* Then he ſent all the great amîrs belonging to the court of the late ſhâh Shuja, with all the mechanics of Shîrâz, to Samarkand; and he himſelf ſet out for that city, at the end of Moharran 790. As ſoon as the enemy heard that he had croſſed the Jihûn with his army, they retreated to Kipjâk, and were purſued as far as Bilen.

In the beginning of the year Timûr departed for Karazm; and at the river Shedris, learned by a deſerter, that Ilitmiſh Aglan, king of that country, and Solymân Sofi, had quitted that kingdom, and retreated to Kipjâk. In conſequence of this intelligence he ſent ſome troops in purſuit of them, who, overtaking them, made a terrible ſlaughter, and plundered their baggage. When he reached the capital of Karazm, he ordered the inhabitants to remove, with their goods, to Samarkand; and razed that great city to the very foundations, ſowing the ground with barley. However, in 793, Mûſik being ſent by Timûr to Karazm, he repeopled the country, and reſtored it to its ancient ſplendor. Hejra 790. A.D. 1388.

During Timûr's expedition into Karazm, Mehemed Mireke, ſon of Shîr Bahrâm, whom he had made governor of Katlân, and honoured in marriage with his daughter ſoltân Bâkt Begum, revolted; and inveſted Termed, but could not take that city. On the firſt news of this rebellion, the mîrza Omar Sheykh purſued the rebels, who diſperſed; and Mireke fled to the kingdom of Katlân. Being followed by the mîrza to the narrow paſs called Darey Darvâz, he implored the protection of ſhâh Jalalo'ddîn, who refuſed him entrance into the caſtle: to add to his affliction, moſt of his domeſtics abandoned him. Mean time Omar Sheykh could get no tidings of him; but while he ſtaid in Katlân, waiting the event, one of his officers, in his way to Samarkand with ſome domeſtics, arrived at a fountain in Katlân; where obſerving the tracks of horſes which had gone out of the common road, he had the curioſity to follow them; and had no ſooner paſſed ſome hills, than he perceived Mehemed ſitting with four ſervants, while their horſes fed on the graſs. He immediately ſurrounded, ſeized, and bound them; then *Revolt of Mireke, and Bûrûlday ſuppreſſed.*

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sent notice to the mîrza, who ordered him to put Mireke to death.

At the same time that Mireke rebelled, the amîr Jehân Shâh departed from Kondoz with the tomâns of Bûrûlday, Taykhân, and Aperdi. In their march, that of Bûrûlday revolted, and returned back: the amîr, with some troops, pursued them to Bakalân, and pillaged their houses. Hearing of Mereke's rebellion, he prepared to march against him; and advanced with a detachment to the Jihûn, where he was to be joined by two other commanders with the rest: but, as soon as night came, Junayd Bûrûlday, and his brother Bayezîd, revolting with the squadrons they commanded, consisting of three thousand horse, attacked Jehân Shâh, who had no more than sixty men; yet this valiant general, having the river on his back, advanced with his soldiers against the rebels; and, when they had emptied their quivers, had recourse to their lances and swords. Mean time Koja Yusef, son of Olajîa Itû, sent Jehân Shâh word, that he was hastening to his assistance. Animated by this intelligence, his men held firm till night; when Yusef arrived, and fell so vigorously on the enemy, that they fled with great precipitation [k].

Hejra 791. A.D. 1389. Towards the latter end of the year, Toktamîsh Khân, of Kipjâk, brought a numerous army into the field, composed of the troops of Russia, Chirkassia, Bulgaria, Kipjâk, Krîm, Kaffa, Allan, and Azâk. Timûr immediately appointed a place of rendezvous for his army, six leagues from his capital, and went thither in person; but being informed that Ilitmîsh Khân had passed the Jihûn at Kojend with a great body of horse, and encamped at no great distance, he would not wait for reinforcements, but began his march against the enemy, though the ground was covered with snow. Being joined on his march by mîrza Omra Sheykh, with the troops of Andekhân; he detached a body of horse to fall on the enemy's rear; and block up the passes to hinder their retreat. Next morning they came in sight of the enemy; and immediately made the great cry Sûrûn! as an intimation to begin the battle. After a bloody engagement, the enemy were obliged to fly; and, being pursued, many flung themselves into the Jihûn, to avoid the sword; while the rest, meeting with the troops sent to cut off their retreat, were hemmed in, and the greater part put to the sword. Timûr then returned to his capital; and, in the month of Safar

The Kipjâks defeated, with great slaughter.

[k] Hist. Tim. Bek. p. 305—315. lib. iii. cap. 1, & seqq.

791,

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791, encamped near that city; waiting for the troops from all parts of the empire, which arrived in the beginning of spring. In the month of Rabiyo'lawel he began his march for Kipjâk; and passed the Sihûn at Kojend, over a bridge of boats, at the head of a formidable army. The van surprised the enemy's advanced-guard, and cut most of them to pieces; the rest fled to Toktamîsh Khân, who had laid siege to Sabrân, but was obliged to raise it; and as soon as he heard that Timûr had passed the river, he fled with precipitation through the desert.

Timûr marches into Jetah;

Timûr, having ruined the Sarbedâl kingdom, was prevailed on by his lords to quit the farther pursuit of Toktamîsh Khân for the present, and turn his arms against Kezra Koja Aglan, king of Jetak, and Ankatûra. He departed from Alkûshûn in 791, and took the road of Mount Urnak; beyond which, being in great want of water, they found in the desert a large meadow covered with ice and snow, though in the midst of summer, which relieved both men and cattle. At the town of Shipar Aygher, they defeated one thousand horse belonging to Ankatûra, who, they learned, was at Uronk, or Uronkyar, another town of Jetah. The army marched that way; but, the guide having lost his road in the night, Timûr next day divided it into two bodies; one he kept with himself, and gave the other to the mîrza Omar Sheykh, to seek the enemy. After having passed through many towns and villages, he encamped at Karaguchûr, a temple of the Mungls; while the mîrza, taking another route, at length came up with Ankatûra, at the town of Kûbak; where he defeated and obliged him to fly to Kakamaburjî; abandoning to the victor his cattle and daughters, who were exceedingly beautiful [1].

Hejra 791. A.D. 1389.

On his return he was ordered to go in quest of part of the army detached on another service. He was accompanied only with fifty persons; but they were all princes, amîrs, and generals. When he arrived at the plain of Ichmas Alagheul, they fell in with eight hundred of the enemy's horse, whom they defeated, after a bloody conflict, and returned with their cattle to the camp at Karaguchûr. As Timûr remained here to refresh his horses, he detached thirty thousand men towards Artish in quest of the enemy. When they arrived at the Irtish, they marched along that river, and sent detachments into the isles, and other places, where they slew and took a great number of

[1] Hist. Tim. Bek. p. 315—328. cap. 2—5.

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priſoners, with their effects. At their return the enemy decamped; and paſſing the great deſert, after many days journey, arrived at Aymal Gûjû, capital of Jetah.

and defeats Kezra Koja Khân.

Timûr, in order effectually to root out the Getes, divided his army into ſeveral bodies, under as many generals, who were ordered to take different routes; being provided both with guides and charts of the country. The mîrza Omar Sheykh, croſſing the mountain Dûbeſhin Andûr, proceeded as far as Karakoja, three months journey of the karâwân from Samarkand: another party penetrated to the town of Kara Arf, and valley of Shûrûjluk, in Moguleſtân: Kodâdad Huſſayni, with a body of twenty thouſand men, arriving at Bikût, by way of Urichû, towns in the ſame country, met with the tribes of Bulgaji and Ilker, whom they defeated, after a bloody battle, which continued for twenty-four hours. Thoſe who eſcaped fell into the hands of Timûr; who, with his guards and houſhold troops, having taken the road of Oluk Kûl, engaged them at the hill of Sichkhân Daban, and cut them to pieces. A fifth body advanced as far as Ligh and Gheveyar, towns in Moguleſtân.

Several amîrs, who had been ordered to follow Timûr in this expedition, after many days journey, came to Urdaban, a mountain of Jetah, near Great Bukhâria, then croſſed the river Abeile, and arrived at Sutgheul. At length they advanced to Chicheklik and Balaykhân, towns of Moguleſtân, which they plundered. At Molzûdû they met with Kezra Koja Aglen, king of Moguleſtân, at the head of a great army: as they were much inferior to the enemy in number, they diſmounted, and tying the bridles of their horſes to their girdles, diſcharged their arrows: they fought back to back, turning on all ſides, without ſtirring out of the place for forty-eight hours; at the end of which they made a treaty with the enemy, and retired to Yulduz, the place of rendezvous.

who quits Jetah.

Timûr, who was then at Keytû, paſſing by Konghez, arrrived at Yelduz, where, chuſing out the braveſt men of his army, he croſſed the river at Ulakianawr, and followed the track of Kezar Koja Aglen. After having paſſed the great deſert, he arrived at Karabûlak; from thence he advanced to Tabertâſh, and coming to Kûſhon Kay, diſcovered the enemy's army, who fled under cover of the night; and as they took different routes, many fell into the hands of Timur's troops, and were ſlain. The emperor, having paſſed the mountain Nayrin Keutel, purſued the enemy to Karatâſh, another mountain; and thus conſtrained

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conſtrained the king of Jetah to abandon his kingdom, after having ſuffered infinite fatigues, and ſeen all his ſoldiers either ſlain or taken priſoners, as well as his wives and children, together with the inhabitants of this country, which beſides was entirely ruined.

After theſe exploits, Timûr began his march homewards; and at Jaliſh, a town near Bikût, divided the immenſe booty among his ſoldiers. From thence, paſſing by the town of Kajirtû, and mountain Bilajir, he arrived at Yulduz, that is, *the Morning Star*; ſo called from the beauty of its fountains and paſtures; a moſt delightful place. From thence the mîrza Omar Sheykh was ſent home, by the way of the Iron Gate, named Koluga; beyond which he found the prince Kublik, one of the great amîrs of the Getes, whom he defeated with great ſlaughter, and ſlew. The mîrza having ſeized his effects, and exterminated his ſubjects, continued his route by Kûzan, Ucheferman, and the great city of Kâſhgar, from whence at length he arrived at Andekhân[m]. *Timûr at Yuldûz.*

Timûr, having finiſhed the expedition againſt the Getes, left Kechik Yulduz, or the Leſſer Yulduz, in order to return, after a march of above one thouſand leagues. When he arrived at Yulduz, or the Greater Yulduz, he made a magnificent entertainment for the generals and officers of his army, on whom he beſtowed robes of honour, and belts adorned with precious ſtones. Then proceeding on his march, he arrived at Samarkand in twenty-two days, though reckoned two months journey by the karawân. In winter he went to Bokhâra, and paſſed the ſeaſon at Gheul-ferketi, near that city, where he took the diverſion of fowling; the ponds being ſtocked with an incredible number of ſwans, and other kinds of birds. Here he gave the princeſs Soltân Bakt Begûm, widow of Mereke, in marriage to amîr Solymân Shâh, and married the young mîrza Abûbekr to the daughter of the amîr Haji Sayfo'ddîn. *Returns to Samarkand.*

When winter was elapſed, Timûr went to encamp at Akiar, in the meadow of Kaſh, on the bank of the river Koſhka. As the officers were become very rich by the ſpoil they had acquired in the wars, he thought it adviſeable to augment the regiments; that, by encreaſing the expences of the commanders, he might diminiſh their wealth, which might ſeduce them from their obedience. He aſſembled the kûrûltay in 792: he gave the grandees *Political regulations.* Hejra 792. A.D. 1390.

[m] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 328—338, cap. 5, & ſeq.

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A.D.1390. another magnificent feaſt; and on this occaſion married his grandſon, the mîrza Omar Sheykh, to the princeſs Sevinj Kotluk Aga, daughter of Sheyrin Bey Aga. Then he diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and returned to Samarkand.

Kamro'ddîn purſued.

At the beginning of the ſame year he ſent an army into the country of the Getes, under the command of the amîrs Solymân Shâh, Kodadad Huſſayn, Shamſo'ddîn Abbâs, and his brother Ozmân. Having croſſed the Sihûn at Tâſhkunt, they marched to Iſſigheul, and from thence to Gheuktopa: from thence they took the road of the mountain Arjakû, deſtroying the country, ſlaying or inſlaving the people, and carrying away their effects. Thus they proceeded through all the provinces of the Getes, and advanced as far as Al Mâlegh; where, having ſwam over the river Abeile, they arrived at Karatâl, a hord belonging ro Ankatûra. Being informed that four hundred men, detached before to get intelligence, had met with Kamro'ddîn; that moſt of the ſoldiers on each ſide were ſlain; and that the prince had marched towards Ichna Buchna, they departed in ſearch of him; and having paſſed through that town, arrived at Uker Kaptaji, where they left their baggage, and rode poſt towards the Irtiſh. When they arrived at that river they learned that Kamro'ddîn had croſſed it, and was gone towards Tawlas, into the woods where ſables and ermins are found. The amîrs paſſed the Irtiſh by means of the rafts and boats which the enemy had left behind; and impreſſed their arms with fire on the pine-trees, as an evidence to ſucceeding ages of their conqueſts beyond that river. After they had been abſent ſix months, they returned by Altûn Kawrke, a town on the great lake of Atrak Gheul, where there is a convenient road made along its banks [n].

Timûr invades Kipjâk.

In autumn Timûr made preparations for carrying the war into Kipjâk. Having viſited the tomb of ſheykh Maſlahet, where many miracles are ſaid to be wrought, he croſſed the Sihûn at Kojend, and went to Tâſhkunt, between Barſin and Chinas, with deſign to paſs the winter in that city, where he lay dangerouſly ſick for forty days. On his recovery the mîrza Mirân Shâh, arrived with the troops of Khoraſſân; and on the 12th of Safar, 793, Timûr began his march, conducted by Timûr Kotluk Aglen, ſon of Timûr Mâlek, khân of Kipjâk; Konje Aglen, another prince of that country; and Aydekû Uzbek. He left the mîrzas Pîr Mehemed and Shâh Rukh to govern

[n] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 338—347. cap. 7—9.

the

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the empire of Jagatay in his abſence; and ſent away all the women, excepting his favourite ſoltâna Chulpan Mulk Aga, daughter of Haji Bey, of Jetah.

When they arrived at Kara Suman, a town of Kipjâk, ambaſſadors arrived from Toktamîſh Khân, with a letter, and preſented the emperor with a ſhonkar, and nine very fleet horſes. Although Timûr received preſents, the ambaſſadors had no great reaſon to be pleaſed with their reception. He inveighed bitterly againſt their maſter's ingratitude, and breach of oath: he ſaid Toktamîſh was not to be truſted; however, that if he ſincerely deſired peace, he ſhould ſend Ali Bey, his firſt miniſter, to treat with his great amîrs. He then regaled them, and ordered them to follow the army, which, in the beginning of March, proceeded in the conqueſt of the empire of Tuſhi. They paſſed by Yaſſi, Karachoh, and Sabrân; but in three weeks, for want of water, the horſes were reduced to extremity. At length, on the 26th, they arrived at Sarek Uzan, where, the river being full, their want was ſupplied. Having ſwam over, they continued their march in the great deſert, and encamped in places where there were wells, to avoid the like inconvenience. *Refuſes to withdraw.*

On the 12th of April they arrived at the mountain Ulûk Tâk, from whence he viewed the vaſt deſert of Kipjâk, which, for its extent and verdure, appeared like the ſea. There he ordered a ſtone obelisk to be erected, and inſcribed with the date of his expedition. From thence they hunted to the river Ilanjûk, which they croſſed, and in eight days arrived at Anakargû, in Kipjâk. In all this march, of ſix or ſeven months, from Tâſhkunt, they had not met with a ſingle man, or any ſpot of cultivated land. Victuals were now extremely ſcarce; ſo that they were forced to hunt for their food. Among other game, they found a ſort of ſtags, larger than buffalos, call kandagay by the Mungls, and buken by the Kipjâks. Hejra 793. A.D. 1391. *His army diſtreſſed.*

Timûr, reſolving to ſend a general to command the mangalay, or van-guard, the young mîrza Mehemed Soltân fell on his knees, and beſought his father to honour him with that poſt. The emperor, much pleaſed with his reſolution at ſo tender an age, granted his requeſt, informing him at the ſame time, that he had need of great preſence of mind, a ſtrong conſtitution, and uncommon activity, to acquit himſelf of an employment which was the principal part of war, and on which the ſecurity of the army entirely depended. On the 24th of April, the hour being fixed by the aſtrologers, the mîrza put himſelf at the *Seek the enemy.*

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A.D. 1391. head of the light troops, to go in queſt of the enemy. They found a beaten road, and fires in many places; then paſſed the river Tûpal, but found no enemy. At length they met with ten horſemen in a wood, who gave them tidings of Tokatmîſh Khân. After having paſſed ſeveral lakes and rivers, on the 11th of May they arrived at the river Tîk, which the army were two days in ſwimming over, becauſe Timûr ſuſpected ambuſcades at the three fords. Six days after, coming to the river Semmûr, the advanced-guard heard the cries of the enemy; and one of them being taken, declared that a number of the ordas had been there encamped, but returned as ſoon as they were informed of Timûr's approach.

Get intelligence of Toktamîſh. The emperor, on this advice, advanced in order, and May the 17th arrived at the river Ayik (Y), or Jaïk, which the army croſſed, partly over a bridge, and partly by ſwimming. Three of the enemy, who were taken, related that two deſerters firſt informed Tokatmîſh Khân of Timûr's invaſion: that the khân, enraged at their information, ſaid he would raiſe two armies, and ſent to aſſemble troops from his camp, then at Kerk Gheul; that expecting Timûr would croſs the Tîk at the ordinary paſſes, he lay there in ambuſcade to ſurpriſe him. After having received this account, the emperor marched with great precaution, and ordered lines to be drawn round the camp every night. The army was greatly fatigued with paſſing the marſhes they met with in this country. At length three bodies of the enemy came in view, but ſoon diſappeared: however, the ſcouts found a troop of horſe in a wood, ſome of whom were killed, and forty taken. They had repaired to Kerk Gheul, according to proclamation; but to their ſurprize, finding no troops aſſembled at the place of rendezvous, they wandered in the woods: after having made this diſcovery, they were all put to death. The ſon of the prince of Memak being wounded, was taken: he ſaid he was on the road to Saray, the capital of Kipjâk, to meet the khân; but did not find him at the rendezvous, nor could give any account of him °.

Meet the ſcouts. Mean while the ſcouts, aſcending a hill, diſcovered thirty companies of horſe in armour, watching to ſurpriſe the invaders. The ſcouts retired without noiſe; while

° Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 347—366. cap. 9—12.

(X) A river of Kipſhâk, or Kipjâk, which falls into the Caſpian Sea. La Croix.

(Y) Or Jaïk, a river which falls into the Caſpian Sea. La Croix.

Aykûtmûr

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Aykûtmûr remained behind with ſome horſe to ſecure their retreat: but the enemy obſerving what paſſed, fell upon him at full ſpeed. The valiant amîr made a brave reſiſtance; but having two horſes ſhot under him, he was ſurrounded on foot, and cut in pieces by the Kipjâks. His death was followed by that of Heri Mulk, ſon of Yadghiar Berlâs; the famous Ramazân Koja; and the celebrated Mehemed Erlât, who were the greateſt captains Timûr had: but their death was ſoon revenged; for the army advancing, attacked, and routed the Kipjâks, with great ſlaughter. After this action the ſcouts of the enemy appeared, and ſkirmiſhed every day with Timur's ſoldiers. At length the two armies coming in ſight on the 5th of July, the emperor ranged his army with great care, dividing it into ſeven bodies; and this diſpoſition being uncommon, it was believed to be the effect of ſpecial inſpiration. A D. 1391.

Order of battle.

He gave the command of the firſt body, which ſerved for the van-guard, to ſoltân Mahmûd Khân; and the amîr Solymân Shâh was his lieutenant-general. He placed the mîrza Mehemed Soltân at the head of the ſecond diviſion, which paſſed for the main body. The third, which ſerved as the rear, or body of reſerve, conſiſting of the regiment of guards, and twenty companies of choſen veterans, was conducted by Timûr himſelf, and poſted behind the ſecond body, to reinforce the other diviſions, in caſe of need. At the head of the fourth, which ſerved for a right wing, was the mîrza Mirân Shâh, whoſe lieutenant-general was the prince Mehemed Soltân Shâh. The fifth body, deſigned as a van-guard to the ſaid right wing, was led by the amîr Haji Sayfo'ddîn, who uſually engaged in the moſt dangerous enterprizes. The ſixth, conſiſting of the troops of Andekhân, compoſed the left wing, and had for its leader the mîrza Omar Sheykh. Laſtly, the ſeventh body ſerved for a van-guard to the left wing, and was commanded by Birdi Bey, ſon of Sâr Buga, and by Kodadad Huſſayn, amîrs of undaunted bravery, and approved conduct. The army of Tokatmiſh Khân which exceeded that of Timûr's in number, was divided into three bodies, as uſual. His officers were all princes of the blood of Tuſhi, and his ſoldiers completely armed. The battle began at the ſound of the great trumpet kerrenay (Z). Timûr prayed to God devoutly for ſucceſs, and Seyd Bereke promiſed him victory.

(Z) Of a monſtrous ſize, very deep ſound, and heard ſeveral miles off.

The

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A.D. 1391

The fight begins.

The amîr Haji Sayfo'ddîn was the firſt who ruſhed on the enemy's left wing, and routed it: a party of Kipjâks advanced to attack his rear; but were forced to retreat, by Jehân Shâh Bahâdr, who marched againſt them with his detachment from the body of reſerve. Mean while the mîrza Mirân Shâh, with the right wing, put their cavalry into confuſion, and overthrew their left wing; while Mehemed Soltân, with the main body, broke through that of the enemy. Omar Sheykh, with the left wing, did great execution; and Birdi Bey, with Kodadad Huſſayn, put their right wing to flight. The other generals had no leſs ſucceſs. Tokatmiſh Khân obſerving how his troops diminiſhed, and finding he could not withſtand the ſquadrons which Timûr commanded in perſon, attacked the mîrza Omar Sheykh, but without making any impreſſion. He afterwards fell on the orda of Seldûz with ſuch fury, that, notwithſtanding Timûr Bahâdr's brave reſiſtance, the Kipjâks had nearly defeated him. They penetrated through the ſquadrons, and even took poſt behind the imperial army.

Tokatmiſh Khân defeated.

Timûr, who was in purſuit of the enemy's main body, being informed of this incident, turned his troops on that ſide; but as ſoon as Tokatmiſh Khân, whom Omar Sheikh had already engaged, perceived the imperial ſtandard moving towards him, he loſt courage, and fled. The other generals following his example, the Mungl army was entirely routed: while the victors purſuing, made a dreadful ſlaughter, for forty leagues together. The emperor having returned the Deity thanks for this great victory, and received the compliments of his generals, detached two thirds of his cavalry to deſtroy the remainder of the enemy, whoſe flight being obſtructed by the river Wolga, very few of them eſcaped the ſwords of their purſuers, who carried away their women, children, baggage, and other effects. Konje Aglen, Timûr Kotluk Aglen, and Aydekû, three princes of the blood of Tûſhi, who bore an ancient hatred to Toktamiſh, from whom they had deſerted, obtained leave of Timûr to go in purſuit of the tribes which they formerly commanded, promiſing to engage them in his ſervice; but Konje only, who was very familiar with the emperor, returned, with part of his ſubjects whom he found; the other two, aſpiring to the crown of Kipjâk, fled, with their hords, into the deſert [p].

Great rejoicings.

Mean while Timûr, following the troops which he had ſent in purſuit of the enemy, arrived at the Wolga, and

[p] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 366—379. cap. 12—14.

encamped

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encamped in the plain of Urtûpa, which, for its verdure and pure air, ſurpaſſes all others. Here he gave a magnificent feaſt to his amîrs, at which was ſung and played a piece of muſic, called the Triumph of Kipjâk. This plain was the ſeat of Tûſhi Khân and his ſucceſſors. All the army ſhared in the diverſions, which laſted twenty-ſix days. After this victory no more enemies remained in the deſerts or the iſles of Wolga, Timûr therefore ſet out on his return, followed by a great train of captives. All the poor ſervants of the camp, who before could ſcarce find ſubſiſtence, were now in poſſeſſion of ſo many horſes and ſheep, that, not being able to carry all away with them, they were obliged to leave part behind.

Timûr returns.

When the army arrived at the Tîk, Konje Aglen, who but a little time before had returned, with his ſubjects, to the camp, now fled with them into the deſert. Some days after the army had croſſed that river, Timûr, leaving the amîr Haji Sayfo'ddîn, with other commanders, to conduct the body of the army and baggage, went before, through the reſt of the deſert, to Sabrân and Otrâr, then croſſing the Sihûn, arrived at Samarkand, where he was received with the uſual ſolemnity. He afterwards began his journey for Taſhkunt, and repaſſing the river, encamped in the great plain of Barſin, near that city; where, in the beginning of the year 794, the amîr Haji Sayfo'ddîn arrived with the troops; ſo that this important campaign continued eleven months. Towards ſpring the emperor returned to Samarkand, where he entertained the court with a general hunting, and appointed the mîrza Pîr Mehemed, ſon of Jehân Ghîr, governor of the kingdom which formerly belonged to the great ſoltân Mahmûd, that is, all the country from Gâzna and Kâbul, as far as Hindûſtân, and from Kandahar to the river Indus, called in Perſian, Ab Send.

Hejra 794. A.D. 1392.

Marriages celebrated.

As many princes and great lords deſired leave of him to marry their children, he not only conſented, but, to convince them he ſhared in their joy, would alſo be preſent himſelf at their feaſts. A royal banquet was prepared for this purpoſe in the meadow of Kanigheul, where the tables were ranged like an army in order of battle, Timûr being placed at the head of them on a throne of gold. The bridegrooms were on one ſide, and the brides on the other. To honour the occaſion, the mîrzas Pîr Mehemed, and his brother Ruſtem, married the daughters of Kayâzo'ddîn Terkhân, and the mîrza Abû Bekr, ſon of Mirân

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A.D. 1392. Mirân Shâh, espoused the daughter of the amîr Haji Sayfo'ddîn [9].

Expedition into Irân. While Timûr was on his return from Kipjâk, he had resolved to make an expedition into Irân, to suppress the disorders which, during his absence, had arisen in that country. With this view he sent into all the provinces, to assemble the troops for a campaign of five years. When he was near Bokhâra, May 25th, he was seized with a distemper, which continued till June 10th. On the 6th of Ramazân (July 2) he departed at the head of his troops, having sent the mîrza Mehemed Soltân before with the van-guard. He crossed the Jihûn at Amûya, and, by way of Makhân and Abiverd, arrived at Yassi Daban, where, on the appearance of the new moon, he read the prayers of Bayrâm, which is the grand feast of the Musulmans. At Ilgazigaj Kabûshân he joined the mîrza Mehemed Soltân, who commanded the advanced guard, and, at length, arriving in the territory of Astarabâd, encamped on the river Jorjân (A), where Piri Pashâ, son of Lokmân Pashâ, paid his duty to his majesty.

Affairs of Mazânderân. The army, after three days march from Astarabâd, came to a very thick wood, through which they opened three passages, and insensibly arrived at Sâri, whence Seyd Kamâlo'ddîn, lord of that city, had fled to Seyd Râzio'ddîn, at Mahanasar. These are three towns, situated four leagues from Amol, on the shore of the Caspian Sea, where they had built a fort on an adjacent hill, which joined the sea on one side, and, instead of ditches, was surrounded with precipices, washed for the space of a mile by the sea, which, in turbulent weather, dashed over the rocks. Round the wall they had fixed great trees, so close together, that they served instead of a second wall. Hither the princes of Amol and Sâri, the rich inhabitants, and foreign merchants retired, with their families and effects, confiding in the strength of the place. Timûr, informed of these particulars, passing the lakes and marshes, arrived in three days at Amol, where he ordered the Seyd Kayâz'oddîn to advise his father to come and make his submission.

Mahanasar besieged, The army could march no more than three miles a day, because obliged to cut down trees to render the marshes

[9] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 379—386. cap. 14—16.

(A) It passes by a city of the same name, and falls into the Caspian Sea at Astarabâd. La Croix.

passable.

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paſſable. The Seyd Kamâlo'ddîn Derâz, and Mûlâna Amâdo'ddîn, came and implored pardon, which Timûr granted, on condition that the ſharîfs, who commanded in all thoſe quarters, ſhould ſend him part of the effects of the inhabitants, and that each ſhould part with one of his children as a hoſtage. The ſharîfs not liking theſe conditions, Timûr ſent ſome officers, with the maſters of the barks of the Jihûn, to ſeize the enemy's veſſels, and carrying the ſoldiers by ſquadrons to the foot of the walls, beſieged Mahanaſar in form.

and ſurrendered.

On the 25th of November, the enemy obſerving Timûr to approach the place on horſeback, through fear, came out in companies, and implored his protection: his wrath was accordingly appeaſed: he made them preſents, and exhorted them to embrace the orthodox ſect of the Sunni, in whoſe maxims he inſtructed them, and to renounce the errors of the Shiay, which they followed. Timûr ſtaid ſome days at Mahanaſar to diſpoſe of the great riches which were lodged there, among his ſoldiers, and then ordered the place to be reduced to a heap of rubbiſh. He then commanded all the Fedais (B), who were very numerous in this country, to be put to the ſword. Thus the province was freed from the diſorders committed by thoſe aſſaſſins; for, ſuch was their frantic zeal, that if they found a man who had a paper or book in his poſſeſſion, no matter whether a lawyer, philoſopher, or man of letters, they held it lawful to deſtroy him. Eſkânder Sheykhi, to revenge the death of his father, and other relations, ſlain by the Darvîſhes, diſciples of Seyd Kawâmo'ddîn, inveſted Amol, that no man might eſcape his wrath, and made the moſt terrible maſſacre in that city ever mentioned in hiſtory. Seyd Kamâlo'ddîn and his ſon were ſent in veſſels to Karazm; the ſeyds Mûrtâzah and Abdallah, with their ſons, and ſeveral others, were carried to Taſhkunt[r].

Cruel maſſacres.

Hejra 795. A.D. 1393.

Irâk invaded.

The province of Mazânderân being entirely brought under ſubjection, Timûr, in the beginning of the year 795, cauſed a fine palace to be built at Shaſman, in the neighbourhood of Jorjân. In the ſpring he reſolved to continue his conqueſts; and fixed the campaign of that year for the kingdoms of Pârs and Irâk. He departed from Mazânderân the 20th of January, having ſent the mîrza Mehemed Soltân, at the head of the van-guard, ac-

[r] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 386—396. cap. 16—19.

(B) The ſame whom Europeans call Aſſaſſins. La Croix.

companied

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A.D.1393. companied by his brother, Pîr Mehemed, the sheykh Ali Bahadr, and other amîrs. He gave the command of another van-guard to the mîrza Shâh Rukh, and went in person to Yilâk Veli. The mîrza Mehemed Soltân, and his brother, on their arrival at Kazvîn, defeated and took prisoner the governor Shâh Souar. On their approach the governor of Soltânîya fled. They garrisoned the place, and marched towards Baghdâd. In the way, a courier brought an order to reduce all the inhabitants of Kurdestân, and free the country from those robbers. The sheykh Ali Bahâdr was sent with a body of troops upon that expedition, accompanied by one of the chief men of the country, who offered to be his guide.

Kurdestân submits. Ibrahim Shâh, prince of those places, received sheykh Ali with marks of friendship, and sent his son soltân Shâh with presents to the princes, who, content with this submission, ordered sheykh Ali to return. He accordingly began his march; but on the road his guide, disappointed of his hopes, by his peace with Ibrahîm Shâh, treacherously slew him with a knife. The assassin was immediately seized by sheykh Ali's men, who put him to death with the most cruel torments, and afterwards burnt his body to ashes.

Khuzestân reduced. Timûr having proceeded from Yilâk Veli, by Damgân and Semnân, to Ray Shâhriar, in Persian Irâk, arrived at Urûdjerd on the 26th of February, and was joined by the mîrza Omar Sheykh, who had taken the road of Ava, the fortress of Kiow, Marvân, and Kerherûdh, all towns of Kûzestân, which submitted, excepting Kiow, but that was easily reduced. Timûr having left a governor in Nahawend, and troops to besiege Korramabâd, he sent parties of horse into all quarters of Loreslân to root out the robbers, and departed for Tostar (C). In eleven days he reached the bridge of the river Abzâl (D): and, when Mîrûn Shâh returned from Kashân, which submitted, sent Omar Sheykh to Havîza, which made no resistance, its governor for Manfûr king of Fârs having fled. When Timûr arrived at Tostar, he sent troops to pillage the country, and crossing the Chehâr Donke, encamped in a forest of palms near that city.

(C) Capital of Kurestân, a mistake for Khuzestân, between Fârs and Irâk Arabi. La Croix.

(D) A river which runs through Khuzestân, by Tostar, and falls into the Persian Gulf at Hesn Mâhdi. It is famous for an aqueduct a mile long, built by Shâbur, or Sapores, king of Persia. La Croix.

When

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When Timûr encamped in the neighbourhood of Toſtar there were no fewer than ten pretenders to the kingdom of Fars, or Perſia, all of the houſe of Muzaffer, who making war upon one another, threw the whole empire of Irân into confuſion; for which reaſon Timûr reſolved to ſubdue thoſe turbulent princes, and reſtore peace.

Timur reduces Kalaa Sefid.

With this view, April 17, he left Toſtar, which he had reduced, and marched with expedition towards Shîraz. Having croſſed the rivers Abargûn and Kavedân, he, on the firſt of May, encamped at the foot of Kalaa Sefid, or *the White Caſtle*, one of the ſtrongeſt citadels in all Aſia. It ſtood at the top of a very rugged mountain, the only aſcent to which was one ſlippery path, ſo formed, that in any narrow part three men might hinder a hundred thouſand from paſſing. On the top was a fine plain, twelve miles in compaſs, ſtocked with water, animals, trees, and cultivated lands; ſo that thoſe who poſſeſſed it were ſecure againſt famine, and, as it was deemed inacceſſible, no prince had ever yet attempted it by ſiege.

However, Timûr aſcended the mountain, with his officers, to the gate of the fortreſs, followed by ſeveral troops. The two wings encamped on another mountain, which joined the place. Orders being given for a general aſſault, the army attacked the citadel on all ſides. Next day the attack was renewed; and the ſoldiers made breaches in the rock with pickaxes, to clear the way. At length, Akbûga, an officer, mounting a ſteep rock, the enemy were ſo ſurpriſed to ſee themſelves attacked in a place which they thought none dared to aſcend, that they left off fighting; ſo that the ſoldiers advancing on all ſides, the fortreſs was taken, and the garriſon precipitated from the top of the mountain. The governor Sadet was put to death. As for Akbûka, who firſt mounted the rock, the emperor enriched him with ſilver, ſlaves, cattle, and other valuable effects.

Manſûr attacked.

The 3d of May, Timûr proceeded, in queſt of ſhâh Manſûr, the uſurper of Perſia, who had depoſed, and impriſoned, the ſoltân Zayn Alabeddîn, in the Kalaa Sefid, where the emperor now found him deprived of ſight, and promiſed to redreſs his grievances. Timûr advancing to Shîrâz, perceived, in the fields without the city, three or four thouſand horſe, armed with coats of mail, helmets, and breaſt-plates of leather, lined with iron; their horſes were covered with a kind of cuiraſſes made of thick ſilk, and their enſigns diſplayed. At the head of theſe men, inured to war, Manſûr advanced like a furious lion, and attacked

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attacked Timûr's main body, compoſed of thirty thouſand Turks (E), the moſt warlike men of their time; yet he overthrew their ſquadrons, broke their ranks, and penetrated even to the rear: then returning, he rode up to Timûr, who had ſtopped, with fourteen or fifteen attendants to behold his proweſs. Though he had not his lance at hand to oppoſe him, yet he ſtood till Manſûr came up, and ſtruck him twice with his ſcimetar on the helmet. Then Adel Aktaſhi held a buckler over Timûr's head, and Komari Yeſaul advanced before him.

Killed by Shâh Rûkh. Shâh Manſûr, having been repulſed from before the emperor, aſſembled the infantry of the main body; while the mîrza Mehemed Soltân ſo vigorouſly attacked the right wing of the Perſians, that it gave way, and being purſued, a terrible ſlaughter was made. The mîrza Pîr Mehemed bravely defeated their left-wing. Several regiments which were in the main body, having been routed by ſhâh Manſûr, returned to the charge; and the mîrza Shâh Rûkh, who fought near Timûr with the utmoſt intrepidity, rallied a whole battalion which had been broke. In ſhort, this young prince, although but ſeventeen years old, behaved with ſo much valour and conduct, that he hemmed in the ſhâh, cut off his head, and caſt it at the feet of the emperor his father. This lucky incident ſo diſcouraged the Perſian troops that they fled: but while Timûr was preſented, by the amîrs, with the gold cup, according to the cuſtom of the Mungls, they, on a ſudden, ſaw a body of the enemy advancing behind to attack them; however, theſe were quickly repulſed, and cut to pieces in their flight [s].

Muzafferian princes ſlain. After this victory, Timûr made his triumphal entry into Shîrâz, and lodged in the gate of Sâlm. The treaſures of ſhâh Manſûr were then diſtributed among his amîrs, and a ranſom levied on the inhabitants. The ſame ſteps were taken at Iſpâhân. The princes of the family of Muzaffer, having no place to retire to, reſolved to ſubmit, and made rich preſents to the emperor; but the ſheykhs, doctors, and imâms, with the chief inhabitants, of Fârs and Irâk, having preſented him petitions, (in which they diſplayed the diſorders brought in by the Muzafferian princes, and requeſted that his majeſty would no longer truſt the com-

[s] Hiſt. Tim. Bek. p. 409—419, cap. 23—25.

(T) Turks, Moguls, and Tatars, are, by the author Sharifo'ddîn Ali, uſed ſynonymouſly, as hath been already obſerved.

mand

mand of two kingdoms in the hands of those tyrants) he, in the middle of June, ordered those princes to be seized, loaded with chains, and their houses pillaged. He appointed governors in their room; placing over the kingdom of Fârs his son the mîrza Omar Sheykh; and restored Pîr Ahmed to the government of the little kingdom of Loreſtân, or Malamîr, of which shâh Manſûr had deprived him. In fine, towards the end of June, at the village Kûmſha, near Iſpâhân, he iſſued that famous order, ſo remarkable in hiſtory, and much deſired by the people, that the princes of the houſe of Mûzaffer ſhould be put to death (F); an edict which was rigorouſly executed, according to the laws of Jenghîz Khân.

Timûr, having ſtayed five days at Iſpâhân, repaired to Jerbâdekhân. Next night he arrived at Ankûan, whoſe inhabitants, being atheiſts, had fortified themſelves in caverns and rocks; but the army drowned them, by forming rivulets along the mountains, and then breaking down the banks, let the water deſcend in torrents into their hiding places. The emperor, while encamped in the plain of Hamadân, as a recompenſe for the ſervices of the mîrza Mirân Shâh, inveſted him with the kingdom of Hûlâkû, giving him the ſovereignty of Azerbijân, Kûheſtân, Shîrvân, and Ghilân, with their dependencies, and the adjacent country as far as Rûm, or Anatolia, ſubject to the Othmâns; on which occaſion, the mîrza gave his father a magnificent entertainment. *Yezdi deſtroyed.*

Timûr advancing to Kûlâghi, a town of Kûrdeſtân, led his troops againſt the robber Sarek Mehemed, the Turkmân; who had fortified himſelf in the mountains, where he had a citadel, called Habâſhi. This, however, was taken, and great numbers of the banditti were put to the ſword. As there was another place in thoſe parts, in which a great number of ghebrs (G) were aſſembled, Timûr ordered it to be attacked. The ſiege laſted ſome time; but being at length taken, it was reduced to rubbiſh, and the people were maſſacred. While the court reſided at Ak Bûlak, the great mufti Nûro'ddîn Abdarârh- *Ghebrs maſſacred.*

(F) All the princes of that houſe were executed, who could be found, excepting prince Shebeli, whoſe eyes had been put out by his father ſhâh Shuja; and Zayn Alabo'ddîn, blinded by ſhâh Manſûr; theſe two were ſent to Samarkand, and part of that city aſſigned them for their maintenance.

(G) Adorers of fire, profeſſing the ancient religion of the Perſians.

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mân, came as ambaſſador from ſoltân Ahmed Jalayr, of Baghdâd, with offers of ſubmiſſion, and preſents; which the emperor did not receive with his uſual affability, becauſe he ſuſpected Ahmed's ſincerity, as the prayers were not read, nor money coined, at Baghdâd, in his name.

Timûr marches to Baghdâd.

However, Timûr honoured the mufti for his merit; but diſmiſſed him, without any poſitive anſwer, becauſe he reſolved to beſiege Baghdâd; towards which city, he began his march October 3d. He marched day and night, without intermiſſion, he himſelf being carried in a litter. When he reached Ibrâhîm Lîk (H), he inquired of the inhabitants, whether they had ſent pigeons to Baghdâd, to give notice of the approach of his army? and, on their anſwering in the affirmative, made them write another billet, importing, that the duſt, which they had perceived at a diſtance, was cauſed by the Turkmâns, who fled to avoid Timûr. This notice was tied under the wing of a pigeon, which immediately fled to its houſe at Baghdâd. But although this advice gave ſoltân Ahmed freſh courage, yet he did not entirely confide in it; having, on the receipt of the firſt, ordered his furniture to be carried over the Tigris [t].

On the 10th of October, when Timûr arrived at Baghdâd, the ſoltân had already croſſed the river, broken the bridge, and ſunk the boats, flying by the way of Hilley. The Tatar troops, who covered near two leagues of ground, threw themſelves into the water, with a great cry, and paſſed the Tigris, notwithſtanding its rapidity. Timûr purſued the ſoltân ten leagues, and then returned to Baghdâd, at the entreaty of his amîrs, who continued their route. Theſe, when they arrived at the Euphrates, obſerving that the ſoltân had broken the bridge, and ſunk the boats, marched along the ſhore till they found four boats, and then croſſed it, with the army: but the horſes of the ſoldiers being fatigued, the amîrs were obliged to purſue the ſoltân by themſelves. They firſt came up with his baggage, and at length overtook him, in the plain of Kerbela, with near two thouſand horſe, two hundred of whom turned on the amîrs; who, alighting, diſcharged their arrows, and thus repulſed them twice. The third time they returned to the charge, with great vigour; many were killed on both ſides, and the amîrs gave up the purſuit.

[t] Hiſt. Tim. Bek. p. 419—432. cap. 25—30.

(H) A place of devotion (on the Tigris), twenty-ſeven leagues north of Baghdâd. La Croix.

About

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About the ſame time the mîrza Mehemed Soltân returned from his expedition againſt the Kûrd robbers; whom he ſo effectually reduced to obedience, or exterminated, that one or two men might ſafely travel through their country; whereas before, large karawâns, guarded by one hundred archers, were obliged to take bye-roads. The ſoltân's wives and children, with all the learned men of Baghdâd, and maſters of arts, were conveyed to Samarkand. After Timûr had ſent ambaſſadors to invite Mâlek Azzaher Barkok, ſoltân of Egypt and Syria, to a treaty of amity, he advanced, November the 11th, towards Takrît, a place on the Tigris, eſteemed impregnable, to deſtroy that neſt of robbers. The town was built on a high rock near the river; the paſſes were cloſed up with ſtones laid in mortar; and it was ſo well fortified, that it was deemed impregnable [u].

The Kûrds ſuppreſſed.

Hejra 796. A.D. 1393.

The amîr Haſſan, who commanded in the place, ſent ſeveral times to offer to capitulate. Mean while the ſoldiers, having advanced to the foot of the wall, began to ſap; the whole army, conſiſting of ſeventy-two thouſand men, being employed in the work. At length part of the walls fell down; but the beſieged repaired this great breach, and fought deſperately. Fire being afterwards ſet to the wooden props, moſt part of the walls fell on a ſudden, with a great tower. Yet ſtill the robbers, armed with planks, and great bucklers, continued to defend themſelves againſt the ſoldiers; who advanced to the very middle of the place, where a bloody battle enſued. Timûr ordered the reſt of the walls to be undermined; and a large baſtion falling, Haſſan was ſo terrified, that he retired with his ſoldiers to the edge of the mountain. Some of the beſieged came out, beſeeching the amîrs to intercede for their lives: but Timûr anſwered, "Let him come, or not, no quarter ſhall now be given." The ſoldiers, animated by theſe words of the emperor, at length gained the top of the rock; and, ſeizing the amîr Haſſan, and thoſe about him, brought them bound in chains to Timûr; who ordered the ſoldiers to be ſeparated from the inhabitants, and put to death: he likewiſe cauſed part of the walls to be left ſtanding, for poſterity to wonder at his performance, while towers were built with the heads of thoſe robbers, for a terror to others.

Takrît attacked, and taken.

Timûr returned to Harbi, a town between Annah and Takrît, which was the rendezvous of all the troops; and

Marches to Koha.

[u] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 432—443. cap. 30—33.

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thence departed for Diyârbekr. At croſſing the Tigris, he cauſed a report to be ſpread, that he was on his return home, in order to deceive the enemy: he marched to Tûk, and then to Karkûk, where all the princes of that country came and ſubmitted, eſpecially the chief of Altûn Kûpruk: he then advanced to Arbela, and from thence marched to Muzol, where he viſited the tombs of the prophets Jonas and Georges, giving twenty thouſand dinârs Kapeji for raiſing domes over them, with much alms to
A.D. 1394. the poor. Then taking Yar-ali, prince of that place, for his guide, departed: he paſſed by Mardîn; and, at Râs al Ayn, ſent to pillage the lands ſubject to Huſſayn, called the Black Sheep, and other princes. On his approach to Roha, its prince, named Ghûzel, fled with ſome inhabitants to a high mountain; but they were purſued and taken. Timûr entered the city, ſaid to be built by Nimrod; and, with his court, bathed in the fountain, which, as the Mohammedans believe, ſprang up in the place of a furnace wherein Abraham had been caſt, and quenched the fire.

Omar Sheykh ſlain.

The emperor ſpent nineteen days at Roha in ſports and entertainments, and ſeveral princes came and ſubmitted; among the reſt the prince of Heſn Keyfa: but ſoltân Ayſa, prince of Mardîn, refuſing to come as he had promiſed, Timûr marched back, and reduced him to obedience. While the army lay before Mardîn, news arrived of the death of the mîrza Omar Sheykh. This prince had reduced all Pârs, and then went to beſiege Sirjiân in Kirmân: but being ſent for to court, left his troops before that city, and haſted to Shirâz. In his way through the country of the Kûrds, he ſtopped at Kormatû, a little fort inhabited by a few people; and aſcending an eminence to view the place, was ſhot with an arrow, which killed him on the ſpot, when he was forty years old. The ſoldiers, to revenge his death, deſtroyed all who were in the place, and razed it to the ground. The kingdom of Pârs (or Proper Perſia) was given by Timûr to the mîrza Pîr Mehemed, ſon of the deceaſed, although but in the ſeventeenth year of his age *.

Al Jazîreh ravaged.

Although ſoltân Ayſa came out of Mardîn, yet his brother and the inhabitants refuſed to deliver up the place; which being found to be the effect of Ayſa's orders, he was put in fetters; but there not being forage enough for the cavalry, Timûr deferred the ſiege. Mâlek Azzo'ddîn,

* Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 443—457. cap. 33—37.

prince

prince of Jazîreh, who had before ſubmitted, refuſing to deliver up an amîr, who had ſtolen ſome curioſities belonging to Timûr, the emperor marched haſtily with his troops, and next day coming on the enemy by ſurprize, took two or three fortreſſes, with a great booty. In the confuſion, Mâlek fell into the hands of a ſoldier, who took from him many valuable things, and, not knowing who he was, let him eſcape. The emperor returned to Mardîn; and, inveſting it next day, aſſaulted and took the city, while the beſieged fled into the fortreſs named Kûh, ſituated on the ridge of a mountain. The beſieged, finding themſelves hard preſſed, came out with rich preſents, and offered to pay a yearly tribute; which was the more readily accepted, as intelligence had juſt arrived of the birth of a ſon to the heir of the crown, mîrza Shâh Rukh, who was called Oluk Bey.

Mardîn ſubmits.

Timûr gave Mardîn to ſoltân Saleh, brother of Ayſa; then the army proceeded on its march, in ſeveral bodies, by different routes. The emperor took that of Sawr, accompanied by mîrza Shâh Rukh; and, on his arrival at the Tigris, halted three days, with a deſign to return to Alatâk (in Armenia): but receiving advice from the mîrzas Mehemed Soltân and Mirân Shâh, that the inhabitants of Karâche Koja, commonly called Hamed, refuſed to ſubmit, he marched thither. The ſtrength of this city conſiſts in the height and thickneſs of its walls, which are built of free-ſtone.

Amid, or Diydrbekr beſieged and taken.

Timûr having encamped without the city, ordered the aſſault to be given next day. The ſoldiers advanced, covered with their bucklers, and diſcharged a ſhower of arrows into the place: the miners carried on the ſap; and, breaches being made in ſeveral places, the walls were ſcaled in different parts: ſo that the city was carried in leſs than three days. The ſoldiers, entering the place, pillaged it, and ſet fire to the houſes; while moſt part of the garriſon were killed in the breaches. While the emperor was on the road to Alatûk, Yaik Sûfi, the greateſt amîr in the left wing of the army, next the princes of the blood, being accuſed by an Uzbek ſoldier of fomenting a rebellion, and deſigning to eſcape in the night, confeſſed his crime, and diſcovered his accomplices. As he had been often pardoned before for the like offences, and yet promoted by the emperor, his judges ordered him and his ſon to be fettered, and all his accomplices to be put to death.

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Alenjik beſieged.

Timûr having paſſed by Miyafarkîn, Batmân, Aſtima, and Sivâſſer, arrived at Betlîs; whoſe prince, Haji Sharîf, the moſt courteous of all thoſe in Kûrdeſtân, came to ſalute him, and make a preſent of fine horſes. Timûr confirmed him in his poſſeſſions, honoured him with a veſt, belt, and ſword; and left Yaik Sûfi a priſoner in his caſtle. Then, ordering charts of the country to be made, he ſent a detachment to beſiege Alenjîk; at whoſe approach Kara Yûſef, with his Turkmâns, fled. At Aklât he gave Kakhân, prince of Adeliaws, the lordſhip of Aklât, with its dependencies, for ever. Then parting from the army, to meet the young princes and empreſſes coming from Soltânîya, he found them at Uch Kiliſſa, that is, the three churches of Alatâk. On the 24th of June, he proceeded to Aydîn (or Bayezîd), whoſe inhabitants, preſenting him with all their effects, begged quarter, which he granted. He then returned in one night to Uch Kiliſſa; where Tahârten, governor of Arzenjân, came to pay his reſpects, and was honourably received [x].

Avenik, or Vân, inveſted.

On the 2d of July, Timûr began his march for Avenik (or Van), whoſe prince, Meſſer, ſon of Kara Mehemed, refuſed to come to court. The ſoldiers immediately took the town, and razed the walls: Meſſer retired, with his Turkmâns, into the fortreſs, ſituated on a ſteep and craggy mountain, all the paſſes of which were blocked up and fortified. The amîrs, and braveſt ſoldiers, alighted to attack the gate; while the horſemen ſhot arrows on thoſe who appeared on the breaſtwork. Meſſer ſent his ſon and lieutenant, with conſiderable preſents, to implore pardon; which Timûr granted: but, on their return, he renewed hoſtilities. After Tahârten had convinced him of his error, the prince ſent his ſon, and a near relation, with more preſents, to aſk pardon; but Timûr, perceiving he had no deſign to quit the place, cauſed the meſſengers to be arreſted.

Timur's clemency.

However, next morning, the emperor ordering Meſſer's ſon, who was but ſix years old, to be brought before him, he was ſo moved with the ſupplications of this young prince, that he ſaid, "Go, child; I will give your father his life, on condition that he appears before me." Then he gave the child a veſt, and fixed a collar of gold about his neck; ſending him back to Meſſer with a very obliging letter. When the beſieged ſaw the young prince in this condition, they applauded the emperor; and condemned

[x] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 457—470. cap. 37—43.

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the conduct of Meſſer, who ſtill appeared irreſolute. However, the battering engines having beaten down ſeveral houſes, Meſſer's mother came to beg quarter for her ſon; alleging his fears as the only cauſe of his oppoſition. Although Timûr promiſed to ſpare him, in caſe he left the place immediately, yet the Turkmân continued obſtinate. At length a meljûr, or hill made of earth and trees, being raiſed higher than the walls of the fortreſs, the place lay quite expoſed to the engines. Theſe poured in heaps of huge ſtones, which quickly ruined the houſes, and beat down the arches upon the ſoldiers heads. They were alſo reduced to ſuch extremity for want of water, that, July 30th, they turned out all the inhabitants incapable of bearing arms. Meſſer, therefore, in deſpair, ſent his lieutenant once more to beg quarter; which was granted, provided he would repair to the camp: yet ſtill that prince continued ſtubborn, or irreſolute.

Meſſer ſubmits.

Mean while Koja Ṣhahin, and ſeven other brave ſoldiers, mounting one of the arches in the night, reached the foot of the walls of the place; and there lighting fires, to give notice, two amîrs deſcended the mountain, and came to a very narrow arch; where the beſieged attacked them, though in the dark. Amânſhâh Kazâneji, being dangerouſly wounded, returned to the camp: but Argûnſhâh, and the reſt, mounting on another arch, arrived at the walls, which they began to ſap. The officers and garriſon ſeeing themſelves thus hard preſſed, were overwhelmed with conſternation; ſome threw themſelves off the mountain; while others exclaimed againſt Meſſer, flung down their arms, and begged leave to retreat. Meſſer, to appeaſe them, ſent his mother once more to beg his life. Timûr, touched with her affliction, ſaid, that for her ſake he would ſpare him, provided he came himſelf to aſk pardon: yet Meſſer did not go out that day; and would have continued to defend himſelf, if his domeſtics had not quitted him, and leaped off the walls. Then, tying a handkerchief about his neck, and with a ſword in his hand, he left the fortreſs; and applying himſelf to the mîrza Mehemed Soltân, by his means obtained mercy. He was ſent to Samarkant; and his treaſures were diſtributed among thoſe who had behaved bravely in the ſiege. Timûr alſo conferred the principality of Arzenjân on Tahârten; preſenting him, on that occaſion, with a crown, and belt of gold enriched with precious ſtones.

Bayezîd ſurrenders.

During theſe tranſactions the army, which beſieged Aydîn, gave ſuch furious aſſaults, that the amîr Bayezîd, its

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prince, demanded a truce; promising to depart as soon as the forces should decamp from before the walls. The general Zirek Yakû consenting to the proposal, Bayezîd went out in the night, without his knowlege; and, arriving at Timûr's camp, fell at the emperor's feet; who, pleased with his submission, confirmed him in the principality, with a power to establish a governor in the town of Aydîn [y].

Georgia invaded. Timûr, in pursuance of Mohammed's injunction to his followers, to make war on those who profess a different religion, resolved to carry his arms into Gurjestân, or Georgia, against Aksîka, prince of that country; and having passed by the forests of Alatâk, with a very numerous army, arrived at Kârs; where he received news of the birth of prince Ibrahîm Soltân, son of the mîrza Shâh Rukh. Next day Timûr decamped from the meadow of Kârs, for the plain of Minek Gheul. Hither the amîrs, whom he had sent into Georgia, having gained several battles, conquered great part of the country, and taken many strong places, repaired with the spoils, and congratulated the emperor on the birth of his grandson.

Splendid feast. On this occasion, a spendid banquet was prepared. The tents took up two leagues of ground: Timûr's was under a canopy sustained by forty pillars, and as spacious as a palace. Every thing being prepared, his majesty came, with the crown on his head, and sceptre in his hand, and sat on the throne, which was erected in the middle of the tent, adorned with precious stones; and a great number of the most beautiful ladies of Asia placed on each side, with veils of rich brocade, bedecked with jewels. The music was ranged in two rows; the voices on the right, and instruments on the left. Nine chaush, as stewards, with golden rods, marched before the dishes which were served up; they were followed by cup-bearers, having in their hands crystal bottles and golden cups, with red wine of Shîrâz, white of Mazanderân, grey-coloured of Kosrwan, and water exceeding clear. After this festival, the mîrza Shâh Rukh set out for Samarkand, of which his father conferred on him the government.

Timûr's zeal for religion prompting him to undertake the war of Georgia in person, he entered the mountains, destroying all before him. The Kara Kalkânlik (that is, *the Black Bucklers)* having fortified themselves in castles situate on very steep mountains, he marched into their

[y] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 470–478. cap. 43–45.

lands,

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lands, vanquiſhed and put them all to the ſword, ſeizing their effects. After having indulged his army with ſome repoſe, he continued his march to Teflîs, capital of Georgia; and thence to Sheki, from whence troops were detached to pillage the lands of prince Bertâz. A ſecond body entered other mountains, called the Kûheſtân of Georgia, governed by Sedi Ali, of Sheki, prince of the houſe of Erlât; who fled, and left his houſes and effects to be deſtroyed by the enemy. But, while Timûr was employed in harraſſing the Chriſtians in this manner, intelligence was brought, that the troops of the khân of Kipjâk, had paſſed by Dârbend, and ravaged ſome parts of Shîrwân. In conſequence of this information, he immediately departed from Sheki, and arrived at the Ab Kûr (or river Kûr): but, on advice of his march, the enemy fled. Timûr encamped in the plain of Kalin Gombed, near the town of Fakr-abâd in Georgia. There he ſent for the empreſſes and princes from Soltânîya; and the mîrza Mirân Shâh quitted the ſiege of Alenjîk to come to court; being informed, on the road, of the birth of a ſon, whom the emperor named Ayjel [z]. A.D. 1394.

Tokatmiſh khân invades Shîrwân.

At the cloſe of winter, Timûr departed for Kipjâk, at the head of a powerful army, to make war on Tokatmîſh (or Toktamîſh) Khân; who, having re-eſtabliſhed himſelf in his kingdom, was daily making irruptions into the emperor's dominions, to repair the loſs of his laſt defeat. Timûr had ſent that prince a letter, to know his reſolution, and reaſon for invading his territories; which, with the arguments of the ambaſſador, Shâmſo'ddîn Almâleghi, were ſo convincing, that he would have concluded a treaty, if his courtiers and generals, whoſe intereſt it was to make war, had not perſuaded him againſt it. Shâmſo'ddîn, at his return, found Timûr on the river Samnûr, which runs at the foot of mount Albûrz (I), reviewing his army, which extended from thence to the ſea, five leagues, and was the moſt numerons that had been aſſembled ſince the time of Jenghîz Khân. Timûr, incenſed at the rudeneſs of the anſwer, and frivolous reaſons alleged by the khân, began his march in order of battle; and, paſſing Dârbend ſurpriſed and cut to

[z] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 478—487. cap. 45—50.

(I) Or Albûrz Kuh; by which is to be underſtood the ridge of mountains called by Europeans Caucaſus; ſome call it Albrûz, and Brûz.

pieces

pieces the orda of Kaytag, which encamped at the foot of mount Albûrz.

Timûr meets him. Here an ambaſſador from Tokatmîſh was actually on the road to the camp; but, on ſight of the army, he returned through fear. At Terki intelligence being brought, that the advanced guard of the enemy were encamped on the river Koy, Timûr, with a body of choice men, advanced in the night, and attacking them by ſurprize, cut them all off. Thence he continued his route to the Saveni, where he encamped; at the ſame time that the khân, with a formidable army, occupied the banks of the Terk; but, on Timûr's approach, he retreated either through fear, or to gain a more advantageous ſituation. The emperor croſſed the Terk, and marched towards the country of Kûlat, in queſt of proviſions. Mean while, the ſcouts having brought advice, that the khân had rallied his troops, and was marching by the lower part of the river, Timûr ranged his army in order of battle; and, always preſerving the riſing ground, wheeled about to face the enemy.

Obſtinate battle. Next morning, Timûr divided his army into ſeven bodies, placing at the head of them thoſe who had the title of Bahâdr (or *intrepid*), and the infantry before the cavalry, covered with their bucklers. The mirza Mehemed Soltan commanded the main body, ſtrengthened with the braveſt men of the army; while Timûr placed himſelf at the head of twenty-ſeven choſen companies, who compoſed the body of reſerve. The battle began with ſhowers of arrows, accompanied with the cries "Give and ſlay, hold and take!" A great detachment from the enemy's right wing having attacked the left wing of Timûr, the emperor advanced with his reſerve, and forced them to give way; but one of the companies purſuing them to their main body, they rallied, and obliged them to retreat, in their turn, upon the other companies, who, by this ſhock, were broken, and began to fly. The Kipjâks, taking advantage of this diſorder, advanced upon the others, as far as the place where Timûr was poſted, whom they boldly attacked; and, notwithſtanding his vigorous reſiſtance, in which he diſcharged all his arrows, and broke his half-pike to ſhivers, would have hemmed him in, if the amîr Sheykh Nûroddîn had not diſmounted near him, with fifty archers, and kept off the enemy with their arrows.

Timûr in danger.

The emperor's danger brought others to his aſſiſtance: Mehemed Azâd, his bother Ali-ſhâh, and Tuzel Bawrſhi, took three of the enemy's waggons, and joined them juſt before

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before Timûr, to embarraſs the enemy, and break the ranks. Allahdâd, at head of his company, diſmounting, placed himſelf near the ſheykh Nûroddîn. Huſſayn Mâlek Kûchin and Zirek Yâkû arrived with their clubmen. The regiments of guards came alſo, with the horſetail erected; and Uſtoni, with his company, poſted himſelf behind the guards. All theſe ſoldiers, having diſmounted, oppoſed the enemy; who made continual attacks on them, with incredible impetuoſity and perſeverance. Kodâdâd Huſſayn, who conducted the van-guard of Timûr's left wing, advanced between Konje Aglen, who commanded the enemy's right, and planted himſelf behind Aktâo, who boldly faced the emperor. Mean while, the mîrza Mehemed Soltân marched to the left of his father, with his recruits; who bravely ruſhed on the enemy, and, with their ſcymetars and lances routed their right wing [a].

Bravely ſupported.

The amir Haji Sayfo'ddîn, who commanded the van-guard of the right wing, found himſelf more preſſed than the others; for he was incloſed by the enemy's left; ſo that deſpairing of his life, he diſmounted with his toman. But, although the Kipjâks continually increaſed, and charged furiouſly with their lances and ſwords, yet Sayfo'ddîn's ſoldiers kept them at bay till Jehân Shâh Bahâdr, coming to their aſſiſtance from another part of the field, fell impetuouſly with his toman on the enemy. Here an obſtinate fight enſued, and a horrible ſlaughter was made: but at length the van-guard of the Kipjâks left-wing gave way. Mean while, mîrza Ruſtem, ſon of Omar Sheykh, though ſo very young, ruſhed impetuouſly on the main body, and put them to flight.

Gains the victory.

Things being in this ſituation, Yâghlîb Bahrin, a favourite and relation of Tokatmîſh, advanced with a tomân of brave men, and called out to Ozmân Bahâdr to meet him. Ozmân advanced at the head of his toman, and attacked him: after they had broken their ſabres, they ſeized on their war-clubs and poignards; then grappled like two enraged lions. The ſoldiers of their tomans imitated their chiefs, and fought hand to hand with great fury. At length Ozmân Bahâdr overthrew his antagoniſt; and fell on his troops with ſuch vigour, that he entirely defeated them. All the other generals performed their duty ſo bravely, that, after a long and obſtinate battle, they put the enemy into diſorder: yet they were not certain of the defeat, till Toktamîſh Khân ſhamefully turned

[a] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, 487—495. cap. 50—53.

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his back, followed by the princes, and generals of his troops. On this incident, Timûr's soldiers rallied; and, joining together, fell upon the enemy, crying, "Victory! Victory!" They slew a great number, and afterwards hung up many of those whom they took alive.

Pursues Toktamish. Timûr, finding himself victor, gave God thanks on his knees, received the congratulations of his officers; and distributed his treasures liberally on all those who had signalized themselves in the battle, particularly on the amîr Sheykh Nûro'ddîn, who had so signally exposed his life to save his prince, he conferred a higher post, presented him with a horse of great price, a vest of gold brocade, a belt set with precious stones, and a hundred thousand dinârs Kopeji. He likewise made a general promotion of officers. At the Koray (K), he left the baggage and booty; and marched, at the head of his best troops, in pursuit of Tokatmîsh: but when he arrived at the Wolga, the khân having crossed it, he halted at a passage called Tûratû.

Makes Koyrichak khân. There he crowned Koyrichak Aglen, son of Urûs Khân, who was an officer of his court, emperor of Kipjâk; and sent him, with the squadron of Uzbeks, over the Wolga, to assemble the troops of his nation, and govern his new subjects. Mean while, the Jagatayans pursued the fugitives as far as Ukek, slaying and taking captives a great number; while others crossed the Wolga on floats: and Tokatmîsh, seeing himself closely pressed, fled into the impenetrable forests of Bûlâr (L). The army advanced on the west side of the river, to a place not far from the dark ocean, or Icy sea; and, in their return, ravaged the country, bringing away an immense booty of gold, silver, precious stones, and spotted furs, with many beautiful children.

Timûr, resolving to conquer the rest of Asia, on the side of Kipjâk, entered the great desart, which leads into Europe, at the river Uzi or Boristhenes. At a town called Mankirmen, on that river, he found Bik-yarok Aglen, with other Uzbek Tatars; most of whom were cut to pieces, and their effects seized. Bâsh Temûr Aglen and Aktao crossed the Uzi, and fled into the country of Her-

(K) A river in the Kûhestân of Georgia, which falls into the Caspian sea, to the north of Terki. La Croix.

(L) Bûlâr is Bulgâr or Bulgâria, reaching as far as Siberia, along the river Kamâl or Kama, to the Icy Sea. La Croix.

maday

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maday (M); whoſe inhabitants, being their enemies, ſo harraſſed them, that the tomân of Aktao fled to Iſra Yaka in Rûm or Anatolia, and there ſettled. A.D. 1394.

Timûr invades and ravages Ruſſia.

Timûr then, changing his route, marched towards Muſcovy, and Great Ruſſia. At the Tanais (or Don) the army again overtook Bik Yarok, and purſued him as far as Kara Sû (N), a town of Great Ruſſia, which they pillaged. His wives and children, who fell into their hands, were kindly treated by the emperor. This prince went in perſon to Moſkow, which was pillaged; while parties were ſent to ravage all the provinces of Great Muſcovy, and Urûsjîk or Little Ruſſia; who returned with prodigious droves of cattle, and beautiful captives, beſides immenſe riches of all kinds. Timûr afterwards directed his march towards Balchimkin (or the Palus Mæotis); and, arriving at Azâk (O), ordered that the Mohammedans ſhould be ſet at liberty, and the other inhabitants put to the ſword. From hence he marched to Kubân (P): but, as the Cherkas had deſtroyed all the paſture grounds between thoſe two towns, a great number of horſes died, and they ſuffered much for eight days. From Kubân the mirzas Mohemed Soltân and Mîrân Shâh were ſent to conquer Cherkaſſia; from whence they brought away infinite ſpoil [b].

Returns to Georgia.

After thoſe exploits, Timûr returned towards mount Albûrz, in order to exterminate the Chriſtians of Georgia. He accordingly deſtroyed all their towns and caſtles, ravaged their lands, and maſſacred the inhabitants who refuſed to embrace the religion of Mohammed.

There now remained unconquered in Georgia only the iſles; whoſe inhabitants, called Balekchian, that is, *Fiſhermen*, confided in their inſular ſituation: but, as it was winter, and the waters were frozen two cubits in thickneſs, the ſoldiers paſſed over; and, having pillaged their houſes, brought them away priſoners to the camp.

Timûr receiving advice from his lieutenant in Aſtrakhan, of ſome treaſonable practices in Mahmûdi, the go-

[b] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 495—505. cap. 53—56.

(M) A country between the Boryſthenes and Danube. La Croix.

(N) Otherwiſe called Koreſh, on the frontiers of Poland. La Croix.

(O) The ſame with Aſof (as the Europeans call it) at the mouth of the Don.

(P) Capital of Cherkaſſia. La Croix.

vernor

Haji Terkhân raised.

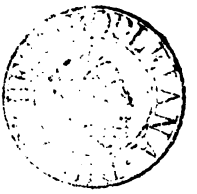
vernor, began his march thither, although the winter was extremely severe. He approached the city with only a few men: and, as Mahmûdi was obliged to come out to meet the emperor, he was arrested, and sent towards Saray, under the conduct of the mîrza Pîr Mehemed; who, in his way, ordered his prisoner to be thrust under the ice. Saray, capital of Kipjâk, Timûr reduced to ashes. Then he returned to winter quarters at Bugâz Kom; and ordered the spoils of Saray and Astrakân to be divided among the soldiers [c].

Hejra 798. A.D. 1396.

All the countries of Kipjâk and Kesser, with the west and north parts of the Caspian Sea, were now reduced under Timûr's dominion: the towns and provinces of those climates had likewise all been plundered, as Ukek, Hungary, Little Russia, Cherkassia, Bâshgorod, Mekes or Moskow, Azâk, Kûbân, and Alân. All the princes of those countries had, moreover, given assurances of their obedience. At the beginning, therefore, of the year 798, Timûr began his march back to Azerbejân; and, in his route, reduced Usheni, and many other places, the inhabitants of which were cruelly butchered. Leaving Georgia, he marched to Dârbend Bakhû, where his army was feasted by sheykh Ibrahîm, prince of Shîrwân.

Georgia farther ravaged.

[c] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 505—514. cap. 56—60.



END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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